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*Friends*  
*“at the Spring”*

A HISTORY OF SPRING MONTHLY  
MEETING

Algie I. Newlin



*Friends*  
*“at the Spring”*



*Mary Ruth Perry at the Spring, 1983*

*Friends*  
*“at the Spring”*

A HISTORY OF SPRING MONTHLY  
MEETING

by  
Algrie I. Newlin

North Carolina Friends Historical Society  
North Carolina Yearly Meeting  
Spring Meeting  
1984



*To all who have been or are now  
members of Spring Monthly Meeting  
and to their descendants near and far*

*Friends "at the Spring": A History of Spring Monthly Meeting* is the fourth in a series of Friends meeting histories to be published cooperatively by the N.C. Friends Historical Society, the N.C. Friends Yearly Meeting, and the local Friends Meeting.

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## *Introduction*

Writing the history of a Friends meeting is a serious and meticulous business. The monthly meeting is a vital element in the Society of Friends; Rufus M. Jones aptly called it the "Vital Cell." It is in this meeting that the membership of the Society is found. In it most of the transactions of the Society are made. Here the spiritual life of Friends is nurtured and given its major expression. And it must be said that here either vitality or sterility is found.

Spring Meeting broke into history when an itinerant minister, who was hunting out the little meetings then emerging on the Carolina frontier, aptly referred to it as the meeting "at the spring." It had already acquired a name and when he characterized it as a "good meeting" he attached a quality to it which has accompanied the name through history. It is one of the oldest meetings in Piedmont North Carolina. The Spring settlement began soon after the Cane Creek and New Garden settlements planted the Society of Friends in that area. The history of this meeting covers more than two and one-quarter centuries.

In its long history the spiritual stamina of the meeting has been one of the main factors which enabled it to face and work through many national and local crises, some of which have threatened the existence of the meeting. The War of the Regulators, the Revolutionary War and the Civil War shook the meeting to its foundation. During the Revolutionary War a battle was fought near the meeting house. Many of the men killed in the battle or who died from wounds received in it were buried in or near the Spring Cemetery and the seriously wounded of both armies were cared for in the homes of Spring Friends.

Spring Meeting was a product of the great migration of Quakers out of Pennsylvania and Virginia and it is one of the vagaries of fate that its very existence would be threatened by another great Quaker migration in the second half-century of the history of the meeting. Two decades after the end of the Revolutionary War the membership of Spring meeting reached the highest peak in its history, but at that point emigration of Spring Friends to the Middle West began. During the next fifty years this movement sapped the numerical strength of the meeting until

at the outbreak of the Civil War the membership of the meeting was reduced to a "little remnant" of its former strength. From this blow Spring Meeting never recovered but in its role as a small meeting it has experienced some of its "finest hours." A little band of Friends has kept the meeting alive and alert to its mission as a body of Friends.

When some of the members of the meeting acquired slaves the conscience of the meeting asserted itself. The corporate judgment of the meeting put it solidly against the institution until all slaves were set free.

One important feature of the story of Spring Meeting is the rather long line of able leaders interspersed through its history. In this line men and women stand together. Together they have bolstered the spiritual stamina of the meeting both when it was strong in membership and since it has been small. To them much of the credit is due that Spring Meeting has lived and still lives as a "vital cell" in the Society of Friends.

## *Acknowledgments*

My gratitude goes to several of my friends who have read the manuscript for this history of Spring Monthly Meeting. They are: Edward F. Burrows, Wade Fuquay, David Hobson, Rausie Hobson, Damon Hickey, Jane Lindley, Mildred Marlette, Mary Edith Hinshaw, and Mary Ruth Perry. Suggestions which came from them were very helpful. I am grateful to Bertha Zachary Lindley and Hazel Zachary Fuquay for their assistance with the minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting and to their brother Alpheus Zachary for information about the meeting within his lifetime and for some of the traditions bearing on the history of the meeting. I am indebted to David and Rausie Hobson for typing the final draft.

October 14, 1983

Algie I. Newlin







*A tradition relative to a burial which took place in 1805 indicates that the grave "was beneath the branches of a large cedar tree." This cedar may be as old as Spring Meeting. The cemetery has been the burial ground for many pioneer families, and for many soldiers from both armies in the Battle of Lindley's Mill.*



## *Friends Settle at Spring*

### PIONEER FRIENDS COME TO THE SPRING

The coming of Quakers to what became the Spring Quaker settlement was a significant event in the history of Friends in the Piedmont of North Carolina. It was a part of the first great migration of Quakers away from navigable waters into the interior of the Seaboard Colonies. The settlement at Spring started soon after the settlements at Cane Creek and New Garden. It gives a clear illustration of the pattern followed in the establishment of a large part, if not all of the settlements in that part of North Carolina. Spring was started by families who stopped off from the great stream of migrations from the northeast — a stream which followed the foothills of the Blue Ridge to the southwest. This settlement did not begin as an offshoot from Cane Creek or any other settlement. These migrating Friends who began it came directly from Pennsylvania.

The colony at Spring was not planned or promoted by any Friends meeting or committee and yet it was a venture well-planned by the prospective emigrants. This migration from Pennsylvania grew out of a frontier fever which had been generated by a keen interest in seeking new homes on some frontier, by people in some of the relatively new settlements in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and adjacent areas in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware. For more than a decade before the middle of the eighteenth century migration had been one of the favorite topics in the conversation of the people in Quaker communities of these areas. They sought all the information they could get about the frontier of their special interest before they started to migrate.

When related, or neighboring families caught the "frontier fever" they planned together for the successive steps in the pattern of migration. A group of men, usually one from each prospective emigrant family, went out together on horseback to the area agreed upon. When the destination was reached each one would select a desirable tract of land. The difficult parts of the construction of log cabins could be done cooperatively. Perhaps a limited crop could be planted and cultivated. Since all of the available land in the northern half of North Carolina was

in one big monopoly, controlled by the Earl of Granville, the prospective emigrants would work together in getting some sort of claim on their respective tracts. Since the Granville land office was closed during long periods, and in other times difficult to reach, many of the prospective settlers in the Cane Creek Valley had to be satisfied with "squatters rights," until they could get a title to their land.

In the fall or early winter, when the objectives of the prospectors had been achieved, the men returned together to their homes and began preparation for the emigration with their families to their new homes. This they generally did in the following spring or early summer.

It is hardly conceivable that any family would send any of its members out alone to make the preliminary preparations, or to go out as a solitary family on the hazardous journey which at best would take several weeks, when other families were planning to go to the same frontier. Either would have been foolhardy. There were too many hazards along the way which might spell disaster to a lone traveler or a single family. Illness, the hazards of crossing streams and mountains, a broken leg, a crippled horse or any one of many other possibilities might bring disaster. Group or caravan travel was the best travel insurance available at that time.

The first settlement on the Spring frontier was made by at least three families. They were: Henry Holliday<sup>1</sup> and his wife Mary Fayle Holliday, and their three small children: Samuel, Robert and William; Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley and their nine children: Katherine, James, Simon, Thomas, William, Ruth, John, Mary and Elinor; and Hugh and Mary Evans Laughlin, a young couple recently married. The youngest of the Holliday children was barely one year old when this pioneer family arrived in the lower part of the Cane Creek Valley. At the time of migration the nine Lindley children ranged in age from less than one year to eighteen. The Laughlins may be thought of as using this trip for their honeymoon. Their first child was born five or six months after they settled in their new home. Though the Laughlins were not members of the Society of Friends while they were in North Carolina, it seems probable that Mary Evans Laughlin had been a member of a Quaker meeting in Chester County, Pennsylvania. She could have been disowned for marrying a Scotch-Irish neighbor who was not a member of the Society of Friends.

Since the arrival of the first Quaker settlers was an essential preliminary to beginning the Friends Meeting it is necessary to consider where they came from and to try to give the time of their arrival in this section of the Cane Creek Valley. The three Pennsylvania families were near neighbors. Neither of them lived more than three or four miles from either of the other two. James and Elinor Parke Lindley, the parents of Thomas Lindley, had come to Pennsylvania from Carlow, Ireland in

1713, when Thomas was seven years old. Simon and Ruth Miller Kearns Hadley had come to Pennsylvania from West Meath County, Ireland, in 1712 when their daughter Ruth Hadley was a baby. So Thomas Lindley and his wife Ruth Hadley were both born in Ireland.

William and Deborah Holliday, the parents of Henry Holliday, came from West Meath County in Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1713. The Holliday land adjoined that owned by Simon and Ruth Hadley. Henry Holliday was born in Pennsylvania. In 1746 he married Mary Fayle, the granddaughter of William Edmundson.<sup>2</sup> The heads of these three neighboring families had their common origin in Ireland. In Pennsylvania they were near neighbors, and members of the same monthly meeting. As indicated above, the large tracts of land acquired by the Hadleys and the Hollidays had a common boundary line and the large Lindley estate was probably no more than a mile away. Hugh and Mary Evans Laughlin moved to North Carolina from Kennett Township, Pennsylvania, only a few miles from the Hollidays and the Lindleys.

Hugh Laughlin is believed to have arrived in Pennsylvania with his parents, James and Elizabeth Laughlin, in 1740, in the great stream of Scotch-Irish who were leaving Ireland for Pennsylvania at that time. James Laughlin first appears in the tax list of Kennett Township in 1748. Hugh and Mary Evans Laughlin were married in Delaware but this may not be significant, for Kennett Township shared the curved northern boundary of that province. The first time his name appears in the tax list of that township was in 1748-1749 and the last time in 1751. Aside from the possibility that Mary Evans Laughlin was a member of a Quaker family of the area, she and her husband had plenty of opportunity to know Friends.

Though no evidence has been found of kinship between members of these three families, it is known that Jonathan Lindley, a brother of Thomas, had married Henry Holliday's sister, Deborah. This may explain why in both the family of Thomas Lindley and that of Henry Holliday a daughter was named Deborah.

It appears likely that Henry Holliday, Hugh Laughlin and Thomas Lindley went together to the Cane Creek Valley to make the necessary preparations for settling there with their families at a later date. Prudence and a regard for the welfare of wives and children prompted this prospecting and preparatory expedition. There is little except the weight of reason to cause one to choose 1751 for this preliminary expedition rather than 1750.

The three men selected adjoining tracts of land, all bordering on Cane Creek. Their houses, built less than a mile apart, must have been "raised" cooperatively. The boundary line between Hugh Laughlin's tract of land and that of Thomas Lindley struck Cane Creek at a natural



setting for a mill; a more favorable site could hardly have been found anywhere else on that stream. There is reason to believe that these two men had discussed the possibility of their cooperating in the construction and operation of a mill before they went south to select their tracts of land. It could hardly have been a coincidence that their common boundary line, as it struck the creek, left the mill site on the land of Thomas Lindley and the site of the dam on Hugh Laughlin's side of the line.

In giving 1751 as the date of the arrival of the three families (and perhaps others), at their new homes, it must be said that the deeds to their land do not corroborate this date. A person who secured some sort of right to occupy the tract of land which he had chosen might live on it for several years before securing a deed for the land. One man who settled within the limits of Spring Meeting had his tract of land surveyed, built his house and barn on it, and lived there for twenty years before he received his title to the land. The certificate of membership in the Society of Friends was sometimes a few years behind the arrival of the Friend at his new home. In family records the dates and places of birth of babies are sometimes a more reliable indicator of the time of the pioneer family's arrival at its destination than either the date of the deed, or the time when the certificate of membership arrived.

Since Hugh and Mary Evans Laughlin were not members of the Society of Friends they brought no certificate but, as indicated above, Hugh Laughlin's name appears on the tax list of Kennett Township, Pennsylvania, for the last time in 1751. Their first child, Mary Laughlin, was born on Cane Creek, in what was then Anson County, North Carolina, on August 7, 1751. She is believed to have been the first child born to a pioneer family in the lower Cane Creek Valley. Her birth was three or four months after her parents arrived at their new home. This makes it reasonable to think that the journey south was made in April or May of that year. This time schedule would have pressed the Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley family more than either of the other two. Their daughter Elinor, who was born in New Garden Township, Pennsylvania, on November 15, 1750, was a baby only five or six months of age on the hard journey. However, members of the family were well-equipped to take care of the baby as they made their way on the emigrant roads and trails. Katharine, the oldest of the children, was eighteen and she and some of the other children were capable of giving their mother needed assistance along the way. Mary Evans Laughlin could have been very helpful. Deborah, the first child in the Lindley family born in North Carolina, was born more than two years after the family arrived at their frontier home. Thomas Lindley's certificate of membership did not reach Cane Creek Monthly Meeting until October

6, 1753, four months after the birth of Deborah. Since news traveled slowly to Cane Creek from Pennsylvania, Deborah's name does not appear on the certificate, sent out by New Garden Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, more than four hundred miles away.

It must have been rather easy for the Henry and Mary Fayle Holliday family to fit into the time schedule set for the journey. Their third child, William, was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, June 10, 1750. He had several months in which to build himself up for the emigrant road. Though no primary source has been found to corroborate this line of reasoning nothing has been discovered to suggest that the journey could not have taken place at that time.

### OTHERS FIND THE WAY

It appears that four or five families joined the first settlers around 1755. Some of these, especially the Hollingsworths, could have arrived earlier. In January 1755, Cane Creek Monthly Meeting received a certificate for Elizabeth Hollingsworth from Kennett Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania. In the October 1756 session of the county court of Orange County, North Carolina, "Valentine Hollingsworth, identified as a Quaker, witnessed a codicil of will." Though some of the persons of this name could have lived at Eno there is evidence that some of them lived near Spring. A large tract of land across Cane Creek from Henry Holliday's tract and adjoining that of William Braxton was owned by Reuben Hollingsworth, who married Sarah Braxton, daughter of near neighbors William and Margery Braxton. Elizabeth Hollingsworth's home township in Pennsylvania was the same as that of Hugh and Mary Evans Laughlin. This builds up the probability that members of the Hollingsworth family were among the settlers who arrived in the Spring community in the early 1750s. This does not rule out the possibility that some of them settled at or near the Eno Meeting.

William and Mary Braxton, of Scottish origin, are believed to have come out of Virginia to the lower Cane Creek Valley about 1755. The place in Virginia from which they came has not been ascertained. They acquired land on Piney Branch, on the south side of Cane Creek, just opposite some of the holdings of Henry Holliday. Their son Thomas Braxton married Mary McPherson, daughter of neighbors William and Phebe Passmore McPherson. On September 6, 1755, Cane Creek Monthly Meeting received a certificate for Phebe Passmore McPherson from Newark Monthly Meeting. (Newark is another name for Kennett Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania.) William McPherson was not a member of the Society of Friends, The Laughlins and McPhersons were of



Scottish descent and in Pennsylvania they had been near neighbors. They settled on opposite sides of Cane Creek and just over a mile from each other.

On October 2, 1752, a certificate from New Garden Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, for Joshua and Patience Brown Hadley and their children was received by Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. They are believed to have settled in the valley of the South Fork of Little Cane Creek.

John and Mary Gowan Woody and their children were in the second wave of immigrants to reach the limits of what became Spring Monthly Meeting. They acquired a tract of land on the south side of Haw River and just above the confluence of Mary's Creek with that stream. The south end of a ford across Haw River was on their land. It came to be known as Woody's Ford; Woody's Ferry was near, and later Woody's Bridge was built. The remains of the pillars and abutments of the bridge are still visible. John Woody is said to have moved from Massachusetts to Baltimore County, Maryland, in 1744. At that time Baltimore County had an extended border with a Quaker section of Pennsylvania. A Woody tradition says that John Woody was a Quaker in Massachusetts and left there because of persecution; but this may be questioned since the persecution of Quakers is supposed to have ended before the date of his departure from New England.

A few rods below Lindley's Mill, Cane Creek separated the land owned by Thomas Lindley from that acquired by Dr. John Pyle. He, his wife Sarah Baldwin Pyle, and their children are believed to have established their home there before 1756, though the deed to their land was not acquired until a few years later. John and Sarah Baldwin Pyle were from Quaker families in Concord Monthly Meeting of Pennsylvania though they did not become affiliated with any Friends Meeting in North Carolina. John and Mary Pyle Newlin came to the Spring community in 1768 from Concord Meeting in Pennsylvania. It seems obvious that John and Sarah Baldwin Pyle had been in a position to know many of the early settlers in the Spring community before they left Pennsylvania.

William White came from Cecil County, Maryland, which had a common boundary line with Chester County, Pennsylvania. He established his home on the south side of Cane Creek on what is now Highway 87. On Fourth-month 22, 1752, he married Katharine Lindley, daughter of Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley. The date of this wedding leads one to believe that he could have been among the earliest of the Quaker settlers in the area.

Another of the prominent Quaker families of Chester County, Pennsylvania, to have members settle in the area of Spring Meeting was the

Maris family. On April 6, 1754, David Maris was received into membership of Cane Creek Meeting on his own request. Within a few months he was disowned for accepting the office of lieutenant in the militia. On June 6, 1767, George Maris was received on certificate by Cane Creek Monthly Meeting and two months later, August 1, 1767, Aaron Maris was received on certificate. Neither of the minutes gives the meeting by which the certificates were issued. Whether David Maris was in the Cane Creek Valley or at Eno Meeting is not known, but George Maris lived a short distance north of Spring Meeting House. The family name was given to Maris Creek, a name later corrupted by usage into "Mary's Creek."

In 1762 John and Ann Whipps Carter and their two children arrived from Concord Meeting in Pennsylvania and settled on a tract of land between John Woody's and Spring Meeting's tracts. It is not known if the Woodys and Carters had known each other before leaving for the South, but it seems quite possible. The Carter certificate of membership was not received until December 6, 1766, though they had arrived much earlier. Four months earlier, on August 2, 1766, certificates were received from Concord Monthly Meeting for William and Elizabeth Carter Harvey, son-in-law and daughter of John and Ann Whipps Carter. It is possible that the two families came to Spring together in 1762. The Harveys are believed to have settled one or two miles south of the Carter home. A few years later Isaac and Martha Newlin Harvey, the parents of William Harvey, established their home southeast of Spring Meeting house. They too came from Concord Meeting in Pennsylvania.

In 1765 John Newlin, of the Concord community in Pennsylvania, took up a tract of land on the south side of the Haw River bordering the tracts of John Woody and John Carter. Three years later he brought his wife Mary Pyle Newlin and their five children to their new home. Mary Pyle Newlin and the children were given certificates by Concord Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania, but John Newlin had been disowned.<sup>3</sup> The Carter, Harvey, Newlin and Pyle families had all come from the Concord community of Pennsylvania, and they were all tied up in family relationships. John Carter was a nephew of William McPherson, Elizabeth Carter Harvey was a daughter of John and Ann Whipps Carter, John Newlin was a first cousin of Martha Newlin Harvey, Mary Pyle Newlin was a first cousin of Dr. John Pyle, and George Maris was a third cousin of John Pyle and Mary Pyle Newlin. Being bound together by all of these community, Quaker and family ties must have encouraged migration to the new settlement at Spring.

As revealed in the previous discussion nearly all of the early settlers in the Spring area were from Pennsylvania, and predominately from three meetings: Concord, New Garden and Kennett. The pioneer

settlers in the community of Cane Creek particular meeting were from Maryland and the northern part of Virginia. The pioneers in the Spring settlement came to their new homes as good neighbors and close relatives. They transplanted a Pennsylvania neighborhood into a new environment on the rolling plateau overlooking Cane Creek and Haw River. Surely they felt at home in their new situation.

## THE ROADS TO THE SPRING

The routes followed by the first settlers to the lower part of the Cane Creek Valley have become almost completely eroded away by the neglect of history. The road from Philadelphia to the southern end of the Shenandoah Valley was well-traveled at that time. The first Quakers who came from Chester County, Pennsylvania, to Spring followed that route, but when they crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains, probably at Lynchburg, they left the traveled route. From there to their destination they followed trails and trading paths to the Great Trading Path, somewhere east of Danville, Virginia. They followed the Trading Path from there to Eno, at Hillsborough, and on to Hawfields. After crossing Haw River they must have followed the southern, or alternate route of the Trading Path to the Cane Creek Valley. To add to the uncertainty of the route followed by the first settlers there is some evidence of an Indian path leading out to the south from Hillsborough. It crossed Haw River at what later became known as Woody's Ford and from there to Cane Creek by way of Spring Meeting House. Settlers later developed this path into a road which linked the Spring community with Hillsborough.

A Carter tradition vaguely suggests that the John Carter family crossed the Virginia back country. At the time of arrival this family could have followed the route indicated above or it could have followed the recently developed route through what is now the Winston-Salem area.

The first of the Spring settlers must have made the journey from Pennsylvania by horseback and on foot, and transported their supplies and implements by pack animals. Some of the women and small children were given places on horseback while the men walked the whole distance. Even if the first pioneers had possessed wagons before leaving Pennsylvania they could not have used them on the Indian paths. Tradition has one of the pioneers of a neighboring community bringing his implements and meager supplies from Pennsylvania on a sled drawn by a horse. Routes to the Cane Creek Valley were widened for wagon travel soon after the settlement was begun at Spring. But even then fording streams was often dangerous, mountain passes were difficult, and unimproved roads in rainy season were generally bottomless and impassable.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE MEETING

How do Friends, as individuals or individual families, scattered over a local area come together and unite into a Friends meeting? After they have done so, what right have they to call themselves a "Friends Meeting"? The history of the Society of Friends shows that a meeting must go through a formative stage before it can be recognized by a superior meeting. Today the Discipline of London Yearly Meeting of Friends stipulates that a particular meeting in its initial stage must continue to hold meetings for worship on a regular basis for at least one year before it may be recognized, or "established," by a superior meeting.

The certificates of membership granted by monthly meetings in Pennsylvania to the first Quaker settlers in the lower part of the Cane Creek Valley indicate that they were members in good standing. To be in good standing they had to be regular attenders of their meeting for worship. Failure to do so might bring disownment. These Friends had been drilled in the belief that God is always intimately present and ready to guide and protect those who seek his presence and guidance. If these Friends ever felt the need for divine presence and support it must have been on the long difficult road from Pennsylvania to North Carolina and during their uncertain life on this frontier. It is hard to imagine that these Quaker immigrants to the new Spring community did not have meetings for worship during the long weeks of their trudging along the roads and trails to North Carolina and immediately after their arrival at their destination.

There were sixteen persons in the Holliday and Lindley families, quite enough for a meeting for worship. It was the custom of Friends to invite non-Friends to worship with them and this would include the Laughlins and any others who might have been among the early settlers. It is possible that the concern for the children in the two families was an incentive for beginning regular meetings for worship immediately after the arrival in the new settlement.

Meetings for worship were held regularly at Cane Creek only five miles away and it is possible that adults in the Spring community attended some of the meetings for worship at that place. However, transporting babies and other small children that distance once or even twice each week would have been a hardship on some of the families. As a stronger meeting Cane Creek must have had its influence on Spring Meeting from the beginning. Among the first settlers in the Cane Creek community were two hardy, alert and very vocal women ministers. These two, Rachel Wright and Abigail Pike, were always ready to call Friends to a strict observance of the discipline in the Society. It is hard to imagine that they would allow any body of Friends within their reach to



live without regular attendance at meetings for worship.

Tradition would have us believe that Friends in the New Garden settlement gathered in the woods for their first meetings for worship while their dwelling houses were being built. These experiences, circumstances, and bits of comparative history lend some support to the belief that the first settlers in the new Spring community began holding meetings for worship at the time of their arrival. The present name of the meeting had to wait until their meeting house was built.

## THE FIRST GLIMPSE OF THE MEETING

For five months, including the depth of the winter of 1760–61, Daniel Stanton, a Friends minister from Pennsylvania, and his traveling companion Isaac Zane slogged their way on horseback from meeting to meeting over the long hard circuit of nearly all of the Quaker meetings in the Southern Colonies. They felt the leading and support of the Inward Christ on the long hard daily rides through rain or snow, over muddy roads and sometimes across icy and swollen streams, as they sought to keep alive the Quaker faith in communities along the way.

On February 6, 1761, Daniel Stanton wrote: "We . . . had a meeting at . . . the Spring, which though small . . . (was a good meeting) . . . and Friends were glad to see us."<sup>4</sup> To this hard-traveling minister this was a casual report, but to us these words are golden, and significant enough to shake the current date of 1773 on Spring Meeting's foundation stone. In writing his journal, Daniel Stanton was not very generous with dates, and though he put none beside the sentence telling of the meeting "at the Spring," he inadvertently gave the key in an additional note:

From Thomas Lindley's where we lodged, we went to monthly meeting at Cane Creek, and were also at their first-day meeting which were large.

A search of the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting for that year reveals:

At a monthly meeting held the 7th of 2'd mo. 1761 . . . Our Friends Daniel Stanton and Isaac Zean [Zane] on a religious visit to these parts attended this meeting.

This definitely shows that the historic meeting at "The Spring" was held on February 6, 1761.

This laconic and casually written note, the first recorded reference to Spring Meeting now known, stamps that meeting on an early page of the history of Friends in the Piedmont of the Carolinas; and by implication shows that it had not just begun. However, it raises the question: was the

attendance small because of the sparseness of the population, or because the word did not get around or because of apathy? Those who were present were glad the visitors came, but nothing was said relative to their spiritual strength or regularity in attendance of meetings for worship. But one implication is clear: even if the meeting was then weak, there had been sufficient interest and spiritual strength in a meeting for worship to cause them to build a meeting house. It had been given a name, "The Spring." It is quite obvious that the meeting house was not specifically mentioned, but if there had been none this meeting with Daniel Stanton and his traveling companion would have been in Thomas Lindley's home where they spent the night; not out in the open beside a spring on a night, or day, in February.

A tradition still current in the Spring community, as related by a member of the Carter family, has some bearing on the approximate time when the meeting house was built. There are several versions of the tradition. A study of them, with the dates of important steps in the development of the meeting in mind, leads to the belief that John Carter found the meeting in its dormant state around 1761 or 1762. In this line of reasoning is the implication that the first meeting house must have been built in the 1750s.

A search for specific documentary reference to either Spring Meeting, or the meeting house, between 1751 and 1761 has not been successful although near-misses have been encountered. In the winter of 1753-54 Catharine Payton from England and Mary Piesley<sup>5</sup> from Ireland, both fully liberated young women ministers, visited Friends meetings on their horseback journey from Charleston, South Carolina, to New Hampshire. They reported their visits at Cane Creek, Eno and Rocky River, but did not mention Spring. However, neither of them gives a day-by-day account of their time in the area and Spring could have been visited. In 1756 William White and Katharine Lindley were married under a minute from Cane Creek Monthly Meeting which reads,

3rd of 4th mo. 1756 . . . William White and Kathrine Lindly appeared and declared their intention of marriage with each other. They are left to liberty to accomplish their marriage orderly and the usual care was taken.

In the session of the monthly meeting one month later, a "Report was made that the marriage of William White and Kathrine Lindly was orderly accomplished." It is regrettable that the wedding certificate has not been found for it might reveal that this wedding was held in the Spring Meeting House, possibly the first Quaker wedding in that part of the Cane Creek Valley.

In 1758 William Reckett, an English Friend, was in the area of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting

Where there was a large body of Friends gathered thither in a few years from several provinces. They told me that they had not been settled there above ten years, but had found occasion to build five meeting houses, and they had wanted one or two more.<sup>6</sup>

The failure to give the names of the meetings with meeting houses is regrettable for Spring Meeting is a strong contender for a place on the list. The marriage certificate of George Maris and Elinor Lindley says they were married "in a public meeting . . . at Spring Meeting House" on Fourth Month 18, 1770.

The origin of the name of the meeting has been somewhat in dispute. One account comes from the tradition that John Carter found the meeting in a dormant state and worshiped there alone, in the deserted meeting house, until he attracted others to worship with him. As Stephen Grellet tells the story and as the tradition is currently told in the Spring community this caused the meeting to "spring up" again, and so the name "Spring." The name fits that situation, but Daniel Stanton was in a meeting "at the Spring," before John Carter arrived. Taking the name from the strong spring of fresh water would be in keeping with the practice of Friends in naming their meetings. More than half of the local meetings in the South before 1900 were named for bodies of water: spring, branch, creek, river, lake, swamp, or sound. Seven of the meetings in the Carolinas and Tennessee took their names from particular springs.

Tradition indicates that Thomas Lindley gave the land on which Spring Meeting House and cemetery are located, but in 1790 Jonathan Lindley deeded to:

Robert Morrison and James Newlin as trustees for the members of said Meeting, five and one half acres . . . it being part of a tract of land bequeathed to the said Jonathan Lindley by his deceased father Thomas Lindley.

This land was deeded

Unto the said Robert Morrison and James Newlin . . . as trustees during their natural life if the[y] do not revolt from the Society of aforesaid people.<sup>7</sup>

The action of Jonathan Lindley could have been to legalize a verbal transaction made by his father, Thomas Lindley.



# *The Meeting for Worship Established*

## FOLLOWING QUAKER PROCEDURE

The history of Spring Meeting gives an excellent introduction to the rather complicated succession of steps in the process of the constitutional development of a particular meeting. In the first step by Spring Friends, which has already been treated, when the pioneer Friends began holding meetings for worship the history of Spring Meeting actually began. Though it began before it was given a name it was nevertheless a Friends meeting. The succeeding steps all followed the constitutional (or disciplinary) procedure as it had been developed by the Society of Friends.

The first in the series of steps was the recognition of the meeting for worship by the superior monthly meeting. This recognition would not be given until the monthly meeting was convinced that Friends in the new meeting were competent to hold meetings "to the honor of truth." To be convinced of this the monthly meeting must have a favorable report from a committee appointed to visit the Friends in the meeting making the application.

On the "4th of 8th mo. 1764" the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting reveal the following: "Friends of Spring admitted to hold meetings on first days." This minute may give the erroneous implication that these Friends had not been holding meetings for worship. By its action of approval the monthly meeting had recognized that they had already shown that they had the capability to hold meetings for worship. They had been holding these meetings for twelve or thirteen years. As indicated above Daniel Stanton had found in 1761 that they had a meeting for worship and that they had a meeting house. By its action in 1764 the monthly meeting was said to have "indulged" this body of Friends with the privilege of holding meetings for worship. A meeting recognized in this manner by the monthly meeting was called an "Indulged Meeting."

Nine years later Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, in session "1st of 5th mo. 1773," initiated the next step in the constitutional process: "F'ds of Spring meeting request their meeting established — which this meeting

unites with and forwards to the Quarter." Though this minute plainly states that Spring Meeting was already in existence, this action has been thought of as initiating the existence of Spring Meeting.

One week later the quarterly meeting acted upon the request of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting:

8 da of 5th mo. 1773 . . . Cane Creek Monthly Meeting request in behalf of friends of the meeting near Thomas Lindly's to have their meeting for worship established amongst themselves. We therefore appoint Eleazar Hunt, Zacharias Dicks, Richard Williams, David Brooks, Robert Lamb, John Macy and Thomas Thornbrugh, Jun'r to visit them in order to inspect into their ability of holding such meetings to the Honour of Truth; and they are to report their mind and and care therein to next meeting.

In the session of Quarterly Meeting held at New Garden three months later:

14th of 8th mo. 1773 . . . The Committee appointed last meeting to visit the meeting of friends near Thomas Lindly's, called Spring Meeting on account of having their meeting of worship established have all complied except David Brooks who hath given his Reasons for his neglect — others report that after sollidly conferring with Friends there on the matter; are free to give it as our judgment; that it may be safe to grant them same according to their request granted by this meeting.

From the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting it is learned that, "At a Mo. Meeting held 4th of 9th mo. 1773 . . . Spring meeting established." Actually these two actions in establishing Spring Meeting, one by the monthly meeting in 1764 and the other by the quarterly meeting in 1773, are correlative steps required in that sequence by the well-established practice of Friends in the development of particular meetings. Many meetings in the Carolina Piedmont which reached the level of a preparative meeting went through these stages in the monthly and the quarterly meeting. Usually the action of the monthly meeting was given in the minutes as granting the privilege of holding meetings for worship on first days, on a week day, or both. The action was sometimes recorded as "establishing" the meeting for worship even though, as in the case of Spring, meetings for worship had been held there regularly for the previous several years. Though the distinctive name given to the meeting recognized in this way by the monthly meeting is "indulged meeting for worship," no comparable name was given to the meeting after being recognized by the quarterly meeting.

The indulged meeting may be thought of as a meeting which has been recognized on a trial basis. Some support for this supposition may be found in the fact that the quarterly meeting has been known to turn down a request for the "establishment" of a meeting for worship and in

doing so recommended that the monthly meeting increase the indulgence by recognizing meetings for worship on First Days or some other days in the week.

The monthly meeting has the authority to withdraw its indulgence when it feels that the members of the indulged meeting have lost their capability of holding meetings for worship "to the honor of Truth." On the other hand, it must be said that the quarterly meeting may withdraw the privilege of holding meetings for worship when it is convinced that the local meeting has lost its capability to hold such meetings.

Recognition by the quarterly meeting carried more weight in the Society of Friends than the meeting's being indulged by the monthly meeting. The quarterly meeting's action completed the process of the formation of Spring Meeting for worship and gave it a recognized place among the meetings for worship in the whole Society of Friends.

## *Through Colonial Crises*

### IN THE DAYS OF THE REGULATORS

For two decades, from 1763 to 1783, Friends at the Spring together with others in the Cane Creek Valley and surrounding country weathered three severe crises which grew progressively in their intensity and weight upon Friends in the area. The first was a crisis within the membership of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, of which Spring Meeting was a part. Friends in the monthly meeting had barely muddled their way through this crisis when the second, the Regulator Movement, began emerging in different parts of the back country. After the defeat of the Regulators at the Battle of Alamance had brought an end to that movement it was barely five years until the War for Independence broke out in the thirteen colonies.

Only a few families had settled in their new homes in the Spring community when they were reminded that the power of empire and world politics had followed them to their new homes in this remote area. This was brought home to them when one of the men in the membership of the meeting joined the militia. This was in the year 1754, near the beginning of the French and Indian War. The Friend was promptly disowned.

As the French and Indian War drew toward a close another crisis began shaking Friends in the Cane Creek Valley. Unjust taxes and maladministration in the government of their county (Orange) caused large numbers of discontented farmers in the valley and in a large area of the surrounding country to band together for united action in protesting the injustices to which they were subjected. In its beginning the Regulator Movement did not go beyond united action in protests and petitions, but when it developed into an oath-bound organization with threats of the use of force to gain their objectives, the movement ran counter to Quaker principles and patterns of action. With the increase of tension, individuals, small bands and large bodies of Regulators became familiar sights on the road that led past Spring Meeting House to Hillsborough. Their objective was to present their petitions and demon-



strate to get their grievances considered. The increasing intensity of the tension eventually led to the Battle of Alamance, which resulted in the defeat of the Regulators and to the collapse of the movement.

While no member of Spring Meeting has been found in the lists of Regulators, some close relatives who lived in the Spring community were involved and surely some members of the meeting were in sympathy with the objectives of the movement. Dr. John Pyle and William McPherson, both closely related to members of Spring Meeting, were active in the Regulator Movement. Thomas Lindley's home was selected by the Regulators as the place for their appointed delegation to meet officials of the county government in an attempt to find a satisfactory redress of their grievances. When the sheriff of Orange County seized property of an individual near Hillsborough, on the charge of failure to pay taxes, there was a flare-up of tension and the meeting was never held. It should be said that Thomas Lindley's name has never been found in any document which might indicate that he was a member of the Regulator organization.

During the years of protests, agitations and near clashes between the Regulators and the local government and its militia, Spring Friends must have lived in an uneasy state. Numerous bands and crowds of agitated people were passing along the road through the Spring community, going to and from Hillsborough during the years before the Battle of Alamance.

This battle took place only ten miles away. Among the casualties were men who were well known to many of the members of Spring Meeting. Cane Creek Monthly Meeting disowned several of its members for participating in the Regulator Movement and in the battle, but in the lists of participants in the movement no member of Spring Meeting has been found. After the defeat of the Regulators at the Battle of Alamance, Governor Tryon sent his forces through the Spring community to requisition supplies and force people to take an oath of allegiance to the British government. Several wagon loads of flour were requisitioned from Lindley's Mill.<sup>1</sup>

## UNDER THE SCOURGE OF THE REVOLUTION

The Revolutionary War was a trying experience for Friends in Spring Meeting. For some of the people in the community it was an ordeal, as it was for a large percentage of the people of the entire country. It divided the country into three approximately equal and distinct parties: Whigs, Loyalists, and those who tried to avoid participating in the war. Members of each of the two belligerent parties con-

sidered a traitor anyone who was not willing to join them.

Many serious minded citizens who weighed the issues, as they saw them, in the light of what they considered best for themselves and for the American Provinces were found divided between the two armed forces. Those who saw their grievances sufficient to warrant fighting for independence were known as Whigs. Those who felt that the constitutional government under which they lived should be defended against the attempts to overthrow it by force joined the Loyalist or Tory forces. Though the people of the area around Spring Meeting must have been divided into these three groups no way has been found to estimate their relative strength.

The members of Spring Meeting were not immune to the pressures produced by the war. They had to face hard decisions. The force of their testimony against war stood between them and participating in the war in any way. Though no indication has been found that any member of Spring Meeting participated in the war, it is known that some men who had been members of the meeting, or members of families in the membership of the meeting, did serve in the forces engaged in the war.

The fact that the important road from Hillsborough to Wilmington passed by Spring Meeting House brought the movement of military forces through the community and set the stage for the Battle of Lindley's Mill. Since armies in that day had to live largely off the country through which they marched, Spring Friends were subjected to foraging parties more than once during the war. A few months before the Battle of Lindley's Mill, foraging parties of both Whig and British forces had passed through this area, and smaller forces had done so on other occasions. This roadside view and experience produced one of the tests put to these Friends by the war. Early in the conflict the yearly meeting sent out messages to the quarterly meetings to be sent down to the local meetings, encouraging Friends to stand firmly against participating in any way in the armed confrontation, specifically cautioning members against taking an oath or "affirmation of allegiance" to either of the warring governments. These messages from the yearly meeting to the quarterly meetings were sent to all the local meetings and reached the Friends at Spring. Western Quarterly Meeting appointed committees to labor with all Friends in its constituent meetings who had taken or in the future might take "the affirmation," required by law, in order to convince them "of the inconsistency of such conduct with the principles of universal love professed by us as a people . . ." In 1779 the yearly meeting appointed a standing committee to have the care of any emergency which might occur. Among the members of this committee were John Carter, William Lindley, Joseph Cloud, and James Woody; all were or had been members of the newly created Spring Preparative



Meeting.

Two battles of the Revolutionary War involved people of the Spring community and pressed on the conscience of the meeting. The first of these, fought on Holt's Farm, a few miles southwest of Graham, was approximately twelve miles from Spring Meeting House. In that area it came to be known as "Pyles Hacking Match," and in history it is generally known as "Pyles Massacre." These names give the erroneous implication that Colonel John Pyle's Loyalist forces did the "hacking" or perpetrated the "massacre," but in reality the opposite is true. The Loyalist forces of about 300 men commanded by Colonel John Pyle marching from their commander's home near Lindley's Mill to join the British at Hillsborough, were expecting to be met by a British force which included a cavalry unit under Colonel Banastre Tarleton. The similarity of the uniforms worn by the Whig cavalry commanded by Colonel Henry Lee with those worn by the cavalry led by Colonel Tarleton completely deceived the Loyalists. With their hands in the air and shouting their identity, approximately one-third of them were killed and most of the remaining 200 are said to have received various degrees of wounds at the hands of the Whig cavalry. The sickening carnage brought gloom to the communities in Chatham and Randolph counties, from which most of the Loyalists came. Colonel John Pyle and his son, Captain John Pyle, Jr., were both seriously wounded. They lived in the Spring community and had close relatives in Spring Meeting. It is possible that others in the Loyalist army had relatives in Spring Meeting.

The Battle of Lindley's Mill was fought on September 13, 1781. It shook the Spring community more than anything else in the Revolutionary War. Much of it took place within less than a quarter of a mile of Lindley's Mill and an important part of it was near and probably around Spring Meeting House. Quakers and others in the surrounding country must have stood outside their homes listening to the sound of the rifles and muskets, and to the cries of the wounded men through the long half-day duration of the battle. It is not within the scope of this treatise to describe the battle in detail but its relation to Spring Friends must not be omitted.<sup>2</sup>

It was the Hillsborough to Wilmington road which brought the Loyalist army, under the command of Colonel David Fanning, and the Whigs under General John Butler together for the sharp Battle of Lindley's Mill. At dawn on the previous day the Loyalists had made a surprise attack on Hillsborough and captured Governor Burke, his council, and his military force of about 200 men. They were taking their prized prisoners to Wilmington as fast as circumstances would allow, when General Butler's men fired upon the advance guard of the Tories from a well-chosen ambush at Stafford's Branch, east of Lindley's Mill.

The Loyalist forces, with their large number of prisoners, must have been strung out along the narrow winding road from the scene of the first attack all the way to Spring Meeting House or beyond.

It must be kept in mind that in this battle almost the sole objective of both Whigs and Tories was the control of the prestigious prisoners. The Whig plan of battle was cleverly devised to enable the prisoners to make a break for freedom. It was to ambush the Tory advance guard and their rear guard (where the prisoners were being herded along) simultaneously to create sufficient confusion in the whole Tory army, to provide the setting for the prisoners to make a break from their captors. The surprise in each instance was complete and the Whig plan almost succeeded. The battle for the prisoners near Spring Meeting House was sharp and must have involved major parts of the two armies. If tradition is correct it seems a safe assumption that during this part of the battle Spring Meeting House was packed with prisoners, including the most highly prized, the governor and his council, to prevent any sudden dash for freedom.<sup>3</sup>

The battle was long, at times intense, and the casualties were heavy. Immediately after the battle the people of the area had thrust upon them the greatest humanitarian task that the Spring community has ever had to assume. The battle ended in a draw and the Loyalists made use of the first opportunity to resume their race toward Wilmington with their highly-prized prisoners. The Whigs were soon on the road in pursuit. Both armies abandoned their dead and all the men who were too seriously wounded for travel. Contemporary estimates give the number killed in the battle and those who died of wounds at approximately 100, and the number of wounded left on the field as possibly 150. The Friends in the community without hesitation assumed the grim task of burying the dead and caring for the wounded. Burying the dead was grisly work, but was soon accomplished. Caring for the wounded was a different story. The duration of this serious responsibility would in some cases run through several weeks. It may be assumed that nearly every home in the surrounding country was converted into a rustic hospital ward. Most of the houses were log houses of possibly two or three rooms, with little free space for a wounded soldier. During the previous six months, the Cane Creek Valley had been foraged severely by the two opposing armies in the conflict and we may be sure that many of these Friends could ill afford to share their meager food supply with wounded men. There can be little question about their making the sacrifice, with no discrimination against either Whigs or Loyalists and with no hope of remuneration.

A Whig officer, Colonel Lutteral, was one of the mortally wounded who died after reaching Hugh Laughlin's home, a short distance from

the scene of the battle.<sup>4</sup> Caruthers says he was "laid in the burying ground of the neighboring church." This must have been the cemetery at Spring for this was the only "neighboring church" at that time. It is safe to assume that many killed in the battle around the meeting house and some of the others who died in the homes of their benefactors were buried in this cemetery.

Monuments are erected on battlefields, but the determined efforts which civilians have made to save the lives of the severely wounded have been neglected by both history and tradition. Members of Spring Meeting and their neighbors are among those yet to be honored. In addition to the killed, the maimed and the otherwise wounded there are the scars of hatred and a bitter feeling of revenge left by the conflict which poisoned the attitudes of people on both sides for fully a century.

It seems that an unbiased observer at the time would have attributed just as much honor, or patriotism, to the man who felt honor-bound to defend the constitutional government under which he had lived a fruitful life, against its overthrow by armed force, as the equally conscientious and patriotic individual who felt that there were grievances which warranted his fighting for independence by overthrowing that government. So men took opposite sides in the war. Again it may be said that no evidence has been found that any member of Spring Meeting participated in the war, but men who had been members of Spring Meeting did participate.

Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley's family was one which was hard hit by the war. This is the only family for which we have information showing a definite division over the question of the war. In this family there were six sons. It may be that all of them were disowned by their monthly meeting for violating Quaker rules in their marriages. Three of them, Thomas, Jr., William and Jonathan, were reinstated and lived actively within the society of Friends throughout the war period. The other three are said to have been either in the ranks of the Loyalist army or strongly in sympathy with the Loyalist cause. These three were James, Simon and John.

We do not have information to show why half of the six sons chose to support one side in the conflict and the other three decided to remain in the Society of Friends. Without doubt it was a difficult decision for each one to make. We have no reason for thinking that anyone who chose the Loyalist cause was any less conscientious or any less rational than the person who chose the Whig cause, or chose to follow the Quaker attitude against war.

James Lindley became a captain in the militia of South Carolina before the Declaration of Independence. While he chose to support the Loyalist cause his first cousin, Thomas Hadley, son of Joshua and Mary

Rowland Hadley (Joshua's first wife) joined the Whig forces. Each became a captain in his respective army and each lost his life during the war. Most likely each died convinced that he had followed the right course.

Simon Lindley is reported, by Caruthers, to have been killed during the war in circumstances which connected him with the Loyalists. Another source indicates that he died in Pennsylvania.

John Lindley's connection with the Loyalists is briefly and vaguely referred to by tradition and by other bits of information. It is known that he married Sarah Pyle, daughter of Colonel John Pyle. As the war approached its end and when the Loyalist cause seemed to be lost John and Sarah Pyle Lindley took their family to Maryland, and from there went to the northern part of Virginia. Later they went to South Carolina to be near Sarah's brother and his family. These circumstances may give a bit of corroboration to Caruthers' assertion that John Lindley was a Loyalist.

The other three brothers, Thomas, Jr., William and Jonathan lived out the period of the war in good standing in the Society of Friends. At this point it seems necessary to say that some Friends have been misled into believing that the Captain William Lindley referred to by Caruthers was the son of Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley. He was the son of Captain James Lindley and the nephew of the William Lindley mentioned above, who is known to have been the clerk of Western Quarterly Meeting throughout the period of the Revolutionary War. During the war Thomas Lindley, Jr., was active in Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. After the death of his brother William, Thomas became clerk of Western Quarterly Meeting. Jonathan Lindley's name does not often appear in the records of Friends meetings during the war period. Soon after the war he began what came to be a distinctive career in the political life of North Carolina — a rather clear indication that he had no connection with the Loyalist cause during the Revolutionary War.



# *The Meeting Comes of Age*

## THE PREPARATIVE MEETING

The development of the meeting for worship — the recognition of the indulged meeting and the “establishment” of the meeting for worship by the quarterly meeting — has already been given. The two stages in the development of the Spring Meeting for business, the preparative meeting and the monthly meeting, remain to be treated.

In the session of May 1779 Cane Creek Monthly Meeting received a request from Friends in Spring Meeting (no doubt in a meeting for conference) for the privilege of holding a preparative meeting. These actions and the establishment of Spring Preparative Meeting took place during the period of the Revolutionary War. The request reached Western Quarterly Meeting in its session of “14th of 8th mo, 1779.” The minutes for that date report that

Friends of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting informs this that friends of Spring meeting request to have a preparative meeting settled amongst them, which this meeting takes notice of and appoints, David Brooks, Obediah Harris, Hezekiah Saunders, Robert Lamb, John Beals, Thomas Thornbrough, J. W. William Robinson, John Talbot and Guyer Starbuck to pay them a visit on the occasion and inspect their capability of holding such meetings to the honor of truth as they in best wisdom may be enabled.

An obvious implication of this minute is that a serious-minded quarterly meeting was exercising the greatest care to secure the necessary information to enable it to make a wise decision. The members of the committee were chosen from most of the local meetings in the quarter, which at that time included New Garden Monthly Meeting and its subordinate meetings. The action of the quarterly meeting was not just a routine matter. The committee made its report to the next session of the quarterly meeting:

To the quarterly meeting to be held 13th day of 11th Month, 1779. Dear Friends we the committee appointed last meeting to inspect into the capability of friends belonging to Spring meeting to hold preparative

meetings among themselves Agree to report that after having solled opportunity with them it is our sence and judgment that their request be granted . . . With this request this meeting concurs and Establishes the same to be held on fourth day week preceding the mo. meeting.

The Spring Preparative Meeting included Friends in Spring, Chatham, Eno and South Fork particular meetings.<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of Spring Monthly Meeting in 1793, about half way between the Revolutionary War and the first wave of the great migration to the Middle West, came at what appears to have been a favorable time in the life of Friends in the Piedmont, a time of marked growth in membership and in the number of meetings. The division of Western Quarterly Meeting, by setting off New Garden Quarter, in 1787, was an indication of this growth. The first step in this action took place on May 15, 1786, but the matter came before seven successive sessions of Western Quarterly Meeting before the action could be completed. This is one example of how Friends made important decisions "with all deliberate" care if not "deliberate speed." New Garden and Deep River monthly meetings, including of course all of their subordinate meetings, made up the new quarterly meeting, called New Garden. Cane Creek and Centre monthly meetings, with their subordinate meetings, now made up the reduced Western Quarter. While growth may have made this change necessary it deprived Spring Friends of association with Friends in strong Quaker settlements, which they had enjoyed since the beginning of their meeting.

In 1792 and 1793 there was a flurry of action among Friends in the Piedmont which seems to signify rapid growth of the number of Friends in that area. In the year 1792 Holly Spring Preparative Meeting, Back Creek Monthly Meeting, Providence Meeting for Worship, and Rocky River Preparative Meeting were set up. In the following year Uwharrie Meeting for Worship and Spring Monthly Meeting were established. This makes a total of six meetings established in Western Quarterly Meeting in these two years. What appears to be a restless shifting of Friends from meeting to meeting in these two quarters must be another indication of growing pains. The minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends show that members of that meeting were afflicted by it.

### LEADERSHIP EMERGES

During the long period in which Spring Friends were forced to face some of the great crises of their history some of the meeting's most illustrious leaders emerged. The importance of Thomas Lindley, John Carter and Mary Laughlin Woody in the early history of Spring Meeting



is based on tradition and a few scraps of history. The influence of Zachariah Dicks, Jonathan Lindley, Jeremiah Hubbard, Hannah Thompson, John Newlin, Joseph Newlin and Nathaniel Woody belong mainly to the period in which Spring had the status of a monthly meeting.

Zachariah Dicks was probably the most noted minister of the gospel in the history of Spring Friends. He and his family were members of Spring meeting for more than twenty-eight years yet his name does not appear in the minutes of that monthly meeting. His sojourn within the limits of Spring Meeting is divided into two parts: more than seventeen years while Spring was a preparative meeting and more than ten years after Spring became a monthly meeting. No records of the preparative meeting are extant and his membership in Spring Monthly Meeting was during the long period in which the minutes of the meeting were lost. The name of his wife, Ruth Hiatt Dicks, does appear in the minutes of the Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends.

A short biographical sketch of Zachariah Dicks has its beginning when he reached New Garden Monthly Meeting on August 30, 1755, on a certificate from Warrenton Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania. At that time he was referred to as "a young man." When he reached New Garden Monthly Meeting it too was young, being established just one year earlier. On December 8, 1756, he and Ruth Hiatt, the daughter of George Hiatt, were married at New Garden.

After living at New Garden for approximately twenty years, Zachariah and Ruth Hiatt Dicks and their seven children moved to within the limits of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. Their certificate of membership was received by Cane Creek on June 3, 1775. This Dicks family settled within the limits of Spring Particular Meeting, on a tract of land which lay on both sides of Cane Creek a short distance west of Lindley's Mill. It seems probable that their land bordered on the west side of the land owned by Hugh Laughlin. During the twenty-eight years that Zachariah Dicks lived at this place he was active in the ministry and made several religious journeys, including a long one to England and Ireland.

On June 4, 1793, Cane Creek Monthly Meeting granted Zachariah and Ruth Hiatt Dicks a certificate which enabled them to move within the limits of Centre Monthly Meeting. Here they lived for five years. On May 7, 1798, Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends received a certificate from Centre Monthly Meeting for Ruth Dicks. We may safely assume that the record of the certificate for Zachariah Dicks was in the lost minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting. It is also assumed that they returned to their old home west of Lindley's Mill. On May 28, 1808, the minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends report that Ruth Dicks, with her husband, was given a certificate to Ohio. On September

23, 1809, West Branch Monthly Meeting in Ohio received a certificate for Zachariah Dicks and Ruth Dicks from Spring Monthly Meeting in North Carolina.

Rufus M. Jones said of him:

Zachariah Dicks was a moving influence in some, perhaps in many, of the southern meetings. He was a powerful rhapsodical preacher, believed in his day to have prophetic insight in an unusual degree.<sup>2</sup>

In 1803 he traveled to the meetings in Georgia and South Carolina giving Friends there dire warnings of impending disaster if they did not move to the Middle West to escape the curse of slavery. Some of the itinerant ministers who knew Zachariah Dicks wrote into their journals their appreciation of the man. One of these was Elisha Kirk, who visited Spring Meeting in 1784, three years after the Battle of Lindley's Mill. As he told part of his story, "We went home with our beloved friend Zachariah Dicks, and on the way he showed us the place where he and other friends buried thirty-four men in one grave, during the late troubles."<sup>3</sup>

Zachariah Dicks and Ruth Hiatt Dicks had six daughters and two sons. Deborah, their oldest child, married Jonathan Lindley, son of Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley. Jonathan Lindley was probably the outstanding political figure in the history of Spring Meeting. He was born May 15, 1756, the last of the children of Thomas and Ruth Lindley. He and Deborah were married in 1775, when Jonathan was nineteen and Deborah seventeen. The Cane Creek Monthly Meeting minutes report that they were married contrary to the regulations of the Society of Friends and for that offense were disowned. They both gave acceptable apologies and were restored to membership in the Society. Jonathan Lindley inherited the homestead which his parents had established near Spring Meeting House.

Between 1788 and 1805 Jonathan Lindley served five terms in the House of Commons (now known as the House of Representatives) and one term in the Senate of the General Assembly of North Carolina. In 1788 he was elected as one of the five delegates from Orange County, North Carolina, to the State Constitutional Convention called for the purpose of considering the ratification of the Federal Constitution. Lindley voted with the Orange County delegates against ratification, hoping to delay it until a Bill of Rights could be added to the Constitution. Later, as a member of the General Assembly he voted for a resolution which called for a second Constitutional Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution. In his private life Jonathan Lindley made a reputation as a merchant, a surveyor, in lumber and turpentine business, and as a land speculator (real estate dealer). In 1811 he led a large

wagon train of emigrants from his section of Orange County, North Carolina, to the watershed of Lick Creek in the southern part of Indiana. In Indiana Lindley's achievements were even more illustrious than they had been in North Carolina.

The wide range of the interest and work of these outstanding members of Spring Meeting shows clearly that Spring Friends were in the broad stream of Quaker history, and in the equally broad stream of the history of North Carolina. They were not living in an isolated enclave in the back country. Other leaders will be treated later.

## SPRING MONTHLY MEETING GETS ESTABLISHED

For whatever reason, the establishment of Spring Monthly Meeting came fourteen years after the establishment of the preparative meeting. During part of that time the Friends in Spring Preparative Meeting gave strong leadership to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting and to the quarterly meeting. From 1775 to 1784 William Lindley, son of Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley, was clerk of the quarterly meeting. It is possible that many Friends in the Spring Meeting found their association with other Friends in Cane Creek Monthly Meeting satisfying, and consequently were tardy in ending that association. As the year 1793 opened the desire for independence seems to have transcended the satisfaction found in the wider association.

In the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting for the "5th of 1st mo 1793,"

Spring Meeting Preparative informs that they request the privilege of holding a monthly meeting among themselves. This meeting therefore appoints Stephen Hobson, Joseph Cloud, Benjamin Piggott, John Davis, Jacob Eliot, Jacob Marshall, Hugh Moffitt & Nathan Dixon to visit them on the occasion and report their sense therein to the next meeting.

In 1793, when Spring Monthly Meeting was set up, each monthly meeting throughout most of the Society of Friends was made up of two monthly meetings, one for the men and one for the women. Each functioned as a separate monthly meeting but the two cooperated closely in their work for their members. The two monthly meetings, for men and for women, were supposed to have equal powers but the minutes for Cane Creek and Spring Monthly Meeting and the discipline of North Carolina Yearly Meeting do not support this idea.

The request for the establishment of Spring Monthly Meeting is one of the few instances in which the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting of Women Friends joined with the Men's Monthly Meeting in an action of

this nature. Their minute reads:

Spring Meeting requests the privilege of holding a monthly meeting among themselves. Margaret Stout, Mary Davis, Hannah Moffit and Margery Buckingham are appointed to join with men Friends in visiting them, in order to inspect into their capacity of holding such meetings and report their care to the next meeting.

One month later the Men's Meeting reported:

2nd 2nd mo. 1793. The Friends appointed to visit Spring meeting preparative, respecting their request report they have complied therewith and that they unite with them therein it is therefore thought proper to be forwarded to the Quarter for further inspection.

To continue this meticulous process we must now turn to the minutes of the quarterly meeting:

11th da 3rd mo. 1793. Cane Creek Monthly Meeting informs this that friends of Spring Preparative meeting request the privilege of holding a monthly meeting amongst themselves, with which this meeting unites as far as to appoint Isaac Beeson, John Smith, Phineas Reynolds, William Newby, Robert Hodson, and Thomas Winslow to visit them on the occasion in order to inspect their ability of holding such meetings.

The painful care which is sometimes evident as Friends deal with items of business in sessions devoted to those matters attracted sharp attention in the next session of the quarterly meeting. The pertinent minute for the session for "13th day of 5th mo. 1793" reads:

The committee appointed last meeting to visit friends of Spring Meeting Preparative Meeting, Report they have complied with the appointment but this meeting apprehending it more safe to visit that meeting again, continue the former committee with the addition of John Beales, John Winslow, John Beard, Jesse Wilson, and Joseph Chamness for that service and report their sense and judgment to the next meeting.

It would be a relief to know why a second visit was considered necessary and why it was necessary to almost double the size of the committee of inquiry by adding five other Friends. A brief glance at the history of Eno Meeting leads one to wonder if the "state of society" in that particular meeting was the reason for this extra care in the investigation. It is possible that Eno was only a part of the problem. Whatever the reason for the second visit within the limits of Spring Preparative Meeting, it worked.

On "12th day of 8th month 1793" the report of the second investigation was considered by the quarterly meeting:

The committee continued last meeting to visit the friends of Spring



Meeting preparative meeting Report in writing as follows:

We the committee continued and appointed to visit friends of Spring meeting preparative meeting again have complied therewith and after a time of solid conference and deliberation together with them give it as our sense and judgment that they have their request granted . . . With which the meeting unites and established the said meeting, to be held on the first second day after the first seventh in each month. And Zachariah Dicks, David Vestal, Thomas Winslow, James Dicks, Henry Younts, Ephraim Overman, Frederick Winslow, & Jacob Marshall are appointed to attend the opening of said monthly meeting in the 10th month next, and the Women Friends appointed to join said committee with the men are Rachel Dicks, Mary Ozborn, Mary Davis, & Sarah Vestal.

With this action of Western Quarterly Meeting the formidable process of the establishment of Spring Monthly Meeting was complete. It was at least forty years after the beginning of the meeting, twenty-nine years after the indulged meeting was recognized by Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, and fourteen years after the preparative meeting was established by Western Quarterly Meeting. Spring Friends and Cane Creek Monthly Meeting were allowing the course of history to flow deliberately.

Membership statistics for this period in the history of Spring Meeting are lacking but at this time the meeting was probably at its highest peak.<sup>3</sup> The great migration to the Middle West was only a few years ahead. Already some Friends had left the Spring community to emigrate across the Appalachian Highland to eastern Tennessee. However, this part of the emigration from Spring was only a trickle in comparison to that which would soon be under way to the Middle West. A few years after 1800 emigration became a solid stream of ominous volume; it would siphon off much of the leadership of the meeting and a large percentage of the membership, from which loss the meeting has not recovered.

On October 7, 1793, Friends gathered at Spring Meeting House for the first session of their monthly meeting. Following the custom of Friends in that day, they met in two bodies — the Men's Monthly Meeting and the Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends. It must be borne in mind that they were distinctly separate and at least nominally equal. The meeting house was constructed to accomodate the two meetings sitting simultaneously. Shutters, which could be opened and closed, covered a large part of the partition between the two rooms. Meetings for worship were usually "joint sessions," made possible by opening the shutters, though the men and women sat in their respective meeting rooms. Meetings for business were held as separate sessions, with the shutters closed.

With the opening session of their monthly meeting, Spring Friends





... a very small meeting on the river Eno ... though their number was small their states were various, some of them widely different from the pure, humble, living, sensible disposition which Truth produces.<sup>1</sup>

This sort of critical evaluation was made of other frontier meetings from South Carolina to New Hampshire by these and other itinerant ministers, particularly those from Britain. Catharine Payton's statement seems to imply that there was at least a remnant of stable Friends in the various "states," but Eno was one of the meetings which did not transcend or outlive its weaknesses. It seems a bit strange that two months after the visit of these two young women, Cane Creek Monthly granted Eno Friends an "indulged" meeting for worship. In 1762 Western Quarterly Meeting recognized (established) their meeting for worship and the following year granted them the privilege of holding preparative meetings. This indicates a rather rapid rise from a promising beginning, but it was short lived. The minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting give some evidence that disintegrating forces were at work among Eno Friends as early as the time of the establishment of their preparative meeting. Dissension, disorder, disunity, spiritual weakness, disownments and migration took their toll, and in 1768 the quarterly meeting laid down the preparative meeting and soon declared that Eno Friends were not capable of holding meetings for worship. Some of the ablest members of Eno Meeting had been among the dissenters in the crisis in Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. Just before the Eno Meeting was laid down several of its members migrated to Georgia to be among the founders of the Wrightsborough Meeting. Among the rather prominent of these were Joseph Maddocks, Jonathan Sell, John Stubbs, their families, and some of the members of the Pugh family.

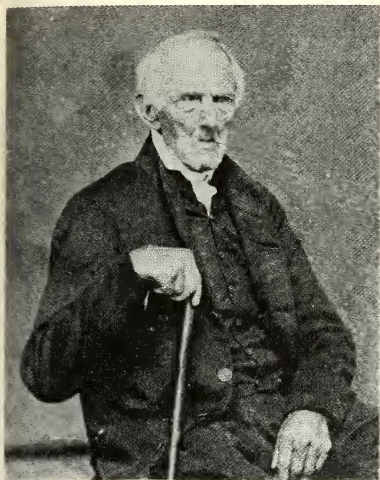
When Spring Preparative Meeting was set up in 1779 the remaining Eno Friends (after their meeting was laid down) became members of Spring Preparative Meeting. At about that time some evidence begins to emerge indicating a renewal of life among Eno Friends. Though the reasons for this may not be clear it is known that a considerable migration of Friends from Pennsylvania began about the time the meeting was laid down. This is illustrated by the record of migration of members of the Thompson family from New Garden Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania. In 1767 James and Martha Thompson came. They were followed by Temple and Phebe Thompson in 1770 and Joseph and Hannah Hutton Thompson. All of their certificates went to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting and it is not known if all of them settled within the limits of Eno Particular Meeting. It is known that the last mentioned couple settled there. The arrival of Hannah Hutton Thompson was one of the important events in the second period of history of Eno Meeting.

As a noted minister, she became an able and active member of Spring Monthly Meeting. She traveled widely to proclaim the Truth and to call Friends to strict discipline within the Society.

It is known that a group of Friends migrated from Mecklenburg County, Virginia to Person County, North Carolina. A minute of Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends for July 27, 1805, tells of the appointment of a committee to visit "Friends in Richland Spring Creek Meeting in Person County . . . to inspect into their capacity of holding meetings for worship amongst themselves." In the next session of the Monthly Meeting the committee reported that it had "complied with that appointment." With this terse report the monthly meeting leaves the Person county meeting with its strange name completely in the dark. No other reference to Richland Spring Creek Meeting has been found anywhere. It is possible that the lost minutes of the Men's Monthly Meeting revealed more about that meeting. A map of North Carolina, published in 1808 shows a Richland Creek in Person County. Its source is just south of Roxboro, about twenty-five miles north of Eno Meeting. The guess is being made that the Person County Friends settled somewhere near the source of that stream. It was through Eno Meeting that these Friends were members of Spring Monthly Meeting.

Members of the Crews and Hubbard families were among the Virginia Quakers who settled in Person County. Among them were Joseph and Ann Crews Hubbard and their children. Their son Jeremiah Hubbard became one of the most able leaders of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. He had the reputation of being a learned teacher. He served as clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting for sixteen years and was one of the leaders in the efforts leading to the establishment of the New Garden Boarding School, now Guilford College. The name of this illustrious member must be in the lost minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting. His wife and children appear in the minutes of the Women's Meeting. That he lived in Hillsborough for at least a short time is shown by a deed to a lot and appurtenances in that town which he bought and held for a few years. The evidence is too light for a flat assertion that he ever lived in the Spring community. However, he bought two tracts of land in that area from Nathaniel Newlin, and, in the home of James and Deborah Newlin, he witnessed James Newlin's will.

Jeremiah Hubbard's grandfather was Hardiman Crews; his grandmother's name is not known. She is reputed to have been a full-blooded Indian. This made Jeremiah of one-fourth Indian blood. He displayed Indian characteristics. He and his four brothers were often referred to as "the big Cherokee boys." Jeremiah "was tall, erect and straight as an arrow, being six feet two or three inches in height. He had a dark swarthy complexion, keen black eyes, high cheek bones, hair straight and black



*Nathaniel Newlin 1768-1867*

as coal, a large mouth and firm lips." With these physical features he must have made an impressive appearance as year after year he presided over the large gathering of Friends in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. This of course was after he moved to within the limits of Deep River Meeting and while he taught school at the New Garden Meeting school.

Jeremiah Hubbard was a friend of Andrew Jackson. When a delegation of Cherokee Indians stopped at New Garden for a meeting for worship he was asked to accompany them to Washington, D.C. for a conference with President Jackson. Jeremiah is said to have lent his influence to get Jackson's consent for a treaty prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages to Cherokee Indians.

The names of Friends identified as members of Eno Meeting appear in the Minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting with sufficient frequency and in positions of sufficient responsibility to indicate that some of them were active in the affairs of the meeting. In 1824 Stephen Grellet reported that he was at "a large Meeting" in Hillsborough, but found no Friends living within the town. It is certain, however, that Friends were living within the vicinity of Hillsborough. On December 7, 1837, Joseph John Gurney stopped overnight at Eno, enroute from New Garden to the eastern part of North Carolina. He found a degree of satisfaction in meeting with Eno Friends.<sup>2</sup>

In 1841, just four years after Gurney's visit, Western Quarterly Meeting found it advisable to discontinue (again) the Eno Preparative Meeting. In 1847 the quarterly meeting became convinced that "members of Eno are not capable of holding a meeting (for worship) to the honour of truth & the credit of Society." So the sad story of Eno Meeting



came to an end for the second time.

## CHATHAM MEETING

William White seems to have been one of the first settlers on the south side of Cane Creek, in what became the area of Chatham Meeting. In 1756 he and Katharine Lindley were married and tradition pictures, for what it may be worth, the first meetings for worship in that community being held in the home of this young married couple. Their home, by crow-flight line, was barely two miles from Spring Meeting House but high water in Cane Creek would block traffic across fords and footlogs during the winter and summer rains. There is also a tradition that Cane Creek recognized this as an indulged meeting at an early date, but no trace of such action has been found in the minutes of that monthly meeting.

History is miserly in dealing out information about the early years of Chatham Meeting. In 1772 two marriages in the membership of Spring Meeting were followed by the two couples moving to this new community. Samuel Holliday of Spring Meeting, son of Henry and Mary Fayle Holliday, and his wife Lydia Hadley Holliday, daughter of Joshua and Patience Brown Hadley of South Fork Meeting, settled on a tract of land near the home of William and Katharine Lindley White. About the same time another young married couple from Spring Meeting, James and Deborah Lindley Newlin established their home within a half mile of the Holliday home. James Newlin acquired land on both sides of Cane Creek but he built his house a few hundred yards north of that stream. These three families, all near neighbors and bound together by close ties of kinship, formed the nucleus for the emerging meeting. The three women had close ties of kinship: Katharine Lindley White and Deborah Lindley Newlin were sisters, and Sarah Hadley Holliday was their first cousin.

Though the validity of the tradition that Cane Creek Monthly Meeting granted Chatham Friends the privilege of holding an indulged meeting for worship is tenuous, sixty-five or seventy year later, on the "25th of 9th month 1824," Spring Monthly Meeting gave them this privilege, and in doing so gave the meeting a solid historical base. The monthly meeting directed that the recognition-meeting be held "the 30th day of this month," and that it "be known as Chatham Meeting." At that time the meeting house and most of the Quaker community were in Chatham County, the reason for the name of the meeting. This area was in a three-mile strip which later would be transferred to Alamance County, but the name of the meeting would not be changed.

On October 29, 1824, Samuel Holliday deeded one acre of land "lying in Chatham County" to Simon White and Nathaniel Newlin "for some people called Quakers." In the following year Chatham Friends built a log meeting house on this one-acre tract of land. It was located on the west side of what is now Highway 87, about one mile south of the bridge across Cane Creek. For more than sixty years this meeting house was also used for subscription schools. Later it was referred to as "Little Chatham" or "Old Chatham."

## SOUTH FORK FRIENDS

Arable farmland has been one of the main forces in determining the location of Quaker communities and meetings. This was true throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in most of the areas where Quakers settled and it must have been true in the settlement of the South Fork Friends community. That community gets its name from the south fork of Little Cane Creek, in the southern part of the Cane Creek Valley. Here many fingerlet branches drain a well-worn rolling plateau. That the land is fertile is demonstrated by the prosperous farms now owned and operated by the descendants of the Hadleys and Lindleys who were among the first settlers in the area. In that community Joshua and Patience Brown Hadley and their children were pioneers from Pennsylvania.

Joshua Hadley, Jr., married Ruth Lindley, daughter of Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley. They were immediately disowned by their monthly meeting, for the Society of Friends had sternly decreed that first cousins should not be joined together in wedlock. Ruth Lindley Hadley's brother Thomas Lindley, Jr., and Sarah Evans of Pennsylvania violated Quaker practice in their getting married. Thomas was disowned. He was nineteen and his bride was sixteen. These two disownments in early South Fork history were erased when the young settlers were willing to make suitable apologies. Their "offerings" to their monthly meeting were not expressions of regret for their getting married but that it had been necessary for them to violate the marriage regulations of the Society of Friends. Their reinstatement was fortunate for South Fork Meeting for in later years they contributed richly to the heritage of Friends in that meeting. In 1756 Thomas Lindley, Sr., had a survey made of a tract of land lying on both sides of the Little Cane Creek. It seems possible that this was the tract on which Thomas Lindley, Jr., and his young bride Sarah settled.

As time passed, South Fork as a particular meeting became stronger numerically than either of the other three subordinate meetings in

Spring Monthly Meeting. This evaluation finds some support in the ratio of contributions to the monthly meeting's quota of the quarterly meeting stock (the assessment made upon each monthly meeting by the quarterly meeting). The practice of alternating sessions of the monthly meeting between Spring and South Fork is another indication of relative strength of the meeting.

It might be difficult to find three Quaker communities bound together by more and closer genealogical ties than Spring, Chatham and South Fork. Their ancestry and faith had come mainly from Ireland by way of Pennsylvania to the Cane Creek Valley. In addition to the common ancestry of many of them in Simon and Ruth Miller Kearns Hadley, they were all united in Spring Monthly Meeting and, it might be said, they were all united by the waters of Cane Creek. This opens the door for an aphorism, once current in the area, which attributed large families to good drinking water. A list of the large families (admittedly selective) may give convincing evidence that these early inhabitants of the Cane Creek Valley gave assurance that they did not expect the population of the area to die out. Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley had 12 children; Thomas Lindley, Jr., and Sarah Evans Lindley, 11; Jonathan and Deborah Dix Lindley, 13; Aaron and Phebe McPherson Lindley, 13; James and Eleanor Thompson Lindley, 12; Samuel and Lydia Hadley Holliday, 11; James and Deborah Lindley Newlin, 12; James and Mary Laughlin Woody, 14; and Henry and Elinor Woody Pickard are said to have had 18. Whatever the influence of good drinking water, the rapid growth of the membership of the Society in the Cane Creek Valley was not due entirely to immigration.

Before the end of the eighteenth century Eno Friends began to marry into the compact society in the Spring, South Fork and Chatham triad. This was especially true in the relations between Eno and South Fork.



## *In the Wider Society of Friends*

### WITHIN THE YEARLY MEETING

It is easy to assume that Spring Meeting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was an isolated group strictly limited to a narrow horizon by poor roads and sluggish means of communication. In this situation they may seem to us to have been cut off from Friends, even those within their own quarterly meeting. Actually during this long period Spring Friends may have had closer association with Friends in other local meetings within North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and even closer contact with Friends beyond the Atlantic than most local meetings have today.

Within the organization and functioning of meetings within North Carolina Yearly Meeting the mutual association included Friends from broader geographic limits than today. In sessions of Spring Monthly Meeting representatives gathered from four particular meetings that even today would be considered widely scattered. Sessions of the quarterly meeting drew representatives from local meetings in four counties. Representatives to the sessions of the yearly meeting came from the two Carolinas, Georgia and Tennessee. In addition to the experience of worshiping together and engaging in serious deliberations on the mission of their society and on the problems which beset them, there were fringe benefits of important social significance. Friends who had to travel as much as a day's journey were given hospitality in homes near the scene of the meeting. In the Society of that day such hospitality was taken for granted. Sessions of quarterly meeting extended over a period of three days and the annual session of the Yearly Meeting for a slightly longer period. The intimacy of the friendships developed in and around the sessions and in the friendly atmosphere of the homes proved lasting. The marriage of Spring Friends to members of other meetings may be evidence of one effect of the quarterly and yearly meeting sessions.

Epistles and directives from superior meetings went to all local meetings for careful consideration. Ministers responding to their sense of clear leadings from Divine directive made extended visits within the

limits of other local meetings. When there was evidence of spiritual or moral decline in one meeting, other Friends shared the responsibility to work with those of the afflicted meeting. In such cases the quarterly meeting might appoint a committee to visit the local meeting. The members of the committee attended sessions of the local meeting and often made extensive visits in the homes of the members. All of this was in a determined but loving effort to restore the meeting to the level of strength and purity approved by the Society. Visits to the quarterly meeting and to Spring Monthly Meeting show that the Friends who were being visited took this procedure as the normal friendly course of action and cooperated with the visitors, with no thought of meddling in their affairs by "outsiders."

### WITH FRIENDS BEYOND THE YEARLY MEETING

There are clear indications that Spring Friends, and of course members of other monthly meetings, were conscious of being integrated in the life of the Society which lay beyond the limits of their own yearly meeting. Until the Separation of 1828 there was one Society of Friends in the world. There were no theological or prejudicial curtains dividing Friends into uncommuicative and hostile branches. It was easy for members in good standing to transfer membership from one meeting to another. A minister with a certificate or traveling minute from his own meeting could appoint meetings in any quarterly or yearly meeting to which his certificate was directed. No overall organization was necessary for this unity and solidarity of the Society. In the genius of the early Society practices were developed which reached all meetings no matter how remote from centers of population, bringing unity and virility to the whole Society. One of these was a system of correspondence by leading members of the Society, but especially epistles from one yearly meeting to another. Spring Monthly Meeting followed the practice in American meetings and gave the epistle from London Yearly Meeting a place of special importance in its deliberation. It was read and carefully considered in sessions of yearly meeting. There it was ordered printed and sufficient copies were made to supply all the local meetings in the quarters. The quarterly meeting sometimes appointed a committee to take the London epistle to the local meetings and there participate in its consideration.

## WITH TRAVELING MINISTERS

The yearly meeting epistle may be considered an official instrument for the expression and promotion of love and unity throughout the Society, but the numerous traveling ministers who made their way from meeting to meeting throughout the Society were more in evidence as a great force unifying and vitalizing the Society. Rufus Jones puts them in proper perspective in the World Society of Friends:

One of the most unique features of Quakerism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was its spontaneous and unorganized itinerant ministry . . .

For more than a hundred years a continuous stream of traveling Ministers went forth from one end of the Society to the other, formulating the message of the Society, shaping its ideals, propagating its spirit, awakening the youth, maintaining the unity of the loosely formed body, perfecting the organization, convincing new persons to join in membership . . .

These itinerant ministers were without question the makers and builders of the Society of Friends of the period now under review. . . . What they called "the Truth," which was their lofty phrase for Quakerism and its spiritual ideals, absorbed them body and soul as a patriot in the stress of his country's need is absorbed in preserving and promoting the national life . . .

They believed with implicit faith that the God of all the universe, whose command, "Let there be" had made the world, was whispering His majestic will in their inner ear and making them His royal messengers for the announcement of His purposes.<sup>1</sup>

This swarming of messengers of Truth reached Spring in the infancy of the meeting, by 1761 if not earlier. Between the visit of Daniel Stanton and the outbreak of the American Civil War this dauntless breed of ministers, both men and women, came to Spring Meeting at irregular intervals. They came from England, Ireland and all the American yearly meetings and from the local meetings within the yearly meeting of North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee. Their ministry has been called "the life blood of the Society." Without it many of the meetings would have died out. Even Spring might not have survived. A survey reveals that between the setting up of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting and the Great Separation of 1828, a period of seventy-seven years, no less than 127 Friends traveling in the ministry visited monthly meetings in Western Quarterly Meeting. It seems certain that a more careful survey would reveal a larger number. The number given includes the traveling companions who were appointed to accompany the ministers who had the concern to make the journey.

Of the 127, seventy-nine were men and forty-eight were women, who braved the same hardships and physical dangers as the men to reach the back country meetings. By present-day standards this percentage of women is very high. Fifteen of these visitors were from England, one from Ireland, eight from New England, six from New York, three from New Jersey, twenty-four from Pennsylvania, three from Maryland, eight from Virginia, twenty-one from other meetings in North Carolina, one from South Carolina, six from Tennessee, eight from Indiana, and seventeen from Ohio. From the journals of the few who bothered to leave accounts of their travels, we are led to believe that most of the 127 visited Spring Friends, and many of them stayed to visit the families in the meeting. Of course the number of visiting ministers must have greatly exceeded 127 for these included only those who attended sessions of the monthly meeting.

Rufus Jones believed that,

One result of this extensive itinerary was the eventual prevalence of a single type of Quakerism throughout the far-sundered communities that composed the Society. It was as though a common pollen fertilized every spiritual power in the Society garden.<sup>2</sup>

This is enough to indicate that the members of Spring Meeting were certainly in the World Society of Friends and must have realized it. Through the traveling ministers they had a chance to know the Truth as it was known throughout the World Society.

The role of the members of the local meeting was not that of recipients alone: they took care of the visitors no matter how many, or what the duration of their stay in their midst. Hospitality was a part of the life of Friends and was taken for granted. In addition local Friends saw to it that the traveling ministers had companions and guides to assist them in surmounting the hardships of travel. Joseph Oxley's journal gives a glimpse of their travel in the middle of winter and the way a member of Spring Meeting assisted this itinerant minister on his rugged journey.

Joseph Oxley was in the area of New Garden and Cane Creek Monthly Meetings for fifteen days. He tells of visiting Eno, Centre, New Garden and "Mordecai" (Springfield) meetings. Four meetings in fifteen days represents a slower pace than generally indicated in his journal. This, and the fact that William Lindley, a member of Spring Meeting, went with him to South Carolina as one of the guides, lends some support to the belief that he visited Spring. Oxley's journal gives a picture of how the intrepid Quaker party met the difficulties of the long journey from one Friends meeting to another. The accommodations along the colonial road for men and horses must attract attention today. This part of the story begins at Pee Dee Meeting on Little Pee Dee River



in South Carolina, just south of Laurinburg, North Carolina, on January 10, 1771:

Fifth-day we had a meeting at Pedee, but few Friends, and many other professors; they were quiet and it was a time graciously owned by the Master, to his praise and our comfort. Sixth-day crossed the Pedee river in a ferry-boat, and rode twenty miles and having provision in our bags for ourselves and also for our horses, sat down in the wilderness, and after a stay of about three quarters of hour, and getting well refreshed, we mounted again and rode til after sunset. We then encamped for the night in the woods; our two guides were very assiduous with my companion in forming a camp or cover for us to lie under, which we made of young firs or pine trees; we also made a good fire, having wood in abundance, and near a good run of water. We put shakles on our horses, and bells about their necks, lest they should stray from us; raked up what leaves we could get and carried into the camp to lie on, which with the help of our saddles, bags, great-coats, &c, made a good bed, and after feeding our horses and getting our suppers, went to rest very contentedly. . . . Seventh-day morning, after a composed night, got on horseback about seven o'clock, supposing ourselves to be in South Carolina; we traveled this day about thirty-five miles to a place called Wateree. First-day the 13th, had a meeting with the few Friends there, about seventy miles distant from any other meeting of Friends. I think it a great favor from the Lord of mercies, to remember those few of his poor servants in this lonely wilderness, who through their worldly desires, have scattered and separated themselves from their brethren, to their loss both temporally and spiritually.<sup>3</sup>

The 29th we returned to Pedee; it rained all day, and all the next night; the waters rose to a great height, which prevented our travelling for several days; . . . Our dear friends, Jeremiah Picket and William Lindley, who had been with us several weeks, left us at this place, and returned home; we parted in tears, but rejoicing in the love of God, and in unity and fellowship of the brotherhood.<sup>4</sup>

The two guides, sometimes called "pilots," were both members of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting but William Lindley was a member of Spring Particular Meeting. He was a son of Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley. They had given four weeks of their time and had ridden several hundred miles to enable one minister and his companion to fulfill their mission to back country meetings which might not have been very different from Spring Meeting. From Oxley's account it appears quite evident that these two guides assumed much of the responsibility for the work necessary to facilitate the ministry of these traveling Friends. They did it in the same spirit which Oxley's ministry was given. (A few years later William Lindley was named clerk of Western Quarterly Meeting.) These four men on horseback were braving the hazards of winter travel to bring their pastoral and vocal ministry to little groups of Friends



scattered over the Piedmont areas of the South.

The parting with the guides was a touching scene: "Dear friends . . . in tears," but rejoiced "In the love of God, and in the unity of fellowship of the brotherhood," which may be taken as symbolic of the bonds of love and unity in the whole Society of Friends, and William Lindley was showing that Spring Friends had a role in it.

## *The "State of the Meeting"*

An evaluation of the spiritual condition of a Friends Meeting — even an annual report to a superior meeting — is never an easy exercise. When it involves a search through meager records scattered across more than two centuries of history, the conclusions become much more vague and uncertain. Even though there is not enough information for a clear picture of the strength and character of this body of Friends, it may be of some value to give information which will reveal as much as possible of the life of the people and the spiritual state of their meeting.

### THE PEOPLE WHO SETTLED "AT THE SPRING"

A satisfactory answer to the question, what sort of people founded the Spring community and meeting cannot be given in full. But some indications of their character and social status are available. It is known that they were from some of the leading families of the Pennsylvania meetings which some of them had helped establish, in what Pennsylvania Friends must have considered one of their first frontiers. The children and grandchildren of Simon and Ruth Miller Kearns Hadley, and of James and Eleanor Parke Lindley, may give the best available clues to the cultural level of the early settlers of the lower part of the Cane Creek Valley. In worldly goods these two families ranked among the "well to do" in their Pennsylvania community. One of them owned as much as a thousand acres of land. Albert Cook Myers says, "James Lindley had the most considerable estate of any of them."<sup>1</sup> The inventory of his estate gives items of furnishings, utensils, tools, implements and a large number of livestock which indicates a high standard of living for that day. It is easy to see that his farm operations were extensive and sufficiently varied to approach self-sufficiency. A letter from one of his close relatives tells that the annual wheat production on his farm was as much as 800 bushels.<sup>2</sup> Simon Hadley ranked with his friend James Lindley in economic and social standing. The two revealed their interest in Quakerism by being among the few members to subscribe for copies

of Sewell's *History of Quakerism* a year before its publication, in an expensive English edition.

The Carter, Harvey, Hollingsworth, Maris, Newlin and Pyle families were all prominent in their meetings in Chester County, Pennsylvania. John Woody, who went from Massachusetts to Maryland, as it now appears may have been a member of the Society of Friends in these provinces and must have belonged to the social and economic class from which the other early settlers came. The same must be said of the Braxtons, Laughlins, and McPhersons who were not members of the Society of Friends.

Spring Meeting's course during the first few decades of its history was marked by rough places, some of them critical. Wars, emigration and indifference left their marks. The journals of some of the itinerant ministers who visited Friends in this meeting would lead us to believe that many of the Friends had deviated from the line of spiritual integrity which had been left by the pioneer Quakers. It must be remembered that a major purpose of the visiting minister on his visit within the limits of any meeting was to detect and denounce any spiritual weaknesses which he might find. He went into a meeting with a trained eye and a sharp tongue. This approach was taken by many of the ministers in support of a reform movement evident in the Society at that time. The strength and commendable aspects of society must have been taken for granted as they were not often mentioned in their writings.

There is some evidence, however, that the meeting had hardly passed its first decade when a serious decline in the life of the meeting threatened its very existence. The time, cause and duration of this crisis have not been determined.

### TRADITION PRESERVES A CRISIS

The most treasured tradition in the history of Spring Meeting is the story of how the meeting was brought back to life from a dormant state by John Carter, a young man with a definite religious bent. The legend has been found, with obvious variations, in four different sources: in the folklore of the community; in an article written more than sixty years ago by a descendant of John Carter; in the journal of Thomas Scattergood who heard it and recorded it in 1796; and in the memoirs of Stephen Grellet who was at Spring in 1800.

The study of this story should begin with the knowledge that efforts to identify the four or five John Carters who were contemporary members of the Society of Friends in the Cane Creek Valley has been a nightmare to some of the members of the Carter family who have tried

to trace their ancestry through the records of Cane Creek, Spring and neighboring monthly meetings, where they were members.

This is the tradition as written by a descendant of the John Carter who is at the heart of the story:

John Carter, the elder, was a quick tempered and resolute man. Conditions in Pennsylvania were so unsatisfactory to him that he with his wife and three children mounted on horse(back), crossed the "wilds of Virginia" and came into the heart of North Carolina, where there were few white settlers. They made them a home in what is now Alamance County. Before this time some Friends had formed there a community of sufficient size to establish a meeting and build a meeting house. This had been abandoned for some time.<sup>3</sup>

The new-comer, fresh from centers of large activity, and with some sense of responsibility for the coming age, grew so deeply concerned that they (he) began to go to the meeting house regularly for worship. As he worshipped alone two of his neighbors went quietly one day to watch him through a crack in the wall. Soon John arose and began to preach and praise God. So deeply affected were the neighbors that they went in and the three had a "glorious meeting." From this "sprung up" a Friends' Meeting in Alamance.<sup>4</sup>

In some respects this interpretation of the legend seems to fit the John Carter who married Ann Whipps who settled at Spring in 1762. Yet from the story as given by two visiting ministers, this is not the John Carter who brought the meeting back to life, though the time of the arrival of this John must have been about the same time or soon after John and Ann Whipps Carter arrived. The reason given for migration from Pennsylvania indicates a restlessness which was one factor in the great migration to the Piedmont of North Carolina. There is no doubt that there were Quakers among those thus affected. Some of those who first crossed "the wilds of Virginia" went by way of Hopewell (near Winchester) south to the James River and then from there crossed an area not yet occupied by settlers to the Great Trading Path (to the east of Danville, Virginia).

The story as given by Stephen Grellet, in 1800, came to him second-hand, and possibly third:

The third of Third month (1800) we came into the upper part of Carolina to Spring Meeting to our valuable Friend Zachariah Dicks . . .<sup>5</sup>

We had a refreshing meeting at Spring; it was a large one. The following circumstance was related to me by John Carter a near relative of the Friend who had been an instrument in raising up that meeting from a decayed state, and on that account had called it Spring meeting. A number of years ago, it had become reduced, through unfaithfulness of some of its members, and the death of others. A young man of the name of Carter became



religiously inclined, so as to feel disposed to open the meeting house, and to repair there, though alone, on meeting days. He had continued to do so, for some time, when, one day, a great exercise came upon him, to stand up and audibly proclaim what he then felt to be on his mind, of the love of God, through Jesus Christ, toward poor sinful man. It was the great trial of his faith, for there was nothing but empty benches before him. He yielded, however to the apprehended duty, when, shortly after having again taken his seat, several young men came into the house, in a serious manner and sat down in silence by him, some of them evincing brokenness of heart. After the meeting closed, he found that these young men, his former associates, wondering what could induce him thus to come alone to that house, had come softly to look through the cracks of the door at what he was doing, when they were so reached by what he loudly declared, that they came in. Some of them continued to meet with him and became valuable Friends. The meeting increased by degrees to the size it now is. Thus the Lord was pleased to make the faithfulness of one a blessing to many.<sup>6</sup>

In this account Stephen Grellet fails to identify either of the Carters other than to say that one was John Carter. He also fails to tell which of the number by that name had resurrected the meeting.

Of the various interpretations of the John Carter tradition the one given by Thomas Scattergood, four years before Grellet was at Spring, seems the most credible. The account was given him by the John Carter who was at the center of the story. Scattergood was in the area of Cane Creek Meeting from March 10th to the 15th 1796, probably thirty or forty years after the incident which he relates.

15th, . . . After a good opportunity in the family, we sat [sic] off before sun up, and rode to Spring meeting. As our friend John Carter and I rode together, he informed me, that in his younger years, being visited by the day spring from on high he sought much to find a place to rest his soul, and joined the Baptists. After a time he grew dissatisfied with their mode of worship, not feeling that peace which he was in pursuit of; and one day after seeking the Lord with great earnestness, and begging him to show him whether that was the people he must join himself to, he went to their meeting with a determination that if he felt an evidence of the owning of the love of God to attend his mind he would submit to go into the water to be baptized, or anything for peace sake; but on that day the preacher held forth such doctrine to the people, that it turned him away from them, in his mind, and led him more and more into a lonely seeking state. At this time, the little company of Friends in the neighborhood had grown weak to neglect their meeting, and had given consent for the baptists to hold meetings in their meetinghouse. For some time his mind was impressed with apprehension, that it was required of him to go and sit down by himself in the meeting-house; but he put it off, being ashamed. At length he went by a private way and sat down alone and was greatly refreshed; but he could not do it privately long, feeling a necessity to travel the road



openly, for his friends and neighbors used to wonder where he went in private. One day in going to meeting he met with one of them, who asked him where he was going, and he told him honestly, "I am going to Meeting;" "Strange," sayst the other, "what will you go there for?" He left him however by the way and had peace in meeting. Next time he went seven of his neighbors on hearing of his going, joined him and in process of time he was united to the Society of Friends: zeal and religion revived among them, and there is now a large meeting called Spring meeting, which we are at today; and this Friend is a valuable minister among them. We had a favored meeting.<sup>7</sup>

The fact that this account was given in 1792 to Thomas Scattergood by the John Carter who played the leading role in the drama of that critical period of the history of the meeting gives this version greater credibility than that commanded by the others. In addition it reveals the intimate feelings, thought, and details connected with his actions, which only *the* John Carter could give.

Stephen Grellet, the first of the strong Quaker evangelical "Trumpets of the Lord" to sound off in the Carolinas found in this epic drama a cardinal message to all the Society Friends:

Thus the Lord was pleased to make the faithfulness of one a blessing to many.

Two points which are common to all of these accounts are: The meeting had been allowed, by the members, to become dormant; the response of a young man to stirrings in his soul was instrumental in bringing it back to life. John Carter had a soul-searching experience which seems to have been characteristic of early Quaker leaders, and he displayed a timidity often felt by seekers who were trying to find their way in the realm of the Spirit.

## RIVALRY WITH THE BAPTISTS

Thomas Scattergood's account is the only one of the four that tells that the Baptists moved into the vacuum left by the unfaithfulness of the Quakers "at the Spring." There is another reference to Baptist penetration of this community in the early years of the history of the settlement. On January 6, 1766, John Griffith was at a meeting in Spring Meeting House. He was from Chelmsford, England, the ancestral home of John Newlin, who, in the previous year, occupied a tract of land in the vicinity of Spring and began his preparation to bring his family to this new community. One unusual feature of John Griffith's ministry at Spring is that he made no caustic criticism of the life of Spring Friends.

The most striking feature of his account of his visit at Spring is the story of his confrontation with Baptists in this new community:

On second day we went to Spring meeting. I was led therein to speak largely on the subject of water baptism, which I wondered much at, not knowing of any being there who did not profess with us; for as people in general in those parts clothe in a mean way, the difference is not great in their dress and appearance. After meeting I understood that the Baptists gained ground much that way and even had prevailed on some of our Society to join with them, and that their teacher was there; and also a woman brought up amongst us, who thought it was her duty to be baptized, but her husband opposed it; and that the Baptist preacher took her and her husband into the meeting-house, when the people were gone, to undo, as it was supposed, that day's work, or to prevent its having effect upon the woman; it was a time of great favor, and the one saving baptism was exalted above all types, signs and shadows.<sup>8</sup>

These two accounts by Thomas Scattergood and John Griffith are certainly flashes of history bursting through the shadows that conceal most of the life of Friends at Spring during that period. They are the only bits of evidence yet found of rivalry in the eighteenth century with any other religious bodies. From Griffith's account it may be inferred that the rivalry was spirited to say the least. A study of the history of the Baptists in the general area at that time shows that the discovery of this rivalry should not be surprising.

Sandy Creek Baptist Church, a few miles west of Liberty, North Carolina, and approximately twenty miles west of Spring, was founded in 1755, less than a decade after the first Quakers reached the Cane Creek Valley. Within a few years the membership of this church is said to have reached six hundred. Two years later Rocky River Baptist Church was established, just north of Siler City and about fifteen miles from Spring. The phenomenal growth of the Baptists during the years immediately following 1755 ties in with Griffith's assertion "that the Baptists gained ground much in that way, and even had prevailed on some of our society to join them," and with John Carter's startling revelation that the Baptists were using Spring Meeting House. They may help fix one reason for and the approximate time of the threatened extinction of Spring Meeting.

In John Griffith's mind there was no doubt about the outcome of this confrontation. He was definitely sure that the Lord was on his side. And he was equally certain that the baptism of the Spirit, as proclaimed by the Quakers, had won out over "all types, signs and shadows" that the intruder could offer in the name of baptism. The woman was saved from defection.

In giving the reason why he did not detect the Baptist minister in the

meeting, Griffith gives evidence of the deviation of Spring Friends from the Quaker standard of dress: "For as many people in general in those parts clothe in a mean way the difference is not great in their dress and appearance." This was during the period of Quietism in Quaker history and the deviation from the plain dress was considered a major break in Quaker life. By many it was considered evidence of a low spiritual level in the individual. Disowning members for this deviation is recorded in the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting.

### AS SEEN BY VISITORS

In the decade following the Revolutionary War at least two noted Friends ministers visited Friends in Spring Meeting. Each of them wrote into his journal observations which give glimpses of the life of the meeting in this critical period, and sharp criticism of the meeting stands out in their observations. This should not be thought of as a misrepresentation of conditions in the meeting but as pointing up some of the weaknesses while ignoring the elements of strength found in the membership. To understand the ministry of these visiting Friends, it must be remembered that their appearance was about the middle of the long period in which "quietism" was dominant in the Society of Friends. In this period the major emphases of the Society were, the spiritual perfection of the individuals and their protection from influences of the surrounding public. Many of the traveling ministers were always alert to these conditions in the state of the meeting, which they would point out with words of "close" counsel. While ignoring the elements of strength they might mention a "little remnant" of men and women, faithful to Truth, as the hope of the meeting.

On May 19, 1784, Elisha Kirk began a journey which took him through Virginia and to meetings in North Carolina. Near the end of the month he was in Orange County, North Carolina. After visiting Eno Meeting he went to the home of William Lindley of Spring Meeting.<sup>9</sup> In his journal he gives one brief reference to Spring: "We attended Spring Meeting, which was large . . . some were worshipping too much their idols of silver and gold."<sup>10</sup> These two observations call for attention. It was a large meeting. This could have been referring to the gathering which he attended and not necessarily to the membership of Spring Particular Meeting, though it seems quite likely that it too was large at that time.

That "some were worshipping too much their idols of silver and gold" could be rather perplexing. That there was this element in the meeting is not surprising, but as to their numerical strength and the

nature of their "idols" the reader is left in the dark. Traveling ministers in Pennsylvania, and later in the Middle West, found some Friends in the meetings visited more eager to talk about material things, worldly matters, than about matters of the Spirit. One of the favorite subjects in all these areas was "land." It was of interest to more people than any other material interest. Land was a major reason for migrations and even after the frontier had moved on, people continued to be on the lookout for more and better land. Some of the members of Spring Meeting, in the eighteenth century and later, engaged in land speculation on a minor scale. Jonathan Lindley was the first of these known to have engaged in buying and selling land on a rather extensive scale. Later his nephew John Newlin may have surpassed him in this enterprise. Though the visit of Elisha Kirk was in the midst of the first great national depression it seems quite likely that land was one of the major idols to which he referred.

On July 25, 1789, Job Scott, a noted New England minister, was at Spring Meeting. The tone of the account of his experience at Spring is discouraging, especially on the first reading of the first of the two paragraphs quoted below:

On the seventh day at Spring Meeting. This was a painful experience, under a sense of backsliding in too many; but truth at last reigned over all, to the melting of many hearts. Oh! the wonderful kindness and condescension of Israel's gracious God, to a too unwilling and gainsaying people! May it move them to diligence, and through submission before the things belonging to their peace be hid from their eyes.<sup>11</sup>

Here the painful aspects of the membership of the meeting, too many backsliders and a "too unwilling and gainsaying people" are matched by a tender quality as shown in their response to Job Scott's ministry; "but truth reigned over all, to the melting of many hearts." This may indicate a ready response to the Christian ministry which came to them at intervals in the back country.

To Job Scott, John Carter, his friend of long standing, was a shining light in the membership of Spring Meeting.

Here we had the agreeable company of our dear friend John Carter, who was divers years past, in our country (New England) on a religious visit in company with Zachariah Dicks. He seemed now to me like one, in good degree, grown up in the authority and dignity of truth, meek, humble and valiant for the precious cause. My spirit was strengthened in his company. He exercised a dear unity with our exercise and labor among them. He also went with us to the meeting next day at Cane Creek.<sup>12</sup>

This tribute portrays John Carter as a saintly individual with great spiritual power. His influence on Job Scott and his companion and the



manner in which he supported their ministry among the members of Spring Meeting would tell us that his life in Spring Meeting must have borne fruit. There must have been a sizeable group who lived with him "in the authority and dignity of truth" and gave Spring Meeting the qualities, which added to the similar qualities in the other particular meetings, convinced the quarterly meeting four years later that they were competent to hold monthly meetings. Between 1773 and 1793 the minutes of the quarterly meeting show members of the Spring Preparative Meeting rendering important service to that body.

In 1800, eleven years after the visit of Job Scott, Stephen Grellet, the able French-born Friends minister, recorded in his Memoirs:

The 3rd of Third month we came into the upper parts of Carolina, to the Spring Meeting, to our valuable friend Zachariah Dicks's, who, years before, had paid a religious visit to England. He continued green in old age.<sup>13</sup>

At that time Zachariah Dicks was the most widely known and influential member of Spring Particular Meeting. Stephen Grellet devoted only a few sentences in his Memoirs to an evaluation of Spring Meeting. One of them: "We had a refreshing meeting at Spring; it was a large one."

Before 1800 a few members of Spring Meeting had moved to the eastern part of Tennessee but the great migration to the Northwest Territory had not yet begun to draw Friends from this section of North Carolina. That the membership of Spring Meeting was at this time the largest in its history does not seem a reckless conclusion. In this period they must have built a large meeting house which would be used during the long period of diminishing membership and until a few years after the Civil War.

Growth is not the only criterion that may be used to interpret the state of the meeting. For a number of years after the establishment of Spring Monthly Meeting the available records of the meeting are sprinkled with reports of violations of the accepted moral standards and of the disciplinary order of Friends. In efforts to protect the Society by preventing its lambs from jumping the protective fence, the Monthly Meeting disowned many of its members for marrying outside Quaker ranks, and for violating other marriage regulations. In this period there were many disownments because of children born out of wedlock, for drinking to excess (in one Minute it was called "drinking unnecessarily"), for fighting and for other violations of the social order of the day. Such aberrations seemed epidemic over the Society of Friends and in other denominations at that time.

Visiting ministers continued to include Spring Monthly Meeting in their circuits of the meetings in the South. Joseph John Gurney, one of



the most influential Quaker leaders in the whole history of the Society spent eight weeks in North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1837. In going from Guilford County to Eastern North Carolina he spent one night "in Thomas Thompson's Eno." His report on Eno Friends was rather favorable, for that period in their history, "The Meeting at Eno was satisfactory, and our intercourse with our friends there, was, I trust of some advantage to them."<sup>14</sup>

## EDUCATION

The interest of Friends in the education of their children has a bearing upon the "state of society," at the time, but much of this segment of the history of the meeting is hidden from view by the lack of information on the subject.

In 1803 Western Quarterly Meeting, under the direction of the yearly meeting, appointed a committee which urged every "Monthly and Preparative Meeting to provide house . . . and suitable and well qualified men and women as Teachers to bring about a reformation in school deficiencies."<sup>15</sup> Since four members of the committee were from four local meetings in Spring Monthly Meeting — Jonathan Lindley from Spring Particular Meeting, James Newlin from Chatham, Thomas Lindley, Jr., from South Fork and Robert McCracken from Eno Meeting — this particular deficiency must have been stressed in each one of the subordinate meetings of Spring Monthly Meeting. There is reason for believing that Friends in all these meetings were eager to provide better facilities for the education of their children.

Most of the Quaker communities resorted to what came to be known as "subscription schools," sometimes referred to as the "Old Field Schools." In these schools a teacher would canvass the community for pupils for a school. A tuition fee was charged for each pupil. The school was often held in the Friends meeting house for a term of a few weeks or a few months at the most. It is assumed that this type of school was found in the Spring community in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The first specific reference to a school in the Spring community is found in Sallie Stockard's *History of Alamance County* published in 1900: "About 1818 Miss Mary Mendenhall taught on the Pittsboro Road, a mile south of Mairies Creek."<sup>16</sup> At that time the road to Pittsboro, now known as NC Highway 87, was in existence but an older road to Pittsboro was still in use. It extended from Mary's Creek past the home of Sallie Stockard and on by Spring Meeting House to the ford at Lindley's Mill. If the school had been on this road it must have been near the

Stockard home; or it could have been near or at Spring Meeting House. If it had been on the new road to Pittsboro it would have been within a mile of the Spring Meeting House. Mary Mendenhall was a Quaker, a member of Deep River Monthly Meeting. The minutes of Deep River and Spring Monthly Meetings show that her membership was transferred from Deep River to Spring in 1818 and returned in 1820. It may be assumed that she was teaching in the Spring community during her two-year sojourn within the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting. This is all that we know of the Quaker teacher and of her school on the Pittsboro road.

Stockard's history of Alamance County gives another gem in the history of schools within the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting:

Wesley Yeargin taught at Spring Meeting House eighty years ago (Stockard's book was published in 1900). His salary was thirty dollars per month and board. Among his thirty students was Nathaniel Woody. The teacher treated Christmas on whiskey.<sup>17</sup>

Yeargin evidently began teaching at Spring in 1820, immediately after Mary Mendenhall went back to Deep River. In that year Nathaniel Woody was six years old. How long he taught there is not known. It was common practice among Friends to allow their meeting houses to be used for schools, but passing the bottle or jug at Christmas time must have been a rare experience in a Quaker meeting house.

On the "28th 3rd mo 1835," Spring Monthly Meeting decided that there should be a "first-day school at each particular meeting under the direction of the Monthly Meeting." It appointed a large committee to establish the schools. Two months later the committee reported "that they have one in each meeting house." It is not known if these schools were for Biblical instruction or for general education of the children.

A survey of the membership of the meeting in 1849 shows that fourteen members between the ages of five and eighteen were receiving some school training. Also "there have been five schools taught to which Friends children have gone." In 1866 there was one school in each of the following communities: Spring, South Fork and Chatham. Spring and South Fork received aid from the Baltimore Association and it is possible that the Chatham school received aid from that source.

In 1868 Joseph Moore, of the Baltimore Association, reported that there was one school in the Spring community. For the year 1879-1880 there was one school there with forty pupils enrolled. In 1881 Samuel Woody was the teacher. Though these references to schools in the Spring community between 1880 and 1889 are few and intermittent, it may not be too much to assume that schools were available regularly in that community during the nineteenth century.

Emigration from Spring to the Middle West between 1800 and 1860 was in a very strong and rather continuous stream. Whatever school training these emigrants had was received in the years before the departure. The leadership which they gave to the developing meetings and schools in the Middle West leads to the belief that their educational training at Spring had been adequate for that day.

# *Spring Friends in the Great Migration*

## THE BEGINNING

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Spring Monthly Meeting reached a turning point in its history. Until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the surrounding country had grown rapidly in population, due to immigration and to the high birth rate, characteristic of families in that day. Spring Friends were definitely rural, and large families contributed to the growth of the membership of their monthly meeting. Soon after 1800 members of the local meetings in Spring Monthly Meeting began moving out on the rising tide of emigration to the Northwest Territory. Before many years this developed into a serious drain on the membership in general, and particularly on the leadership of the meeting. "Going out west" seems to have been in the mind of almost everyone.

## REASONS FOR EMIGRATING

The story of the exodus of Quakers from North Carolina in the first half of the nineteenth century has never been told in full, and probably cannot be. It had tremendous influence on all Quaker meetings in the Southeast and on the development of all yearly meetings west of the Appalachians. It siphoned off enough Quakers from South Carolina and Georgia to wipe out all of the meetings in those two states. It had the same effect on some of the meetings in North Carolina and it is possible that no meeting in that yearly meeting escaped without suffering severe losses. While North Carolina Yearly Meeting eventually recovered its strength in membership, Spring Meeting never did.

The blight of slavery in the South and the guarantee by national law that it would never be allowed in the Northwest Territory, were without doubt reasons that a host of Quakers in North Carolina Yearly Meeting moved "out west." Another very important reason was the lure of the fertile western land compared to areas bordering on economic stagna-

tion in much of North Carolina. If an accurate poll could have been taken this would probably have surpassed slavery as the principal reason for this great Quaker migration. Occasionally history reveals unhealthy conditions, especially in the coastal areas, as one of the causes of migration.

As soon as families were established in their new homes in the Northwest, family ties and neighborly connections kept up a continuous pull on relatives and friends "back home" to make the break for a new start in the West. Caravans of relatives and friends, all infected with Western fever, "kept moving out from the area" of Spring Monthly Meeting during the years from 1800 through the 1850s. The records of some of the meetings in the Middle West show that intermittent arrivals from Spring Meeting augmented their membership over a period of time.

Throughout their history a large percentage of the American people are seen as migratory people. In the great migrations, they appeared to have had a bent for chasing the moving frontier. Quakers were not immune to this virus. One of the early settlers in the Spring community was born in Pennsylvania, and after moving into new settlements at least four times, died in Illinois. Another of the first settlers in the Cane Creek Valley is known to have moved eight times between his birthplace in Pennsylvania and his grave in Indiana. The militia law of North Carolina in 1830 required conscientious objectors to pay a special tax in place of military service. This is said to be one of the reasons some Friends left North Carolina for the Middle West.

"Emigration" or "Exodus" are almost fatal terms in the history of Spring Meeting; the siphoning off of its members by the emigrant wagon trains, through the sixty years preceeding the Civil War, was the most severe blow that Spring Meeting ever experienced. Around 1800 the meeting had been at its greatest numerical strength. During the succeeding decades emigration developed into what must have seemed a never-ending process. By 1861, the time of the outbreak of the Civil War, the membership of the meeting had been eroded away almost to the point of extinction. An evaluation of the effects of the emigration on Spring Meeting is difficult to make but it is one of the most important developments in the history of the meeting.

A complete history of the stream of Friends leaving Spring Monthly Meeting for new homes in the Middle West would fill a sizable book. It is quite obvious that this treatise will not provide the complete story. The principal source of information about this migration has to be the minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting and the minutes of meetings in Ohio and Indiana to which these Friends went. The minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting of Men Friends are tantalizingly incomplete and in-



efinite. For two decades of the period there are no minutes of the Men's Monthly Meeting, and often completeness is sacrificed to brevity in the minutes which are available. For information about Friends from Spring who removed to meetings in Indiana, the six volumes of Willard Leiss's *Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana* have been a valuable source.

In most instances the minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting which are available fail to give the names or the number of children covered by the certificate for the family. Between 1805 and 1855 Spring Monthly Meeting granted at least 136 certificates to members of that meeting to go "out west." We do not have the information which would give the approximate number of Friends who went west on these certificates but it could have been between 400 and 450. It is known that several, perhaps many members of Spring Monthly Meeting took to the emigrant road without bothering to ask the monthly meeting for certificates for the transfer of membership. During this period of migration Spring Monthly Meeting issued at least fifty certificates for members to transfer to neighboring meetings, mainly to Cane Creek, Marlborough and New Garden.

While these migrations and removals were taking place the monthly meeting disowned ninety-eight of its members, for various reasons. A few of those who were disowned were later restored to membership after acceptable apologies were received, and a few members were received from neighboring meetings, but these were not sufficiently numerous to make any appreciable change in the loss of membership.

A few years before the end of this period Eno Meeting was laid down by the quarterly meeting; one reason was emigration.

The total losses to Spring Monthly Meeting by migration, transfer to neighboring meetings, and by disownment must have been in excess of 600 members. Of course this loss was borne by the four constituent meetings and not by Spring Particular meeting alone.

As previously indicated Spring Monthly Meeting was established in 1793, at a time when that particular meeting was probably near its greatest numerical strength. This should not be surprising, in view of the fact that North Carolina Yearly Meeting was probably at the peak of its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century membership strength. Some evidence of the widespread vitality of the Society at that time, in this area of North Carolina, may be revealed by the minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting. In the year 1792 Western Quarterly Meeting set up a total of four meetings. This seems to be evidence of growth of Friends in that area.

Seven years later Stephen Grellet revealed in his journal something of the strength of Friends meetings in and near Spring as he saw them

on his journey through the Carolinas. At a meeting for worship at Rocky River he spoke to a "large concourse of people," and at Spring there was a "large meeting." Fifty years later a different story is revealed.

In 1854, a half century after Friends in Spring Meeting began moving to the Middle West, a delegation of Friends from Indiana Yearly Meeting to the yearly meeting in North Carolina stopped at Spring and held an appointed meeting there. "This was once a large flourishing meeting, but now reduced to almost nothing, many day(s) not more than 3 or 4 persons in attendance, and sometimes none."<sup>1</sup> For the second time Spring Meeting was facing extinction, and emigration was the main reason for it. The Indiana Friend was writing of Spring Particular Meeting and not about the Monthly Meeting, though migration and disownments had greatly depleted the membership of all of the constituent meetings of that monthly meeting. Eno had been laid down in 1847. In the late years of the 1850s there were only 260 Friends in Western Quarterly Meeting above the age of eighteen.<sup>2</sup> At that time there were four monthly meetings and at least eight particular meetings in the quarter.

Migration was a continuous drain upon the membership of Spring Monthly Meeting throughout the half century covered by the Great Migration. If the number of certificates could be reduced to an average for each year the result would be just short of three certificates per year. In only ten of the fifty years was the meeting free from granting requests for members leaving for the Middle West. In 1811 nine certificates were issued, in 1826 the number was sixteen, and in 1831 it was eighteen. In most cases whole families were included in the certificates. To Friends who remained at Spring the stream of emigrants leaving Spring for new homes in the West must have seemed a sad succession of departing friends and relatives.

A study of the names of the families in the flow of emigrants from Spring Monthly Meeting leads to the belief that the greatest number left South Fork, with Spring a close second. The Hadley, Lindley, Newlin and Woody families received approximately one half of the certificates issued by the monthly meeting, with the Harvey, Morrison and Thompson not far behind them. The Hadleys were predominately from South Fork, the Lindleys from Spring and South Fork, the Newlins were from Chatham, Spring and South Fork and the Woody families were from Spring. This migration took nearly all of the Carters, Harveys, Marises and Morrisons and two thirds of the Newlins from Spring Monthly Meeting.

Soon after Spring indulged meeting was established Friends from the area began pulling up stakes and moving to new Quaker communities then opening up in South Carolina and Georgia. Wrightsboro Meet-

ing, near Augusta, Georgia, was founded to a great extent by Friends from the Eno Meeting. The Friends who were at that time going out from Cane Creek Monthly Meeting may be thought of as continuing the migration which had set up the meetings in the Piedmont of North Carolina. In the 1780s several Friends from the Spring community joined the early migration to Tennessee. Some of these failed to get certificates from their monthly meeting. At that time Tennessee was still a part of North Carolina. In 1806 Spring Monthly Meeting issued the first certificates for some of its members to go to Miami Monthly Meeting in southwestern Ohio. These broke the way for Friends in Spring Meeting to make their way to the Northwest Territory, after the state of Ohio had been established.

### TO OHIO

One strange phenomenon in the emigration of Friends from Spring Monthly Meeting to the Middle West is that southwestern Ohio failed to attract many of them. While several hundred Friends from South Carolina and Georgia flocked to that area only seven certificates for Friends from Spring Monthly Meeting went to meetings in that part of Ohio. These certificates were issued between 1806 and 1812.

Three of the certificates went to Miami Monthly Meeting. The first, for Robert Andrew, was received December 11, 1806. A certificate for John Newlin, son of Eli and Sarah Hadley Newlin, was received by Miami on November 12, 1807. Strictly speaking this certificate does not belong in this category. John Newlin was a birthright member of Spring Meeting, but he had removed to Rocky River Meeting and his certificate was issued by Cane Creek Monthly Meeting on October 4, 1806. He was one of the first to leave the Cane Creek area for the Middle West. The third certificate, for Samuel Andrew, was received by Miami Monthly Meeting on February 2, 1811.

On October 3, 1807, a certificate was received by Center Monthly Meeting, Ohio, for John Holliday, from Spring Meeting. A certificate for George Carter, his wife Miriam, and their children Jesse, John and Samuel was received by that meeting on December 7, 1811, and on July 2, 1814, one was received for Nathaniel Carter, his wife Nancy and their children Jane, John B., Susannah, Enoch and Ann. The seventh certificate was issued by Spring Monthly Meeting to West Branch Monthly Meeting for William Lindley on August 27, 1808. It was received by West Branch on September 23, 1809.

The three meetings to which these seven certificates were issued are in the southwestern part of Ohio. Center and West Branch Meetings began

as subordinate meetings of Miami Monthly Meeting. They were set off from Miami as monthly meetings in January and February 1807.

## TO INDIANA

Enough information has been gleaned from family accounts, from a commemorative history of Western Yearly Meeting, from the records of Spring Monthly Meeting, and other yearly meetings in the Middle West to show that the emigrants from Spring Monthly Meeting fanned out from their first stopping places to numerous meetings in the Middle West. Meetings in Indiana received most of them. It may be said with a great deal of truth that Friends from Spring founded Lick Creek Meeting and Bloomfield Meeting (now Bloomingdale), two of the strong meetings of Indiana. These two must be given special attention.

## LICK CREEK MEETING

A brief biography of Jonathan Lindley, written in part from traditions gathered in Indiana, shows that this noted former member of Spring Meeting led a caravan of around 200 persons from the general area of Spring Meeting to Indiana. They started in April 1811. Their destination was an area of rich farmland on the Wabash River in the western part of Indiana, near the location of the present city of Terre Haute. Following a generally used pattern for prospective settlers on a frontier, Jonathan Lindley and Jesse Towell had scouted Indiana for a desirable place for a settlement; this was their choice and they had bought land there. Jonathan Lindley must have led the expedition over the Boone Trail, through the Cumberland Gap, and over the branch road to what is now Louisville, Kentucky. According to a Lindley tradition:

At the falls of the Ohio they camped for three weeks, waiting for the river to reach a low stage. Then they placed the heavy wagons on skids<sup>3</sup> and the animals swam to the opposite shore with the heavy loads.

Their route led past the Lick Creek area and no doubt they intended to make a rest stop there, for four Quaker families had begun a settlement there in the years from 1806 to 1808. Two of the families, that of Zacharias Lindley, son of Jonathan, and that of Joel Chambers, were from the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting. When the caravan reached Lick Creek the persuasion of these settlers and the stern warning of an impending Indian uprising along the Wabash caused the emigrants



from Spring to settle on Lick Creek.

According to one account, twenty-one wagons and approximately seventy-five Quakers stopped there. An exact tabulation of those who were from the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting may never be made, but a search of the minutes of that meeting and of Heiss' Abstracts of Whitewater Monthly Meeting, the only monthly meeting in Indiana at the time to receive membership certificates, together with information gathered from family records and a commemorative history of Western Yearly Meeting brings together the names of what could have been a large percentage of the seventy-five. The names are given here in spite of the fear that they will appear to some as just a hodgepodge of names. The long list of relatives certainly causes Jonathan Lindley to stand out as the patriarch of the group as well as the "Trail Boss" of the wagon train.

The first to be named should be Jonathan and Deborah Dicks Lindley and their unmarried children: William, Jonathan, Deborah, Mary, Queen Esther, Catharine and Sarah. Of their married children, Zacharias Lindley and his wife Thursey Mosier Lindley were already there. Jonathan's son Thomas and his wife Amey Thompson Lindley had eight children with them: Jacob, Samuel, Abraham, William, Mary, Emmy, Margery and Grace. Elenor Lindley Chambers and her husband Jonathan Chambers had at that time two children: Sarah and Deborah. Thomas and Hannah Lindley Braxton with their three children: Hiram, William and Margery. And last, the family of Joseph and Ruth Lindley Farlow and their children: Jonathan, Nathan and Deborah. These made a total of thirty-five.

There were other relatives in this emigrant train: among them the families of three of Jonathan Lindley's nephews, two sons of Thomas Lindley, Jr., and one son of Jonathan Lindley's sister Eleanor Lindley Maris — (1) Owen and Grace Chambers Lindley and their nine children: Thomas, Jonathan, William, Aaron, Sarah, Hannah, Mary, Elizabeth, and Amy; (2) William and Amy Chambers Lindley and their five children: David, James, Owen, William and Jonathan; (3) Thomas and Jane Holliday Maris and their four children: Sarah, Eleanor, Mary and Ann. The two Lindley nephews and their families had lived in the South Fork area. The certificates for the Maris family reached Whitewater Monthly Meeting November 20, 1811, on the same date as most of the other certificates, and it is assumed that they were in the Jonathan Lindley wagon train. Though their certificates were from Center Meeting to which they had transferred from Spring a few years before, it does not seem a severe blow to truth to include them among the emigrants from the Spring Meeting. On the same date Whitewater Monthly Meeting received certificates for Joshua and Catharine Holliday Hadley and their



six children: Abraham, Noah, William, Joseph, Mary, and Jane. These were distant cousins of Jonathan Lindley and were from the South Fork community. This brings the total of the close relatives from Spring Monthly Meeting to sixty-seven, all of them in the wagon train.

Among the many certificates received by Whitewater from Spring Monthly Meeting on October 26, 1811, were those for Thomas and Jane Lindley and their six children: Jacob, Samuel, Abraham, William, Mary and Deborah. Their relation to Jonathan, if any, has not been identified. Thomas Lindley III, grandson of Jonathan's brother Thomas, was disowned by Cane Creek Meeting in 1793. On August 8, 1796, Spring Monthly Meeting received Jane Lindley with her husband on a certificate from New Garden Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania. If these isolated pieces of information do not prove anything, they leave the suspicion that this couple was in the great wagon train which left for Indiana that year, and that this Thomas was a nephew of Jonathan Lindley.

This collection of information produces the strong probability that the thirty-five members of Jonathan Lindley's immediate family were joined by other relatives to raise the pioneer settlers of Lick Creek to seventy-five from Spring Meeting. This is the number which tradition finds in the group of Quakers who stopped at Lick Creek, but the admission must be made that no list of the settlers has been found. Some of those given above could have gone on to some other settlement in the Indiana Territory. Whatever the exact number, this shows that the meetings which made up Spring Monthly Meeting lost heavily in this one outpouring of emigrants.

When the Quakers from Spring arrived in the Lick Creek Valley, they lived in or out of their covered wagons until they completed their log cabins or other temporary shelters. The five unmarried daughters of Jonathan and Deborah Dicks Lindley, ranging in age from twenty-two to fifteen, are said to have cut and hewed the logs for the construction of their log house. This show of a type of women's liberation was in keeping with what is known of it in the life and work of women in the Cane Creek Valley of North Carolina, as demonstrated by the daughters of Hugh and Mary Evans Laughlin.

Jonathan Lindley's life in the developing country of the southern part of Indiana Territory (and State) was even more illustrious than it had been in North Carolina. The meetings for worship at Lick Creek were held in his home until a meeting house could be built. He gave the land on which the log meeting house was built. He took the lead in promoting interest in the education of Quaker children. He built the first mill on Lick Creek. As a surveyor and interested leader he planned the town of Paoli, the county seat of Orange County, Indiana. He contracted and built the first courthouse in the county. He was the land

agent for the county and the first judge in the area. The first sessions of a court were held in the home of his son, William Lindley. Jonathan's oldest son, Zacharias, was the first sheriff and treasurer of the county. Jonathan was on the Indiana committee which selected the land to be set aside for the support of education. He was on the first board of trustees of the state school which developed into the University of Indiana.<sup>4</sup> This is a clear exposition of the loss in leadership suffered by Spring Meeting from the emigration.

The minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting show that, in the two decades following the establishment of Lick Creek Monthly Meeting, thirty-nine certificates were granted for the removal of members of this meeting to Lick Creek. Most of these were for families. Failure to list the names of the children makes it impossible to give the exact loss of membership which was incurred by these transfers. The families covered by the thirty-nine certificates were Andrew, 3; Carter, 3; Chambers, 1; Cloud, 2; Gillam, 1; Glosson, 1; Hadley, 1; Holliday, 2; Jackson, 1; Lee, 1; Lindley, 2; Maris, 2; Morrison, 6; Newlin, 6; Pickard, 1; Pritchard, 2; and Towell, 4. These certificates were for friends of all four of the local meetings in the Spring Monthly Meeting: Eno, Chatham, Spring and South Fork. Counting an average of three persons for each certificate this migration took 117 members from Spring Monthly Meeting. By adding the seventy-five led by Jonathan Lindley the total rests at 192.

## TO BLOOMFIELD MEETING

The second focal point for emigrants from Spring Monthly Meeting was to what is known today as Bloomingdale Monthly Meeting, Parke County, about thirty-five miles north of Terre Haute, Indiana. It is more than a hundred miles north and slightly west of Lick Creek.

In 1826 a preparative meeting was set up there called Elevatis. Here, in the home of Adam and Sarah Hadley Siler (formerly of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, North Carolina), the first meetings for worship in Parke County were held. In 1827 the monthly meeting was set up, with the name changed to Bloomfield. More than fifty years later the name was changed again, to Bloomingdale. Though the minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting show that in 1826 more certificates were issued to its members to settle in this section of Parke County than were issued in 1811 for the Lick Creek settlement, not as much information has come to light about the Friends who went to Bloomfield.

Nathaniel Newlin, the youngest son of John and Mary Pyle Newlin and brother-in-law of Jonathan's sister Deborah Lindley Newlin, was the

central figure in the migration from Spring to this place in 1826. But it is not known if he organized or led a great wagon train of emigrants. Though no story of any wagon train has come to light, the number of Friends from local meetings in Spring Monthly Meeting who were making the arduous journey of 700 miles on early, unimproved nineteenth-century roads, leads to the belief that this must have been a cooperative venture.

No member of the emigrant group of 1826 is known to have wandered over Indiana for the purpose of prospecting for desirable locations for future settlement, but there are grounds for a strong suspicion that Nathaniel Newlin did just that in 1819, when he accompanied two women ministers of Spring Meeting on a tour of Ohio and Indiana Friends Meetings. This suspicion starts with a Minute of Spring Meeting for February 2, 1819:

And our dear Friend Nathaniel Newlin expressed a willingness to accompany our Friends Hannah Thompson and Mary Harvey through their religious visit to Ohio Yearly Meeting and Lick Creek Meeting and some families thereaway, with which this meeting unites, he being an elder in good standing.

With this statement Spring Meeting justified its boldness in allowing one of its men to accompany two women on a two-thousand mile horse-and-buggy journey, through wide areas of new country in various stages of development part of which, in southern Indiana, offered nothing but the woods for accommodations for the night. In strict compliance with the announced purpose of the journey Nathaniel attended more than sixty meetings and visited numerous families but it is difficult to imagine that he was able to keep his eyes and mind from surveying favorable places to which he might lead a future settlement. He visited a sister and other relatives in Lick Creek and a brother and other relatives in eastern Illinois, all of whom had gone from Spring Monthly Meeting. He also visited a friend near Terre Haute. Who could imagine that any of the persons whom he visited failed to give him glowing information about the land and other resources of this new country, all waiting to be developed? On this journey Nathaniel was within a few miles of his future home at Bloomfield if he did not actually go there. Nathaniel and Catharine Hadley Newlin had ten children and nine of them went to Bloomfield. Three of them were married and went with their families. The six unmarried children who went with their parents soon married in Indiana. All of their spouses were Quakers who had gone from North Carolina, which may be indicative of the numerical strength of Friends who had gone to Bloomfield from the meetings of that state. Nathaniel's unmarried children were Hannah, Duncan, Eleanor, James, Ruth and Eli. The families of the three married children were (1) John and Ruth

Woody Newlin, with their six children (at that time), Isaac, Zimri, Mahlon, James, Nathaniel, and Enoch (they ranged in age from seven to nine); (2) Mary Newlin and Enoch Morrison and two children, Eli and William (William was born on August 4, 1826, which made him a very young traveler); (3) Jacob and Sarah Woody Newlin and daughter Sina. The migration of this one family took twenty-three members from Spring Monthly Meeting at one time. Their certificates were all issued on August 26, 1826. On that date certificates issued for Enoch and Martha Lindley Thompson (in one source it is Martha Ray Thompson) and at least six children, and in addition Thomas Woody, a first cousin of Ruth and Sarah Woody Newlin. Thomas Woody and Eleanor Main were married on the date his certificate was issued. Their trip to Indiana must have been their honeymoon. This makes a total of thirty-one emigrants from Spring Monthly Meeting to Bloomfield at that time.

Life in a wagon train or on a frontier was seldom, if ever, easy; but friendly cooperation and mutual assistance were rules which governed the lives of these Quaker pioneers. The welfare of any one was the desire and aim of all. In some of the wagon trains of emigrants more than half of the travelers were children ranging in age from babies a few months old to teenagers. To many of the youngsters life on the emigrant road must have been a picnic most of the time. The weight of the work and responsibility was borne by the adults. Some of the emigrants were on horseback. Women and children who were not able to walk or ride comfortably on horseback were packed into the well-loaded wagons. Many of the travelers walked much of the time; some of them all of the time. Everyone who was able helped to push the wagons up the steep hills and embankments, and from the deep mud which they often encountered. Sometimes it was necessary to double-team wagons to get through or over difficult situations.

The *Rockville* (Indiana) *Tribune* paid tribute to the courage and determination of these pioneers:

Of stout heart and steady arm were these sturdy pioneers who came from the North Carolina hills in search of new homes in the Northwest Territory. They arrived here with all their possessions in a wagon, happy when they had enough money to enter a piece of land even if they had not a cent left for the future.<sup>5</sup>

Eli Newlin, the youngest son of Nathaniel and Catharine Hadley Newlin, was eleven years old when the Newlin family arrived in Indiana. His vignette of the family's arrival, given many years later from memory, is the most candid story of the arrival of emigrants from Spring that this author has found. Here is the heart of his story:

We came in by way of Terre Haute and camped by the Peyton Wilson



home. Peyton Wilson had gone to the mill but he soon came home with his grist on his horse. He emptied about half of his meal with us and told us to bake it. He then took his gun and shot a two-year old beef and told us to skin it and hang the hide in the shed, and cook the beef and eat it. This was our reception.

It was truly a warm reception, more hospitable than most of the newly arrived immigrants could expect, though the settlers who had become fairly well-established were generally generous in their aid to newcomers. There were reasons for the generosity in this particular case. Peyton Wilson's wife, Hannah Holliday Wilson, had left the Spring community eleven years earlier when she was twenty years old and was well acquainted with the Newlin family. Perhaps more important, she had family connections with the new immigrants. Her aunt, Sarah Holliday, had married Nathaniel Newlin's brother John and they were then living in Crawford County, Illinois. Her first cousin Hannah Andrew had married Nattie Newlin, a nephew of Nathaniel and Catharine.

Eli Newlin's story continues:

We then settled in on what is now known as the Greenberry Ward farm where we lived for three years. The house had two rooms, so father's family occupied one room and brother John and family occupied the other.

This would seem a satisfactory arrangement if we did not know that at that time there were six children in each of these two families. Putting sixteen people into a two-room house, eight in each room, made for living in crowded conditions to say the least. We are led to believe that this was not unique on frontiers and in newly-settled areas.

For most of four decades of his life Nathaniel Newlin sat at the head of Bloomfield Meeting for Worship. His daughter Mary and her husband, Enoch Morrison, were the first clerks of that monthly meeting. His son John later became clerk of Concord Quarterly Meeting. The leadership afforded by one or two of the families from Spring Monthly Meeting in North Carolina must not be seen as unique; many of the other men and women from that meeting filled similar positions of leadership in meetings in Indiana, a compliment to the culture of the Friends in Spring Meeting.

The only descendants of Nathaniel and Catharine Hadley Newlin who did not get into the stream of emigrants leaving Spring for the Middle West were Joseph and Ruth Farlow Newlin and at that time their three little children. Oliver Newlin, Joseph's eleventh child, said that his father resigned from his position as clerk of Spring Monthly Meeting with the intention of moving to Indiana to join his relatives there, but a farewell visit to Ruth's relatives in Randolph County brought a change in



their plans; instead of going to Indiana they removed to Randolph County to be near Ruth's relatives. This took place in 1827.

Among the numerous emigres from Spring Monthly Meeting Joseph Newlin became one of the most prominent. He bought the New Market Inn, located a few miles south of High Point, operated a tin shop there and for a number of years was postmaster of the New Market post office. He and a partner owned and operated a mercantile business at New Market. He was part owner and secretary of the New Market Foundry. Joseph was a stockholder in, and secretary of, the Union Manufacturing Company, a textile mill at Randleman, North Carolina. He owned stock in the Fayetteville to Salem Plank Road. The New Market Inn was a regular stopping place for the stage coach which operated on the plank road. In addition to all of these interests Joseph Newlin was engaged in land speculation on a rather extensive scale. His active interest in the Society of Friends matched his interest in economic activities. In different periods he was clerk of two different monthly meetings and his work with New Garden Boarding School was outstanding. He was named to the board of trustees of New Garden Boarding School in 1837, the first year of the operation of the school, and he served on the board for twenty-nine years. He was clerk (chairman) of the board for twenty-one years. These interests and activities place Joseph Newlin among the more noted emigrés from Spring Monthly Meeting.

The coming of the emigrant wagons from Spring Meeting in North Carolina, lumbering into the new settlement at Bloomfield in 1826, was only the beginning of the migration of Friends from Spring to that meeting. During the next twenty-five years at least twenty-eight other certificates followed that route. Fifteen of them were issued on August 27, 1831, making the wagon train of that year, if they all went together, longer than that of 1826.

A list of the family names and the number of certificates issued to each shows that the migration from Spring between 1826 and 1851 was not dominated by one family. They represent nearly a dozen families and they went out from Chatham, Eno, South Fork and Spring meetings. The following statistics give the number of certificates issued to each family: Andrew, 1; Atkinson, 1; Curl, 2; Hadley, 2; Lindley, 3; Morrison, 6; Newlin, 4; Pickard, 1; Shugart, 3; and Woody, 3. This gives a total of twenty-eight certificates going from Spring to this one meeting in the quarter of a century between 1826 and 1851, probably as many as eighty-four members.

Numerically the Woody family must rank third in number of Friends on the emigrant trains from Spring to Indiana. The first of the Woodys to take the emigrant road was Thomas Woody who in 1826 went to Honey Creek Meeting, a few miles south of Terre Haute, Indiana. Since

there were no other monthly meetings in that part of Indiana at that time it seems quite possible that Thomas Woody settled in the future Bloomfield community about thirty miles north of Terre Haute.

Between 1829 and 1835 eleven members of the Woody family joined many other Friends from Spring who had settled in the Bloomfield community. These eleven persons went under three certificates from Spring Monthly Meeting in that six-year period. The first of these was received by Bloomfield Meeting on November 7, 1829; it was the family of John and Mary Holliday Woody and their seven children, Catharine, Hannah, Mahlon, Mary, Ruth, Eleanor and Samuel. In the following year a James Woody, who must have been a son of John and Mary Holliday Woody, deposited his certificate of membership with Bloomfield Monthly Meeting. In 1835 Joseph Woody deposited his certificate there from Spring Meeting with this Indiana meeting.

### TO SUGAR PLAIN

The largest colony of Woody emigrants from Spring Monthly Meeting settled within the limits of Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting, located within two miles of Thorntown, Indiana. This Woody colony was located about forty-five miles northeast of the Woodys at Bloomfield. Their migration to Sugar Plain did not begin until 1852. In July of that year Enos Woody led the way. Ten years later Nathan Woody, his wife Ruth, and their seven children, Robert, Mary, Alfred H., Thomas N., Samuel G., James J., and Nathan E., removed from Spring to Sugar Plain. It seems probable that this is one of the many families of Friends who made their way "through the lines," in the years of the Civil War, to enable the men in the family to avoid conscription by the Confederate army. They were received into membership by Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting without any reference to any certificate or right of membership. This was in 1862, the second year of the Civil War. In December 1864 Samuel Woody and James Woody, Jr., emigrated to Sugar Plain. Each was reported in the minutes of the meeting as having been "received into membership of this meeting his right being at Spring Meeting in N.C." This procedure was certainly prompted by war conditions. After the war Spring Monthly Meeting sent their right of membership to Sugar Plain. When they left North Carolina during the war it would have been too much of a risk to ask the monthly meeting for certificates to be taken with them.

John W. Woody was received on certificate by Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting on 7th month 27, 1867, from Spring Monthly Meeting. It is known that he left North Carolina in the spring of 1861, after a year in

New Garden Boarding School. This was as the Civil War was beginning. He walked from New Garden to Cincinnati and went from there by train to Thorntown, to the home of his uncle James Woody.<sup>6</sup>

After the war Sugar Plain received two other members of the Woody family from Spring Meeting: Mahlon Woody in 1869 and Samuel N. Woody in 1870. This brings to sixteen the total number of Woodys from Spring Monthly Meeting to settle in the Sugar Plain community between 1852 and 1870.

In the Bloomfield and Sugar Plain communities these Woody emigrants from Spring Monthly Meeting in North Carolina settled with many of their relatives and other friends whom they had known in North Carolina. These migrations show a shift of interest of the Woodys from the area just north of Terre Haute to a community on Sugar Creek forty-five miles away to the northeast.

The number of Woody emigrants from Spring Monthly Meeting to these three meetings was somewhat smaller than the number of Lindleys or Newlins who went from Spring to Lick Creek and Bloomfield communities. Eleven certificates for members of the Woody family took thirty-nine members from Spring Meeting to help build up the two meetings in Indiana.

Tracing a few of the families from Spring Meeting through the records of meetings in the Middle West produces the conclusion that these Friends were always on the lookout for more and better land and locations. Many of the immigrants who settled at Bloomfield or Sugar Plain soon left their first location and scattered out to various other meetings in the Middle West. This tendency to keep moving is found in a large percentage of the early settlers in Ohio and Indiana.

One of the qualities found in many of the emigrants from Spring is their leadership ability. Many of them served as clerks of their meeting or members of important committees. As an example, James Hadley of South Fork Meeting served as clerk of Lick Creek Monthly Meeting for a few years and later he and his wife were clerks of White Lick Monthly Meeting.

## DECLINING MEMBERSHIP OF SPRING MEETING

There can be no question that the stream of emigrants leaving Spring Monthly Meeting for the Middle West during the half century before the outbreak of the Civil War made a drastic reduction in the membership of the four constituent meetings in the monthly meeting. The loss of nearly five hundred members by migrations was a serious blow to all of these meetings.



Migration was not the only way by which the membership of the meeting was drained off; between 1800 and 1860 disownments took a heavy toll. Ninety-eight members were removed from the membership roll in this way. These disownments were mainly for violation of marriage regulations and for many aberrations from the social standards set by Friends. In these losses is found a major reason for the termination of Eno Meeting and they delivered a hard blow to the other three meetings.

Among the four local meetings Eno was the first and only meeting to be laid down. For it, rising and falling had become almost a habit. It had been recognized by the quarterly meeting as a meeting for worship and as a preparative meeting while it was a subordinate of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. In 1767, six years before Spring was given the status of a meeting for worship, the quarterly meeting indicated that Eno Friends were incapable of holding preparative meetings or meetings for worship "to the honor of truth." These privileges were restored to Eno Friends in 1794, one year after Spring was given the status of monthly meeting. Forty-seven years later, on August 5, 1841, Western Quarterly Meeting considered "it proper to lay down the preparative meeting at enoe." Then, on November 11, 1847, the quarterly meeting delivered the final blow by uniting with Spring Monthly Meeting's conclusion "that the members of Eno meeting are not capable of holding meetings (for worship) to the honor of truth and credit of Society." With this united action the sad story of Eno Meeting came to an end; only the graveyard survives.

With the demise of Eno Meeting three local meetings were left under the umbrella of Spring Monthly Meeting: Chatham, South Fork and Spring.

### IN THE WAKE OF THE MIGRATION

At the outbreak of the Civil War the membership of Spring Meeting was little more than a shadow of what it had been at its greatest strength, around 1800. Emigration had been the reason for the biggest drain. It has been supplemented by nearly one hundred disownments during the first half of the nineteenth century. An unknown number of these joined again later. There was a third force which must have contributed to the decline although no statistics are available: the drain of members into other churches. Before 1830 no other denomination had any church within the vicinity of Spring Meeting but in the 1830s the Methodists established Concord, Center and Bethel churches, and the Baptists, Mount Olive — all within four miles more or less of Spring Meeting House and completely encircling the area. Even an estimate cannot be made of the effect of the development of the churches on the member-



ship of Spring, but it is safe to assume that it was considerable and would continue.

The closest approach to a concept of the effects of these drains on the membership of Spring Meeting may be found in the diary of one of the eight members of a delegation from Indiana Yearly Meeting who visited Spring Meeting on December 5, 1854:

Second day the 4th left our kind friend Joseph Dixon's, and travelled about nine miles, east, and put up at Thomas Woody's, Catharine's brother-in-law, and cousin. We passed by old Spring meeting house, a dilapidated building. This is the meeting from which Nathaniel Newlin, George Carter and many other Friends, members of Indiana sprung, Alamance County, Graham County seat. . . . 3rd day 5th. Attended an appointed meeting at Spring — 60 or 70 persons in attendance, mostly not members. This was once a large and flourishing meeting but now reduced to almost nothing: many day(s) not more than 3 or 4 in attendance. And sometimes none. The weather; quite cold, no stove in the meeting house, and it very open.

The member of the delegation mentioned as "Catharine" was Catharine Woody Elliott, daughter of Samuel and Eleanor Hadley Woody, and a birth-right member of Spring Meeting. To her, Spring Meeting must have presented a truly sad picture. She was born in that community in 1806, when the meeting was at its greatest strength.<sup>7</sup>

## *In National Crises*

### CONSCIENCE AND SLAVERY

Quaker opposition to slavery stemmed from the belief in the equality and brotherhood of men, that there is "that of God" in every person and that the exploitation of one person by another is contrary to the will of God. But during the first hundred years of the history of the Society, Quakers failed to make a strong stand against the institution of slavery. As a Society they seemed content to limit their interest to their concern for the welfare of slaves, for their being treated well and given access to meetings for worship. Through this period many members of the Society of Friends, who had become scattered from Barbados to New England, acquired slaves.

Around the middle of the eighteenth century American yearly meetings gave evidence that the question of slavery was stirring the conscience of Friends. Within another quarter of a century this brought yearly meetings to take a stand for the disownment of those who refused to free their slaves. The yearly meetings and quarterly meetings appointed committees and issued directives to arouse the conscience of Friends and to stir the local meetings to action. Some of the monthly meetings responded readily, others more reluctantly.

John Woolman towers above other leaders in the crusade to free the Society of Friends from the curse of slavery. Most of his persuasive power was directed to the slave-owning Quakers in New England and Pennsylvania, but he did not ignore those in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. On his visit to Friends in Virginia and Eastern North Carolina in 1757, he was not able to visit those in the new settlements in the interior of North Carolina, where he had close relatives, but he wrote and epistle addressed "To Friends at their Monthly Meeting(s) of New Garden and Cane Creek." Since all Friends in the Piedmont of North Carolina were, at that time, members of one or the other of these two monthly meetings, members of Spring Meeting were among the recipients of Woolman's counsel and concerns. In this letter he warned Friends against succumbing to the evils of slave holding:

I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things as they arise in the love of Truth . . . I have been informed that there is a large number of Friends in your parts who have no slaves; and in tender and most affectionate love, I beseech you to keep clear of purchasing any.<sup>1</sup>

This indicates that no Friends in this back country owned slaves at that time. Woolman's letter is part of the background upon which Spring Friends are seen struggling against slavery. Later they had to deal with a few of their members who strayed from the standards set by Woolman and established by Western Quarterly Meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

In 1780 the yearly meeting declared that those who persisted in holding on to their slaves should be disowned; however this did not solve the problem for only the monthly meeting had the power to disown a member. On the "10th of 11th month 1781," Western Quarterly Meeting, representing all Friends in the back country of North Carolina, expressed deep concern for the ownership or use of slaves by any members of the Society:

And further taking under their solid and deliberate consideration the case of Friends holding Negroes in slavery give it as their judgment that monthly meetings shall continue to visit and labour with such love and tenderness endeavouring to convince them of the iniquity thereof, but after such care has been fully extended and to no purpose,

then the monthly meeting and quarterly meeting committee by joint action may disown the member.

In 1783 the yearly meeting committee of thirty-six members recommended that the monthly meeting disown any of its members who owned slaves and would not set them free. On the "13th of 8th mo. 1787" Western Quarterly Meeting, just before New Garden Quarter was set off from Western, deeply concerned about the reports of slavery within its local meetings wrote into its minutes,

It appears to this meeting by the answers to the Queries that there are deficiencies among friends in divers places in respect to our testimony in regard to the slavery of Negroes and this meeting being concerned to discharge every Duty that may appear requisite for removing the cause of such complaint recommends to the Monthly Meetings to make particular inspection into every circumstance that our testimony in that case may stand clear.<sup>2</sup>

The Minutes of Spring Monthly Meeting indicate that this body attempted to deal with members who owned slaves in the manner directed by the yearly meeting and the quarterly meeting. At the same time it should be kept in mind that more of the members of the meeting were giving their support to the disownment of those who would not free

their slaves, many were working for manumission, for laws to establish the rights of slaves, and were trying to open the door a bit wider for opportunities for their freedom. On August 15, 1784 William Lindley, a member of Spring Meeting and clerk of the quarterly meeting, was appointed by the quarterly meeting to have the "care of the Book of Manumissions." In 1800 the quarterly meeting appointed a committee made up of thirteen members to consider the subject of "Friends treatment of their slaves." Included in this committee were three members of Spring Monthly Meeting: James Newlin (from Chatham Meeting), William Hadley (South Fork Meeting) and Jonathan Lindley (from Spring Particular Meeting). In 1808 the quarterly meeting appointed seven Friends "to have under their care all suffering cases of people of colour that now or have been under Friends care." Three of the seven were from Spring Monthly Meeting: John Newlin, Owen Lindley (South Fork Meeting) and Nathaniel Newlin (Chatham Meeting).

The participation of some of the Friends in Spring Monthly Meeting in the work of the North Carolina Manumission Society is another indication of their involvement in the broader organizations and efforts to end the curse of slavery. During the two decades after 1816 approximately forty local chapters of this organization were set up. Though Friends seemed to be the predominant element in the movement, membership was not restricted to them. The local chapter at South Fork brought the society within the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting. Several Lindleys and Hadleys had been listed in the membership of chapters at Trotters Creek and Cane Creek and it is quite possible that they, or most of them, became members of the South Fork Chapter. John Atkinson and Joshua Newlin were or had been members of the Spring Monthly Meeting.

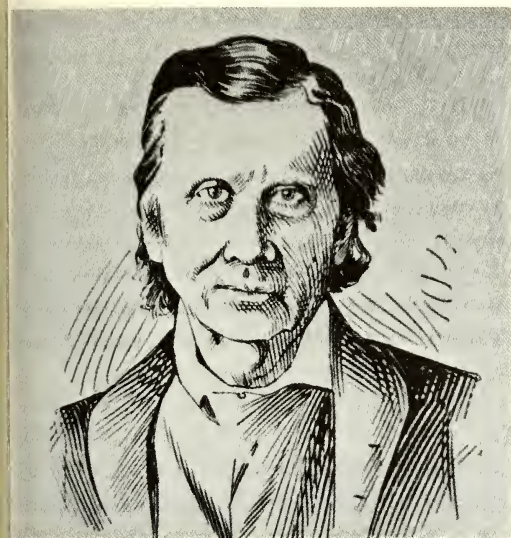
Some Friends in the meetings which made up Spring Monthly Meeting owned slaves as did a number of their neighbors who were not members of the Society, but slaves were much less numerous in this general area than in the eastern part of the state. In October 1824 William Forster, an English Quaker minister, visited meetings in Western Quarter. His observation on slavery is germane to this point:

I trust it is the love of Christ — which seeks the best and everlasting welfare of my fellow creatures. We see but little of slaves in these parts of the state, no more than if we were in Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup>

It seems quite evident, however, that the number increased before the outbreak of the Civil War.

John Newlin, who lived for many years a quarter of a mile west of Spring meeting house, was possibly more deeply involved in the movement against slavery than any other member of that meeting. For two or





*John Newlin 1776–1867*

three sessions in succession of the General Assembly of North Carolina he was appointed by the yearly meeting to act as a Quaker lobbyist, to use his influence with members of the General Assembly to secure legislation to remove some of the difficulties standing in the way of freedom or a better life for slaves. In spite of this work he has been held up erroneously, as a person who violated Quaker principles by using slaves for his own profit: the digging of the mile-long race from a dam on Haw River to his newly-constructed textile mill. Though there may be a question about this use of the slaves, it is probably true that he worked slaves over a period of years. But if true it is still in keeping with the practice, at that time, of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Over a period of several decades possibly as many as 2,000 slaves were deeded to the yearly meeting with the stipulation that this body would get them to free territory and see that they had a chance to earn a living in their new environment. In most cases the process of getting them settled in free territory required a considerable length of time. During the delay the yearly meeting found ways of using the slaves to pay for their maintenance. In John Newlin's case Sarah Freeman willed her slaves to him, possibly thirty of them, with the understanding that he would get them to free territory, give them their freedom, and help them find ways by which they could earn a living and get established in their new environment. Upon her death some of her heirs brought suit to break the will. The court ordered John Newlin not to dispose of the slaves pending the decision of the court, which stretched out across a period of ten years.

When the court finally ruled against the suit Newlin was given one year to get the slaves to free territory. It seems certain that he would use the slaves for their support during this long wait, as North Carolina Yearly Meeting was doing during that time.

A deed found in Paoli, Indiana, reveals that two brothers of this John Newlin, both members of Spring, were involved in a scheme to get a slave to Indiana where he was deeded his freedom. At the sale of the property of Claiborne Guthrie (his brother-in-law), Nathaniel Newlin bought a slave with the idea of setting him free.<sup>4</sup> When Nathaniel's brother Thomas, who had moved to Lick Creek, Indiana, returned to North Carolina for a visit Nathaniel deeded the slave to him to take back with him to Indiana and there deed him his freedom.

In 1815 Eno Preparative Meeting brought a complaint to Spring Monthly Meeting against David Cloud for "hiring and holding mankind in slavery." On December 27, 1828, William (Billie) Lindley was disowned by Spring Monthly Meeting for holding slaves in bondage. Lindley was a brother-in-law of John Newlin; his farm bordered Little Cane Creek and Cane Creek on the south side of the junction of these two streams. The previous owner of this plantation is reputed by tradition to have operated it with a rather large number of slaves. A cluster of cabins was on a hill overlooking the spring from which they and their master's family received their water supply. A few hundred yards south of the spring is a graveyard in which twenty or more graves have been identified. It is reputed to be the burial place of slaves. Some of the grave markers, all native stones with no inscriptions, are still in place among the trees which hide them from most people who may wander through the forest. Miranda Braxton Newlin, when a child, heard from her home half a mile away the weeping of slaves at the last burial in that graveyard — a little slave girl. This was between 1835 and 1840.<sup>5</sup> John Newlin later acquired this farm.

In 1842 Oliver Newlin, son of John Newlin, was disowned by Spring Meeting for acquiring a slave and marrying out of unity with Friends. John W. Woody said that his grandfather "gave his slaves homes in the state of Ohio."<sup>6</sup> These short accounts show that the conscience of Friends of Spring Monthly Meeting, in all of the four subordinate meetings, was stirred to the point of wrestling strenuously with the problem of slavery within the membership of the meeting. They also reveal how families could be divided on the issue of slavery.

On November 12, 1836, an extract from the minutes of the recent sessions of the yearly meeting was read in the quarterly meeting to be passed on to Friends in the local meetings to whom it was intended as a warning against slavery and other "evils" posing threats to the testimonies of Friends in that day:

That monthly meetings be careful with respect to granting liberty of our meeting houses to such professing ministers as are slave holders & those holding with principles of war & hirling ministry or preach funerals sermons, & such as profess to be always ready to minister.

Certainly slavery was a formidable problem with the meetings in North Carolina and it is hardly likely that the other menaces to the faith would have been held up for warning if they had not been seen penetrating the defenses of the Society at the time. It is also quite likely that this quotation gives something of the character of the vocal ministry and the thinking of the leadership of that day.

## DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The stern demands of secession and the Civil War divided the men in the area around Spring Meeting, as in most of the areas of the South, into three divisions: those who supported the secession by joining the armed forces of the Confederacy, those who joined the Union army, and those who sought to avoid participation in the war, some of them by hiding out or by making their way "through the lines" to the Middle West. In childhood the author heard the men who had been in these categories during the war characterized as "Secesh," "Unionist" and "Bushwhacker." Men in the lower part of Cane Creek Valley were found divided among these categories, although it is impossible to give any accurate evaluation of the ratio of any of them to the others. The author's father was eight years old "at the surrender." He grew up in a story-telling age, in the aftermath of the war when relating stories of the life of people in the community during the war was a prime activity. He was asked what percentage of the men of military age in his community "hid out" to avoid conscription during the war. He could not speak with any strong feeling of certainty but thought it possible that fifty percent of them did. Although this might have been true in his immediate community, the old Chatham community, the percentage may be too large for the broader area around. The important point is that a large percentage of those of military age did hide out to avoid conscription. In his early years the author saw the location of some of the so-called "caves" — pits dug in isolated places — in which the "bushwhackers" hid when the "hunters" (the Home Guard) were known to be prowling the community.

At the outbreak of the war Spring Monthly Meeting, with its depleted membership, had few men of military age, but they were not overlooked by the Confederate army. In the initial outburst of patriotic fervor for secession and the Confederacy, some of the Quaker boys were swept off their feet to the muster grounds. The Meeting for Sufferings



of North Carolina Yearly Meeting was quick to sense the situation. On Ninth-month, 16, 1861, it issued a strong directive to the membership at large and to the monthly meetings of the yearly meeting:

Mind your calling brethren; and endure to become living members of the faith, that you may be helpful to every other member of the Meeting to which you belong.

This was followed by a stern directive to the monthly meetings for a strong defense of the Quaker testimony against war, possibly prompted by reports of the wavering of some of the members of the Society who had joined the military forces:

If there are those among us who violate or neglect to conform to our principles that they be tenderly dealt with, and proper efforts made to reclaim them, and if amendmen(t) should not be made that such be disowned . . . there is more strength in a few faithful members than in many unfaithful ones.

On Seventh-month 27, 1861, two months before the Meeting for Sufferings issued this statement, South Fork Preparative Meeting complained to Spring Monthly Meeting of James Lindley and Manly Lindley for attending muster. On November 30 of that year Spring Preparative Meeting complained of James Newlin and Jonathan Newlin for attending muster. Their involvement in military preparation must have been of short duration for these four young men gave satisfactory "offerings" on August 31, 1861, and were retained in membership. On July 27, 1861 the minute of advice of the yearly meeting was read in Spring Monthly Meeting. Sharp counsel relative to the position of Friends in this war came to all Friends in one of the closing sentences:

The time has come Dear Friends, when the credit of our forefathers can be of no avail to us, but our reward will be according to our works.

These directives went out to all local meetings in the yearly meeting and no doubt Friends in Spring Monthly Meeting gave them careful consideration.

On the passage of a conscription law by the Confederate Congress in 1862, a delegation of North Carolina Quakers went to Richmond, Virginia, to petition the Confederate Congress for the relief of Friends from laws they could not obey. The Confederate Congress enacted legislation which gave Brethren, Friends, Mennonites and Nazarenes alternatives to military service: the payment of a tax of \$500 or securing a substitute to serve in the army. The yearly meeting soon stated that these alternatives offered no relief to Friends, who could not lend their support to any war efforts. A special minute of the yearly meeting made



his clear:

Being thus careful to abstain from war and everything connected with war, we cannot conscientiously pay any fines for the nonperformance of military duty.

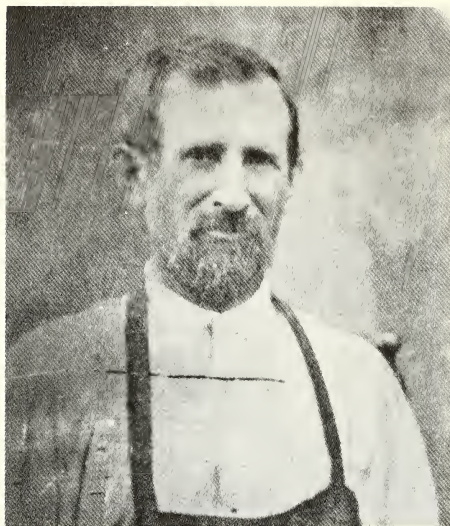
The yearly meeting must have meant for the term "any fines" to cover the hiring of a substitute as well as the payment of the \$500. This injunction of the yearly meeting was not always followed by Friends. Some members of the Spring Monthly Meeting paid the \$500 tax and did not suffer disownment by the monthly meeting. The conscription law specifically stated that anyone who joined the Society of Friends after October 11, 1862, would not be covered by provisions of this act.

Men who joined the Society of Friends during the war were openly derided as "War Quakers." During the long years of the duration of the war Spring Monthly Meeting approved the applications for membership of only eight men — a very small number for that period of time. The monthly meeting exercised great care in determining whether the applicants were sincere, and well grounded in the faith of Friends, before accepting them. In three of the applications, the committee appointed to determine the sincerity and readiness of the applicant for membership took for two of them two months, and for one four months, to complete the inquiry. The records of the meeting show that these men became devoted and apparently valuable members of the Society.

Jesse Buckner proved to be the most prominent of Spring Meeting's members who joined during the war. When the war began he was a Baptist.<sup>7</sup> Early in the war he had become a colonel in the militia and used his influence to induce men to enlist in the Confederate army. When he showed some sympathy for the attitude of Friends toward the war he was stripped of his rank in the army. Returning home from a political meeting, on a dark night, he lost his way. When he came to the cross-roads by Spring Meeting House he recognized it, dismounted and sat down on the steps of the old and dilapidated building. "The position of Friends, and the unrighteousness of war, were the subjects of his thoughts before reaching the meeting house." He said that there alone on the steps of the old building.

meditation upon Friends' principles, the serious condition of the country, and the awefulness of war he became satisfied that it was his duty to unite himself with the people who worshipped in that house.<sup>8</sup>

His application for membership was considered for two months before it was approved, on January 31, 1863. The enlistment authorities agreed to accept his \$500 payment and gave him exemption papers. Shortly after this the exemption was revoked and he was arrested and



*Jesse Buckner*

sent to military camp where he was subjected to harsh physical abuse in the attempt to break his will and force him to submit to military service. Within a few months his health was broken but his will was not. He was driven from one camp to another and was often moved at the point of a bayonet. Eventually his health was so broken that he was discharged and sent home. When he appeared to be recovering his strength some of his unsympathetic neighbors, who had kept watch on him, caused him to be conscripted again. Once more he was subjected to severe pressure to force him to agree to military service, but on this Jesse Buckner never weakened. Cartland says that the surrender of General Johnston to General Sherman ended his ordeal, but the records of Spring Monthly Meeting show that he was appointed as a member of a meeting committee before the end of the war. Whether he was still in the custody of the army at the time of his appointment is not known.

There was never the slightest indication that his convincement was not firm and sincere. After the war he filled an important place in Spring Monthly Meeting. He served on committees and on more than one occasion the monthly meeting granted him permission to appoint special meetings for worship and to visit families in the membership of the meeting. Both of these services were usually performed by ministers.<sup>9</sup>

Cartland leaves the impression that Jesse Buckner's interest in the Society of Friends was born in his own mind during the war but records show that his wife Alice White Buckner, daughter of William and Jane Hadley White, was a birthright member of Spring Monthly Meeting.

Shortly after her marriage to Jesse Buckner, who was then a Baptist, she was disowned for joining another religious body. She was received back into membership by Spring Monthly Meeting soon after her husband joined that meeting.

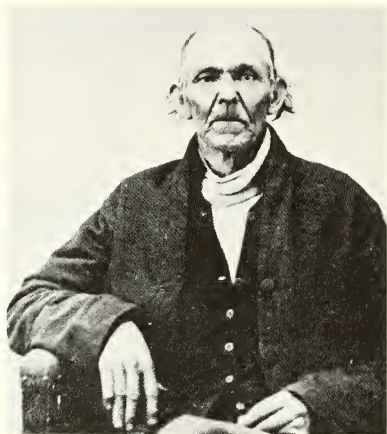
Fernando G. Cartland tells of the experience of several other men in Spring Meeting during the Civil War. He says that John Newlin had six sons of military age. "He paid \$3,000 for their exemption" which Quakers were permitted to do under the military regulations of the Confederate government. When two of the sons were conscripted even after \$500 was paid for each, Newlin protested and finally secured their exemption papers.<sup>10</sup>

Nathaniel Woody, an elder and sitting at the head of Spring Meeting for Worship, was drafted early in the war. He was fifty-one years old at the beginning of the war. When he was ordered to appear at the county seat, "He answered to his name then told the officer that he could not bear arms, giving his reasons." Being near the age limit he was released.<sup>11</sup> Zeno Woody was conscripted and sent to Raleigh where he became very ill. "After being in the hospital for several weeks he was sent home on sick furlough."<sup>12</sup> When James and Mahlon Woody were conscripted they were sent to Richmond, Virginia. There they refused to do military service, and were put in prison. When they became ill, "There were sent to the hospital and their father went there to wait upon them. After some weeks they were also given a furlough."<sup>13</sup> "William Woody was taken to the army where he promptly accepted the gun offered him and went with it to the Yankees. He gave the gun to them and went on to Indiana without performing any military service."<sup>14</sup> This could have been his way of showing his disdain for the Confederacy. When Zeno and James Woody recovered they were arrested "but their father paid the tax for them and his other two sons, amounting to \$2,000."<sup>15</sup>

In a collection of traditions and bits of history published in 1972 is found this assertion: "Among the Quakers in north central North Carolina were conscientious objectors who refused to fight."<sup>16</sup> Then in a paragraph on the "Wilmington Salt Works on the beach near that city" is the assertion that "It was manned almost entirely by Quaker youths."<sup>17</sup> Though this statement has not been verified it is known that a number of men of the Society of Friends were engaged in this work as alternative service. Among them were James Newlin and Jonathan Newlin.

Jonathan Worth who was a member of Centre Monthly Meeting until he was disowned for marrying out of unity with Friends, held a prominent office in the government of North Carolina in the Civil War. The salt works were under his jurisdiction. It was through his influence that the Quaker men were deferred to the salt works as alternative service. His correspondence with Joseph Newlin of New Market in Randolph





*Nathaniel Woody 1814-1902*

County<sup>18</sup> indicates that he expected the Friends to give him their support in an election. One letter also reveals something of the reluctance of Quakers to participate in elections.

I know many in your Society are indisposed to go (to the polls) . . . Will it not be a most ungrateful return for my efforts to protect them from oppressions if, by their inaction they allow my enemies to have a triumph over me. I beg you arouse them in a quiet way. Any Quaker who stays from the polls will have no right to complain of oppression.<sup>19</sup>

Several members of Spring Monthly Meeting made their way "through the lines" to Indiana in the early years of the war in the hope of avoiding the draft. In the chapter in which the emigration of Spring Friends to the Middle West is treated some members of the Woody family are described as migrating to Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting during the early years of the war. These were Nathan and Ruth Woody and their children, and with them John W. Woody, Samuel Woody and James Woody, Jr. It is believed that they made their way "through the lines" to enable the men to avoid conscription. J. Waldo Woody has pointed out that John W. Woody's brother, William N., who had gone to Indiana earlier, was conscripted into the Union army, and was killed in the war.<sup>20</sup>

Though men of military age among the members of Spring Meeting were few in number, it is evident that they did not escape the attention of the military authority. It is also evident that among Spring Friends there was some deviation from the strict Quaker attitude toward war.

By 1865 Spring Friends had lived through sixty-five traumatic years, made so by three powerful forces: emigration, slavery and the Civil War. While emigration was affecting Spring Monthly Meeting it must not



have been seen as relentlessly draining the membership of the meeting down toward the danger point. During the time that this was taking place Spring Friends were constantly at the task of freeing their membership of the curse of slavery. It was a hard, delicate battle but they seem to have won it. With the membership of the meeting being cut down to a small remnant these Friends did not waver in their opposition to war, while the Civil War and the Confederate government operated around them through four bitter years.

Through all of these hazards the little remnant of Friends in Spring Meeting "kept the faith" and stood their ground, with firmness and nobility. Could it be that at sometime during that trying period Spring Friends lived through their "finest hour"?

## *In the Wake of War*

### IN THE GRIP OF POVERTY

In the immediate wake of the war austerity was the rule of life in most of the South. Dwelling houses, barns and other buildings had deteriorated during the long war. Tools, livestock, clothing and many essentials had become extremely scarce, and many people reduced to a state of want. This describes the situation in the Spring community, and there was no sudden recovery from these conditions. Though the community was not devastated by any army marching through, there is a tradition that some of the Friends in the Chatham meeting's community drove their horses and cattle and other livestock to hiding places as far from the road as possible, to save them from the foragers of the Confederate calvary which passed through the area near the close of the war.

The extreme scarcity of money was one of the glaring features of the economic sterility left by the war. During the war the Federal money had been filtered out of the hands of the people of the South. At its close the Confederate currency, which had been declining in value, became worthless. In this situation a system of barter was a necessity.<sup>1</sup>

The houses of that day were predominantly built of logs. This would be true until after 1900. They were not cabins. Many of them were two-story. Some of them were a story and a half, with a "loft" — as the top story with low roof was called — used as sleeping quarters for the children. Fireplaces provided what heat there was in the house. Most of the houses with less than a full second story had a kitchen built onto one end of the main building. This kitchen was accessible from the front porch of the main house. A big fireplace dominated one end of the kitchen where most of the cooking was done on the open fire. To make it an effective cooking center there were attached to the fireplace or scattered on the hearth or nearby such utensils as a sweep, pots, pans, dutch ovens, griddles and other aids to cooking. Cook stoves were installed in some of the kitchens. The multipurpose kitchen was used as a dining room, living room and as the family workshop, especially during the winter. At "hog killings" the kitchen was used during the

processing of some of the meat into sausage or souse meat. Shoe repairs for the family might be made before the kitchen fire. Spinning and weaving might be done here or in the living room.<sup>2</sup>

It was necessary for these industrious people to plan their field and garden produce to be as self-sufficient as possible. The crops had to be planned to provide essential items of feed for the livestock and food for the family for every season of the year. They mastered various ways of preserving food for the winter season. Their success in this important phase of life reveals something of their ingenuity and versatility.

## DAYS OF POLITICAL TURMOIL

While economic life in the South was at a low level during the Reconstruction period the political life was little short of frenetic. The lines of political division were sharp; people were firmly gripped by issues and political objectives and often the means employed on both sides were underhanded and ruthless.

The Ku Klux Klan was among the political instruments employed in an effort to control and shape society. It capitalized on the fear, suspicion and prejudice which were sweeping over the South at that time. Tradition intimates that there was Klan activity within the Spring community. Professor J. G. DeRoulhac Hamilton in his *Reconstruction in North Carolina* names two men who lived on the periphery of the Spring community who were among the leaders of the Klan in Alamance County.

Rivalry between the two political parties, Democratic and Republican, was for many years after the war the hottest that it has ever been in that area. Fear, suspicion, political tricks and attempts to steal elections seemed to characterize political life in those days. There is little wonder that voting a "straight ticket" was considered a mark of morality, and few could stand the stigma of varying from the rule. Even religiously minded people who lived in this atmosphere were affected by it.<sup>3</sup>

## *The Post-War State of the Meeting*

### THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE MEETING

It is not possible to give the exact number of members of Spring Monthly Meeting or that of any of the three constituent local meetings in the decades immediately following the Civil War. The yearly meeting records for the period give the totals for the quarterly meeting and in these only the members above the age of eighteen are given. These records show that there was a very slight increase in the membership of the yearly meeting during the years of the Civil War and there is reason for believing that there was a similar increase in the membership of Spring Meeting. A few years after the war an increase was evident.

While the post-war growth was taking place a number of the members of Spring Monthly Meeting were drawn into a rather mild migration, a trickle of emigration to the Middle West. Between 1865 and 1885 Spring Monthly Meeting issued fifteen certificates for the transfer of members to meetings in the Middle West. It is known that others "went out west," for whom no records of certificates have been found. Eight of the fifteen certificates were issued during the first five years of the period. Five of these were to Rush Creek Monthly Meeting in Parke County, Indiana, and four to Sugar Plain Meeting, to the northeast from Parke County. Classifying the fifteen certificates by families shows that five were issued to members of the Andrews family, three to Lindleys, four to Woodys, one Cheek, one White and one Williams.

The complete story cannot be given, but there is little doubt about the marked growth in membership of Spring Monthly Meeting in the years following the Civil War. In the first post-war decade the membership of North Carolina Yearly Meeting jumped from 1785 to approximately 4,275.<sup>1</sup> The membership of Spring Monthly Meeting must have increased during that same period. The forces which produced this growth are not easy to identify, but it is quite certain that the ordeal of war left a large part of the population ready for church membership. This is shown in the results of a strong revivalist movement which became common in much of the nation at that time.



## EVANGELISM AND REVIVAL MEETINGS

In this period revival meetings swept over most of the yearly meetings of the Middle West "like a prairie fire," as one Friend from the Middle West put it. The membership of many of the local meetings was troubled by the influx of new members following these revival meetings. Most of these new members were strangers to Quaker faith and practice, to their corporate worship and to the methods and procedures in their meeting for business. This has been seen as a major reason for the adoption of the pastoral system by Friends in the Middle West. Some Quaker historians have seen in this great body of new members the need for stronger Quaker leadership which, it was hoped, the pastors could give. These two innovations, revival meetings and pastoral leadership, caused separations in some of the yearly meetings of the Middle West.

The pastoral system did not develop in Spring Meeting, nor in any meeting in North Carolina Yearly Meeting as a whole, immediately after the Civil War. However, revival meetings did have their beginning in North Carolina Yearly Meeting shortly after the end of the war. One difference from the meetings of the Middle West is that in North Carolina they did not take on the character of "a prairie fire." This may seem surprising in view of the fact that North Carolina Yearly Meeting was invaded by some of the most vigorous revivalist ministers of the yearly meetings of the Middle West. The pastoral system did not begin in North Carolina Yearly Meeting until three decades after the Civil War and in Spring Monthly Meeting it was delayed for more than fifty years after the end of that conflict.

Finding the exact date of the first revival meeting at Spring Particular Meeting has not yet been accomplished but a tradition and some scraps of history may lead to its approximation. The tradition is that Lancaster John Moore, of Contentnea Quarter, made this innovation at Spring soon after the Civil War. He had returned from Driftwood Meeting in Indiana in November 1865 and would have been available for this work in Spring Meeting in the early post-war period. The tradition specifically marks this as the first meeting of its kind at Spring. It also indicates that the revival meeting did not meet the approval of all of the members of that meeting. This revival could have been in the latter part of the year 1865 but no clear proof of it has been found.

According to the tradition, during one of the night sessions of Moore's revival a mysterious force producing a strange and ominous sound circled the meeting house. The noise was so loud and unusual that it bewildered the people in the meeting house and must have had a similar effect upon the horses tied to the nearby trees, for they broke loose and stampeded. When the men poured from the meeting house

the only noise they heard was made by the running horses. Some of the members of the meeting who were opposed to the introduction of revival meetings were quick to see the mysterious work as an expression of the wrath of God for this sharp break in Quaker practice. It was not until ninety years later that a grandson of one of the perpetrators of the event revealed the nature of the prank.

A couple of young men had taken a dry, and very stiff, untanned cowhide from its place on the side of a barn, attached chains to it, in the darkness stealthily carried it to a rear corner of the meeting house, and then dashed around the building dragging the rigid hide behind them. The hide, stiff as a board, being dragged rapidly over the rough ground covered with loose stones and tree roots produced a drumming sound and accompanied by the rattle of chains it made a sinister medley such as these Quakers had never heard. There is little wonder that the event was taken by some members of the meeting as an expression of divine disfavor.

On January 30, 1875, Louisa Painter, at that time from Winasheek Monthly Meeting in Iowa, "acceptably attended" a session of Spring Monthly Meeting. Louisa Painter was one of the prominent and very vigorous evangelists who were shaking Western Friends. Separations took place in three western yearly meetings in 1877 and 1879. This evangelist held a revival meeting at South Fork near the time she was at Spring. In its report to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, the committee on general meetings stated that "general meetings" had been held in four local meetings of the yearly meeting during the previous twelve months. "General meeting" is the term that came to cover the first revival meetings in this and in some of the other yearly meetings. The committee reported "one at South Fork for four days in 2nd month, 1875." Though there is no reference to Louisa Painter it is quite possible that she conducted this series of meetings. The committee's summary says that "At one of which there has been considerable accessions in numbers," and very apparent increase in vitality and strength. A month later, March 27, 1875, South Fork Preparative Meeting brought to Spring Monthly Meeting requests that Jonathan Lindley, Jonathan Marshall, Alvis Harris, Alfred H. Harris, William N. Harris, and Newton Marshall be received into membership by the monthly meeting.

An account of an incident in the life of Camillis McBane of Chatham Meeting includes the statement:

He lived a rough hard life until the age of 43 when some travelling Friends were holding a revival at Spring Meeting. He went home in much distress and . . . On the following morning . . . his soul emerged into the marvelous light of the children of God.



*Camillis and Caroline Wright McBane*

Camillis McBane's forty-third birthday came in 1875, and most likely Louisa Painter was the "travelling Friend" referred to in this account of his conversion, as that was the year she attended a session of Spring Monthly Meeting.

In Louisa Painter, Friends in this monthly meeting were experiencing one of the strong and effective revivalists of the Middle West. In her peripatetic missions she visited North Carolina on two later occasions. The report of the Missionary Committee for 1880 states:

Louisa Painter has labored in North and South Carolina devotedly and almost incessantly from 12th of 8th month, 1879, to 23rd of 7th month, 1880. She believes the number of professed conversions resulting from her labors to be more than one thousand souls.

From the annual report of the Committee on General Meetings to the yearly meeting on August 21, 1882:

Our sister, Louisa Painter, has held ten series of meetings, eight of these outside of our Church. These meetings have been blessed to the conversion





*Hannah Marlette*

of many to Christ, and other churches have been built up in membership and strengthened thereby.

Though much of this does not pertain directly to Friends in Spring Monthly Meeting it shows something of the strength and character of the revivalism which reached this meeting at that time.

There is no doubt that this innovation brought a marked change in the character of the Friends meeting for worship, especially the vocal ministry. Allen Jay, one of the ablest of the leaders of this new evangelism in the Society of Friends in North Carolina, visited Spring Meeting on more than one occasion. He gives the following rather conservative evaluation of this change:

When the revival spirit came upon the church the ministry was changed. The revivalist stirred the sinner by appealing to the emotions, telling stories, giving illustrations, and warning the sinner to flee from the wrath to come, until sometimes, perhaps, the emotional entered into the work in undue proportions.<sup>2</sup>

From this rather tempered description of the revival meeting of that day one gets enough to show why it caused sharp differences of feelings among Friends in many meetings. Some were fired by a zeal they had never known before while others were filled with dismay at what was taking place in Friends meetings. In the 1890s a new emphasis on evangelism, with its continued use of the revival meeting was evident; this would run its course in the first half of the twentieth century.

Though it is not possible to follow this phase of the meeting's history through the succeeding decade, some evidence of its continuance may



seen in the great number of visiting ministers and other Friends who came from different yearly meetings, especially during the last part of the nineteenth century. This change in the spiritual life style of Friends did not come suddenly with an outburst of fervent evangelism from a number of invading evangelists. Generally significant changes in the life and thought of people do not come suddenly. Speaking of this movement in America, Rufus M. Jones says:

Friends . . . had for a long time been moving more or less unconsciously toward a positive pronounced evangelical position though until the revival movement came on, this evangelism had been skillfully combined with the doctrine of the Inward Light and had been worked out in instinctive ways of faith and practice.<sup>3</sup>

Stephen Grellet was one of the exponents of this kind of evangelism when he visited Spring in 1800. Within the next hundred years Friends in this meeting were exposed to the full gamut of it. Just after the Civil War Allen Jay, who has been classed as one of the leading Quaker evangelists of the nineteenth century,<sup>4</sup> came to North Carolina to head up the work started by the Baltimore Association. His influence reached a high percentage of meetings in North Carolina and Spring was one of them.

Near the close of the century, on August 27, 1898, the minutes of the monthly meeting carried this item: "\$2.00 payed [sic] to John Henry Douglas." If this means that John Henry Douglas was at Spring, another of the strong leaders in the new evangelical movement in the second half of the nineteenth century visited that meeting. He was the second of the most noted evangelists of Midwestern Quakers to visit Spring.

## VISITING MINISTERS

During the thirty-five years between the end of the Civil War and 1900, no less than eighty-three visiting Friends attended sessions of Spring Monthly Meeting. It is not likely that the number who visited meetings for worship at Spring Meeting House will ever be known; it could be much greater than the number who visited sessions of the monthly meeting. For what it may be worth, thirteen of the known visitors came to Spring in the last four years of the 1860s, nineteen in the 1870s, eleven in the 1880s, and thirty-five in the 1890s. It may be of significance that only one visitor came from England and only one from yearly meetings north of North Carolina. Of those who came from yearly meetings in the Middle West, thirty-one were from Indiana, four from Ohio and two from Iowa. This leaves forty-four from other

meetings in North Carolina and Tennessee. (Friends in Tennessee were in North Carolina Yearly Meeting until 1897, when they were transferred to Wilmington Yearly Meeting.) These statistics reveal a lack of communication with yearly meetings to the north and northeast, whose ministers had enriched the life of Spring Meeting in the earlier years of its history. No doubt the major, if not the sole reason for this change is to be found in the separations which took place in the first half of the nineteenth century. The separations in 1827-1828 and 1845 had raised barriers which prevented ministers and other Friends from traveling freely to meetings in all yearly meetings.

It is not possible to tell if all of the visitors to Spring Meeting were ministers, and it is not possible to tell how many of those who came from Indiana were returning to their old home community or to the homeland of their parents. It seems a safe conjecture that the stream of ministers who came to Spring from the Middle West brought some of the evangelical fervor which was sweeping through the meetings in that area: a fervor which moved the revivalists as they traveled through various yearly meetings.

## MEETING HOUSES

During the 1870s, when the South was blighted by the economic aftermath of the Civil War, and while people were plagued by sharp party politics, Spring Monthly Meeting actually grew in strength and met the long-standing need for a new meeting house. It seems quite likely that the members of the meeting were stimulated to this action in part, at least, by the religious fervor that usually accompanied revivalist movements. Their old meeting house had been in a dilapidated condition for at least twenty-five years, and it had stood through these years as a standing appeal for a new building. Other forces could have helped to move these Friends to this action. During the 1870s building meeting houses had become almost epidemic in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. More than half the local meetings in the yearly meeting built new meeting houses during the 1870s and 1880s. As Cartland put it, "They have built 39 new meeting-houses and repaired many old ones. This has been the result of earnest, self-sacrificing labor, performed with definite ends in view, viz. the conversion of sinners and the building up of the church."<sup>5</sup>

The 1854 delegation of Friends from Indiana Yearly Meeting to North Carolina Yearly Meeting "passed old Spring meeting-house, a dilapidated building . . . This was once a large and flourishing [sic] meeting but now reduced to almost nothing . . . The weather quite cold,

to stove in the meeting house, and it very open.”<sup>6</sup> The one member of his traveling troupe who wrote the account leaves us bewildered largely because of what he failed to tell about the old meeting house. What he did tell would fit either a log or a frame structure. It is hard to believe that a flourishing meeting which Spring was said to have been would have been content with a log building. Thomas Lindley and Hugh Laughlin had begun to operate a sawmill more than twenty years before the Revolutionary War and this could have been the source of lumber for a frame meeting house.

On September 27, 1873, near the one hundredth anniversary of the recognition of Spring meeting for worship by the quarterly meeting, the monthly meeting recorded in its minutes:

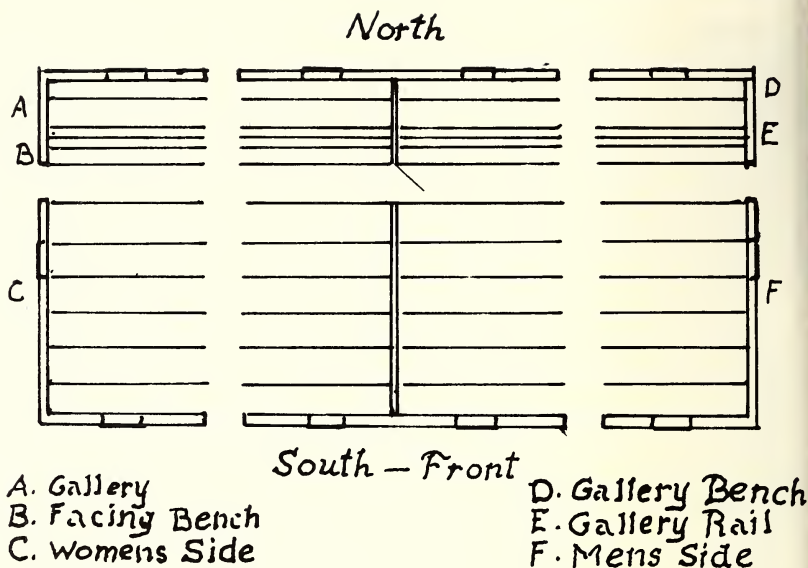
James Newlin, Nathaniel Woody, Thomas Woody, Jesse Buckner and William L. Lindley are appointed a building committee to collect what has been subscribed, and solicit further aid and proceed with the work as soon as possible and report to next meeting.

Evidently the decision to build a meeting house and some pledges for financial support had already been made. Two dates for the completion of the building have been found, 1876 and 1877. Three or four years seems a rather long time for the completion of the building after the committee had been directed to proceed. A search of the minutes of the meeting from January 1872 through the year 1878 revealed nothing relative to the new meeting house — nothing of any previous appeal for funds and no report of its completion. Alpheus F. Zachary said the building was completed in the summer of 1876 and that it had to be given a new cover in 1809.<sup>7</sup>

Most of the lumber for the building was from timber cut on the farm on which young Alfred L. Zachary lived, and the labor was no doubt by members of the meeting. The new meeting house was located between the present one and the cemetery, a rectangular building facing south. On the south side it had two entrances, one for each of the two meeting rooms. The building was from fifty-eight to sixty feet long and twenty-eight feet wide. This would make the rooms almost square.

The men held their meetings in the east room and the women in the west room. The arrangement of the two rooms was exactly the same. From the front (south) entrance an aisle led across each room to an outside door on the north. Across the north side was a gallery with benches for ministers and elders. The floor of the gallery was elevated as much as eighteen inches with a railing in front approximately three feet high. A row of “facing benches” was in front of the gallery, on the main floor. Friends seated in the body of the meeting faced north.

An important feature, second only to the gallery, was the partition



*Floor plan of third meeting house, built in 1876. Drawn from information given by Alpheus Zachary, as he remembered it.*

between the two rooms — a series of shutters that could be opened or closed as desired. When the women and men wished to have a joint meeting the shutters were raised, though the women and men continued to sit in their respective rooms. Their meetings for business were held separately and simultaneously but meetings for worship were almost always joint sessions. The galleries enabled the ministers and elders to be seen as examples in worship, and enabled them to keep a responsible eye alert to anyone who might be inclined to misuse the time for worship. At that time the meeting houses at Rocky River and South Fork were of similar architecture.

This meeting house was used only about thirty years. In 1907 the present house was built. In architecture it is of a style which many Friends were beginning to use at that time. Before the end of the nineteenth century most of the meetings had abandoned separate business sessions for men and women. The Uniform Discipline, adopted by North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1903, made no provision for women's meetings for business. The loss of some of the minutes may rob us of information about changes made at Spring; but on September 25, 1897, Samuel E. Woody and Katie Woody were named as clerks of the monthly meeting and two men and three women were named as overseers. The last appointment reported in the minutes before that date



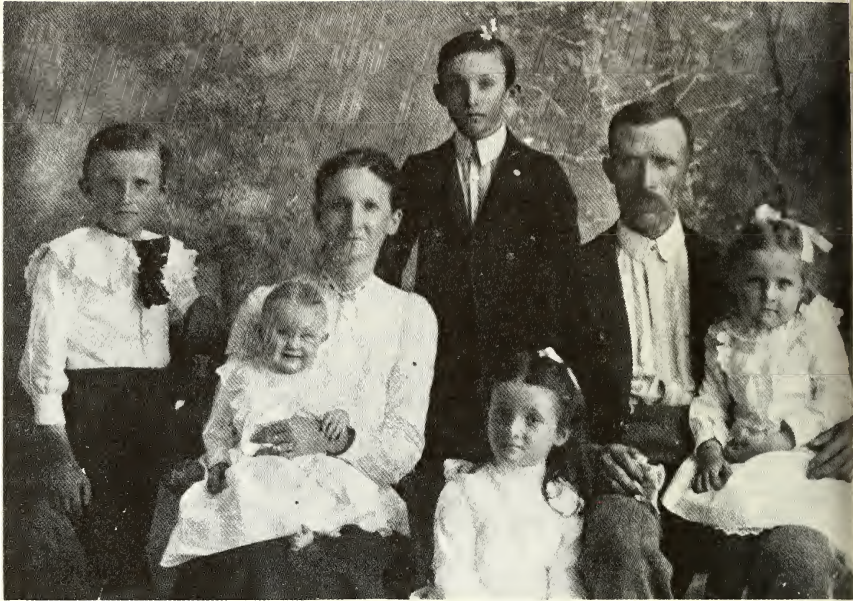
show that Samuel Woody was named clerk of the men's monthly meeting and Alfred L. Zachary assistant clerk. It was between 1893 and 1897 that men and women began meeting together in sessions of the monthly meeting. The style of the new meeting house of 1907 is in keeping with the need of one monthly meeting and the pastoral type of meeting for worship, though Spring did not secure a pastor until several years later.

## LIFE AND WORK

Very little information about the spiritual vitality, social consciousness, and actual work of the membership of Spring Monthly Meeting, for the period now under consideration, is given by the minutes of the meeting or by any other known sources. The pictures which come from miserly sources are rather gloomy. In a surprising number of the sessions no item of business was recorded. In other sessions only the appointment of representatives to quarterly meeting, or the brief report of the representatives, find any reference in the minutes. For some of the months no minutes were recorded. Representatives to monthly meeting were named by the constituent preparative meetings. The record of attendance in 1876 and 1877 stimulates questions; in the session of February 26, 1876, held at South Fork, no representative from Spring; March 25, 1876, at Spring, no representative from South Fork; December 30, 1876, held at South Fork, no representative from Spring; then on November 24, 1877, "no representatives present on account of high water."

During much of the period South Fork and Spring seem to have been in membership pretty generally of equal strength and Chatham in third place, if the assessments for the yearly meeting stock give any indication of the relative numerical strength of the meetings. In 1875 the assessments were Spring \$9, South Fork \$8.00, and Chatham \$5.00. These amounts must have had some relationship to the number of members in each meeting.

Before 1850 Friends in Spring Meeting became interested in starting a meeting library. On June 27, 1858, a committee was appointed to raise money to pay for the thirteen volumes of *Friends Library*, largely a collection of memoirs and journals of deceased Friends. On November 26, 1865, a number of books from Philadelphia were added. On January 27, 1866, the monthly meeting reported the receipt of a number of school books for children to be distributed among the three local meetings. This brings Friends in this area to the beginning of the



*Grant and Lenora McBand and family, Ross, Lenora holding Mabel, Perisho, Grant, Sandra, and Vera, in front.*

tremendous work of the Baltimore Association in promoting education among the Friends of the South.

Friends in Spring Monthly Meeting showed a readiness to give their support to the directives of the yearly meeting. They continued to work with committees appointed to labor within their limits to remove the "deficiencies" which were a concern of the yearly meeting. In 1873 Spring's assessment for building a meeting house for the yearly meeting came to \$38.00. It took the monthly meeting two months to raise the amount but it was paid in full.<sup>8</sup>

### USE OF ALCOHOL AS A BEVERAGE

For several decades the yearly meeting collected statistics designed to show how widely alcohol was used by members of the Society of Friends. Every year Spring Monthly Meeting appointed a committee to make a survey of the members of the local meetings. The report of 1858 may be taken as typical, showing the number of users and how they used it: Spring Meeting, 26 "for medicinal purposes," 6 "other uses"; South Fork, 16 "for medicinal purposes," and 1 for other uses." Chatham, 18 "for medicinal purposes" and 2 for "other uses." This report may

prompt one to ask whether there was a lot of sickness in the Cane Creek Valley, or was this just the most effective medicine available at that time, or was it freely used as a preventive medicine?

## ZEAL FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

One ray of light on the life of the meeting reveals the development of interest in missionary work in foreign fields. Before the end of the decade of the 1870s Quaker interest in missions was stirring Friends over much of the Society. In 1861 Joel and Hannah Bean returned to Iowa from several months of close association with missionary work in Hawaii, to arouse the interest of American Friends in this work. In 1869 Eli and Sybil Jones of New England Yearly Meeting started a school in Palestine. In 1870 English Friends formed the Friends Foreign Mission Association. In 1871 Samuel and Gulielma Hoover Purdie, who had been members of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, began missionary work in Mexico.

On this background Spring Monthly Meeting in July 1874 appointed five Friends to the Missionary Board: Nathaniel and Margaret Cox Woody from Spring; James and Martha Lindley from South Fork; and Claiborn Guthrie from Chatham. Friends in this monthly meeting had close association with many of the members of Back Creek Monthly Meeting from which the Purdies had gone to Mexico. Through this channel and in other ways they heard of the work of the Purdies and must have been inspired by it.

On November 30, 1878, a large Missionary Committee was appointed, made up of eighteen Friends from all of the subordinate meetings of the monthly meeting: Camillis McBane, Owen Holliday, Jonathan Zachary, Jr., A. H. Harris, Maben McBane, William T. Lindley, James Newlin, Alfred Guthrie, Thomas Woody, Nathaniel Woody, Nancy Wright, Elizabeth Hadley, Martha Lindley, Mary Newlin, Caroline Guthrie, Margaret Woody, Sarah Holliday, and Claiborn Guthrie. In this developing interest in Spring Monthly Meeting the influence of the Woody family must have been strong. Nathaniel and Margaret Cox Woody were among those appointed to the Mission Board and both were members of the meeting's first Missionary Committee. At the time of the appointment of the committee in 1878, two of their daughters, Ellen and Martha (eleven and nine years of age), were old enough to be eager listeners and perhaps participants in the conversations, led by their parents, on the new vision being caught by Spring Friends of their opportunities for Christian service in foreign fields. It is hard to think that it was just a coincidence, and not their experience in their home and





*Ellen Woody Pain*

in Spring Meeting that caused Ellen and Martha Woody to spend the major parts of their lives in Cuba. Their work helped to lay the foundation for Cuba Yearly Meeting. During their childhood the evangelism, including the revival meetings, which members of Spring Meeting experienced must have helped to inspire them for their work as missionaries.



# *Spring Enters the Twentieth Century*

## CHANGES IN RURAL LIFE

As the twentieth century emerged the general society in which Friends in Spring Meeting lived was in transition. That the people were predominantly still in the nineteenth century was indicated by their appearance and manner of living, yet in many ways they were reaching forward into the twentieth; they had made some of the changes which bore the characteristics of the emerging century.

Changes were seen in the architecture of the dwelling houses and the barns which had been built within the past few years. Though many in use were log structures, such as had been characteristic of the Cane Creek Valley since the first settlers built their homes, frame houses were of the type being built around the turn of the century. The log dwelling houses which were still in use were either one and one-half or two-story structures. In either case the kitchen was a separate, one-story log building, attached to one end of the "big house." In the newer frame dwellings a one-story ell, attached to the rear side of the larger part of the house, provided space for a kitchen and dining room.

Farming implements and methods of farming were changing. This was quite obvious in the new machines and implements seen on some of the farms. The grain drill, for sowing wheat, oats and rye, was replacing the long-used practice of broadcasting the "small grain" by hand, and covering it with a drag harrow or "brush." Some of the farmers had acquired a corn planter to replace the old method of "dropping corn" by hand. Cotton seed planters were coming into use, and commercial fertilizer distributors were being acquired. The wheat harvester, sometimes called the "binder" for its binding wheat, oats and rye in bundles, was taking the place of the hand-operated "cradle." The mowing machine was taking the place of the mowing scythe, and the horse-drawn hay rake was proving more efficient than the hand rake in taking care of the cured hay. The binder and mowing machine were pulled by two horses or mules; the hay rake by one. The rotation of crops, terracing the fields to prevent erosion, the use of commercial fertilizer, the careful selection



*Spring Meeting House with congregation, 1939*

of seed grain for planting, and the improvement of the breed of livestock, were some of the changes which were emerging on the farms in the Spring community at that time.

In each community there was a privately owned outfit for threshing small grain. It went from farm to farm during the threshing season. A small percentage of the grain threshed was charged as a toll for the threshing. By 1900 the power for operating the threshing machine had changed from the old "horsepower" to the portable steam engine.

It now seems likely that most of the people in the Spring community had not made all the changes indicated above by the year 1900, but these changes were definitely in motion at that time. In spite of the many changes, a kind of subsistence farming would continue in this area until after World War I. The objective of most of the farmers was to provide a "good living" for the family, and if possible accumulate a little money for reserve. Some of the farmers produced a few bales of cotton, or an acre or two of tobacco, for their money crop. In addition to cotton or tobacco, small amounts of grain or cured meat might be sold each year.

Spring Friends were approximately equidistant from Graham, Pittsboro and Siler City and the markets provided in these small towns. Roads to these places were almost impassable during the winter months, cutting to a minimum the access by Spring Friends to markets. At the country store much of the trade was barter. Members of the family would take a few dozen eggs, a few chickens, a piece of cured meat, or a bushel or two of grain to the store to exchange for needed commodities. Just the bare necessities, which could not be produced on the farm, were bought: salt, coffee, sugar, and a few yards of textile goods to be made into clothing. If the produce taken to the store exceeded in value the commodities purchased the customer did not receive the difference in money; instead a slip of paper was given with the inscription, "Due John Harvey fifty-seven cents" (or to whatever person for whatever amount). The "due bill" as it was called, signed by the merchant, could be redeemed only at this particular store in goods sold by the merchant. It sounds like a very inconvenient system, but with the acute shortage of money it was the best that could be devised.

One of the very important changes seen around the turn of the century was in the decline of the home textile industry. Until this time women in the family carded the cotton fiber, wool or flax, spun it into thread, and with the home loom made it into cloth. From this home-made cloth they made the clothing and other important articles used by the family. Now drygoods were available in towns and in the rural stores; even ready-made clothing was available in towns. These commodities were being bought by people within the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting as they were able to make these purchases. By 1914 the home textile industry was a matter of history.

## INTEREST IN EDUCATION

One of the many aspects of life of Friends at Spring which were in process of changing around the turn of the century was the effort of people to provide better schools for their children. Friends in the Spring





*The Alfred and Ila Zachary family — Alta, Wilson, Callie, Thompson, Ruth, George, Mattie Ann, back row. Front, Alpheus Folger, Mahlon, Alfred, Hazel, Ila, Bertha.*

Monthly Meeting had an important part in the educational reform which was beginning to sweep the state. In 1902 and 1903 the thinking of the people in the state was shaken by 350 vigorously conducted educational rallies scattered over the state. In that period 161 school districts voted special taxes upon themselves for the support of their respective schools, and 676 new school houses were built within the state. Friends within the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting were actively participating in these developments.

In two of the local school districts within the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting, the patrons had voted a special tax upon themselves which enabled them to increase the school term from four months in the year to approximately six months.

In 1902 the patrons of Green Hill School built a new two-room school house about a quarter of a mile from the old one-room building. The Spring school house was in sight of the Spring Meeting House. Soon after 1900 the patrons of the Spring School added a second room,



and within a few years, a third was built. The state Rural School Act of 1907 enabled Spring and Green Hill Schools to offer courses of high school rank.

A short article in the *Friends Messenger* for "Third Month 1904" gives a glimpse of the Spring School: "For two years we have had a good graded school running more than half the year. Our efficient principal J. Clark Wilson is also superintendent of our Sabbath School." This article, written by a member of Spring Meeting, may imply that the school belonged to the monthly meeting; actually it was a public school. The two-sentence report gives very important elements in the current history of the school. It put the school in the developing statewide movement for the improvement of schools: it had installed the graded school system which was just beginning in the state; the school term had been increased to six months. It points up 1902 as the time when some of the changes were taking place. Clark Wilson, a prominent Friend, was a strong connecting link between the school and the meeting, as principal of the school and superintendent of the Sunday School.

The caliber and character of the teachers in the Spring School and the number of students who went from there to college must reveal something of the quality of the training received by students who attended the school. Between 1888 and 1922 when Spring School was laid down for the district to be incorporated into the Eli Whitney School District, a stream of teachers passed through Spring School. Most of them taught there for relatively short terms. Their educational qualifications and their competence for the teaching profession make these teachers outstanding as individuals and as a group. For the thirty-four-year period the names of twenty-five teachers have been found; at least sixteen of them were members of the Society of Friends.

The teachers are given in what may be approximately chronological order: Elzena McBane Woody, Jesse Thompson, Samuel Woody, Martha Woody, and Jessie Stockard were in the period before 1900. Mary Holmes was in 1900 and J. Waldo Woody became the teacher in 1901. Two letters written by Grant McBane, chairman of the school committee, reveal that J. Waldo Woody was employed to teach for the school term beginning "the first Monday in November, 1901." His salary was to be twenty-five dollars a month. In 1902 J. Clark Wilson was employed to teach the school. The following year he reported to Western Quarterly Meeting that the school term began on August 17, 1903, with an enrollment of 110 pupils. The school house had been enlarged to accommodate the pupils, and three teachers had been employed. He reported that thirty-four of the pupils were from Spring Meeting, six from Chatham and two from South Fork, indicating that forty-two of the pupils were members of the Society of Friends.

The other teachers it has been possible to identify are: Lonnie Foust, Mahlon Newlin, Lillian Marlette, Rosa Coffin, Arka Zachary, Nannie Guthrie, Margaret Peele, Mary Lambeth, Myrtle Ezelle, Mark Bennett, Ernest Dixon, Fanny Grey, Jessie Phillips, Lena Guthrie, Virgie Guthrie, Leanna Stuart, Blanche Lindley, and Annie Lindley. Ernest Dixon was principal of the school when it was absorbed by the Eli Whitney consolidated district. He became the first principal of the Eli Whitney school.<sup>1</sup>

The patrons of the school who were members of Spring Monthly Meeting must deserve some of the credit for the high quality of the work of the school. Some of them served on the school committee. For several years Grant McBane was its chairman. The loyal supporters of the school initiated a special tax for its support, and built, a few years apart, two additional rooms to the school building. Their children made up more than one-third of the children in the school. In 1903 forty-two of the 110 pupils were Quakers.

The associations between Spring Friends and Guilford College have been close and numerous, and have spread out over most of the history of the Spring School. The connections between Spring Friends and the college began with the preparations for founding the New Garden Boarding School between 1834 and 1837. John Newlin, a prominent member of Spring Meeting, was the first person named by the yearly meeting to the committee charged with raising funds for the construction of a building to house the boarding school. Since he was the first person named on the committee it may be assumed that he was the chairman of the committee. This was an important position; upon the success or failure of the committee rested the fate of the boarding school.

To continue the role that he had taken in the founding of the boarding school John Newlin and his wife, Rebecca Long Newlin, sent the last six of their ten children to New Garden Boarding School. Their daughter Mary was there during the first year of the school, 1837-38. Mary's life was rather distinctive. She was born September 2, 1821, at the Newlin home near Spring Meeting House. At the age of sixteen she entered New Garden Boarding School. She married Samuel D. Coffin of New Garden Meeting. At the age of forty she and her husband moved from North Carolina to Parke County, Indiana. She died at her home in California on November 21, 1921, at the age of 100 years, two months and six days. During her long life, the course which she followed in her "removals" gives an example of the course of Quaker migrations during the nineteenth century. Of the other five children of John and Rebecca Newlin who went to New Garden Boarding School, two of them, William and Deborah, were at New Garden during the second year of the school, 1838-39, Thomas and Nancy were there

1844-45, and Gulielma was there during the school year 1845-46. Albert G. Lindley, son of Joshua Lindley and a brother of J. Van Lindley, was at New Garden during the school year 1849-50.

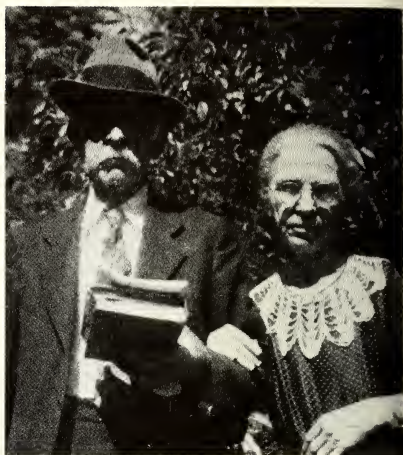
Of the families of Spring Friends with children in New Garden Boarding School and later in Guilford College, that of Nathaniel Woody must have won the attendance record. Nathaniel Woody was one of the Friends in Spring Meeting who reached patriarchal status. He began his school training in a subscription school near Spring Meeting House in the year 1820. He was married twice. He and Sarah Hornaday were married February 16, 1837. They had three children. His second marriage was March 28, 1858, to Margaret Cox; they had six children. Seven of Nathaniel Woody's nine children went to New Garden Boarding School and the two youngest went to Guilford College.

Mary Ann Woody, the oldest of the nine children, went to New Garden in the school year 1852-53; William N. Woody was there 1859-1860; John W. Woody, in 1860-1861. These three were the children of Nathaniel and Sallie Hornaday Woody. The children of Nathaniel and Margaret Cox Woody follow in order: Sarah Jane Woody, Samuel E. Woody and Catharine ("Katie") Woody were at New Garden in the school year 1878-1879 (three in one year); Rachel Woody 1881-1882. The eighth and ninth of the family, Amy Ellen Woody and Martha Jay Woody were at Guilford College in 1893. Ellen and Martha Woody were probably the first members of Spring Meeting to enter Guilford College, after the boarding school changed to college status.

This was a distinguished family. Of the nine children, John W. Woody was the most widely known and his career was perhaps the most illustrious. After his year at New Garden Boarding School he made his way to Indiana during the first years of the Civil War, where he continued his education. There he married Mary Chawner. Theirs was a cooperative life in education and ministry in the Society of Friends. John W. Woody was the president of the short-lived Whittier College of Salem, Iowa. He was the first president of Penn College in Oskaloosa, Iowa. He was later on the first faculty of Whittier College in California, the first faculty of Friends University, Wichita, Kansas, and the first faculty of Guilford College. Perhaps no other Friend was ever a participant in the beginning of as many Quaker colleges.

Samuel E. Woody lived at the Woody place near Saxaphaw. He taught at Spring School and for a number of years was clerk of Spring Monthly Meeting. His sisters Ellen and Martha Woody, the two youngest in the family, were among the pioneer Quaker missionaries in Cuba. In their long work on the island they helped to lay the foundation for the Cuba Yearly Meeting. The connections of the Nathaniel Woody family with Spring Monthly Meeting of Friends spans most of the history of





*Samuel and Elzena McBane Woody*

that monthly meeting.

Thomas Newlin, the youngest son of John and Rebecca Long Newlin, and a former student of New Garden Boarding School, lived on the south side of Cane Creek, which put him and the members of his family within the limits of Chatham Friends Meeting, still a subordinate meeting of Spring. Thomas and his wife Harriet Grimes Newlin sent their three daughters to New Garden Boarding School. Deborah attended for the two school years 1877–1879, and Elma and Mary joined their sister there for the school year 1878–1879. In that same year William E. Newlin was at New Garden.

During the last three years of the history of New Garden Boarding School four members of Spring Monthly Meeting were in school there: John Guthrie, son of George and Ann Guthrie of Chatham Meeting; and Elzena McBane, Grant McBane, and Seymour McBane of Spring Particular Meeting.

The school year 1888–1889 was the first year in the history of Guilford College, which had just emerged from New Garden Boarding School. Alpheus Folger Zachary graduated from Guilford College in 1911, the first member of Spring Meeting to do so. In 1914 Edgar Holt McBane became the second.

The names given below, in alphabetical order, are members of Spring Meeting who had been students at the Spring School, who continued their studies at Guilford College:



Donna McBane	Frank Marlette
Edgar Holt McBane	Mildred Marlette
George Clyde McBane	Clay Perry
Grady McBane	Glenn Perry
Jessie Willard McBane	Alpheus Folger Zachary
Mabel McBane	Alta Zachary
Mary Gladys McBane	Bertha Zachary
Pauline McBane	Hazel Zachary
Perisho McBane	J. Thompson Zachary
Una Seal McBane	Ruth Zachary
Vera McBane	Ellen Woody
Waldo McBane	Martha Woody

Nine of these graduated from Guilford Collge. At least eight of the twenty-four later settled within the limits of Spring Meeting.

It seems certain that there were many students from Spring who lived within the limits of South Fork Meeting who went to New Garden Boarding School or Guilford College (while South Fork was a subordinate meeting of Spring Monthly Meeting). Many Hadleys and Lindleys are given in the Guilford College Directory as having been students at New Garden Boarding School but have not been identified. Some of them must have been members of South Fork Meeting. Those who have been identified are

Ida Harris	Alva Lindley
Lelia Harris	Joshua Lindley
Paul Harris	Silas Lindley
	Webster Lindley

Two of these, Alva Lindley and Silas Lindley, received the bachelor's degree at Guilford College.

During the school year 1901-1902, the Green Hill School House was located where it had been for many years, in a pasture nearly half a mile to the east from the road which is now called Green Hill Road. In that year Walter Siler, a young man who was "reading law" in preparation for a career in the legal profession, was the teacher.<sup>2</sup> In the one-room school house more than forty pupils, ranging in age from six to around twenty, were trying to get some sort of education. A feeling of sympathy should go to the teacher and to the pupils.

During the summer of 1902 the patrons of the Green Hill School built a two-room schoolhouse on what is now Green Hill Road, just opposite the home of Hiram Braxton. Jesse Stockard was the principal of the school in that year and Octavia Hockett was the teacher of the beginning grades. During the next twenty years the two teachers were followed by these teachers (order unknown): Rayburn Ellington, Lonnie



*Alfred and Ada Boone McBane, parents of Edgar H. McBane*

Foust, Nannie Guthrie, John Winslow, Nannie Watkins, Mary Lambeth, Carl Clapp, W. T. Hurst, Irene Lindley, Edna Lindley, Alpheus Zachary and Iola Braxton.<sup>3</sup> Of these fourteen teachers, five were members of the Society of Friends. Some of the members of the school board were Friends, and at one time a Quaker was the chairman of the board for a period of years. To some of those who were this author's teachers the highest commendation and praise is given.

Green Hill, like Spring School and many of the rural schools in North Carolina at that time offered a number of courses of high school rank. Some of the first of the students from this school to enter college went with sufficient credits to enter the freshman class. Bessie Guthrie, the first student from Green Hill to attend Guilford College, graduated in 1916, and Rhesa Newlin, the second, in 1917. The quality of the education received at the school was excellent for that day, in a rural school. As in the case of Spring School, of the students who went from the school to college Quaker students predominated.

The Green Hill School was within the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting during all the period now being considered, until Chatham Monthly Meeting was set up. Since the meeting house of the West Grove Conservative Friends is almost within sight of Green Hill Schoolhouse, it seems appropriate to include the young Friends from this meeting who attended Guilford College:

Evelyn Braxton	Ollie McBane	Harvey Newlin
Lorene Braxton	Verdie McBane	Harvey Roseland Newlin
Wilbert Braxton	Algie Newlin	Helen Newlin
Bessie Guthrie	Annie Mae Newlin	Ira Newlin
Carey Guthrie	Barclay Newlin	James W. Newlin
Edna Guthrie	Curtis Newlin	Orlin Newlin
Garvis Guthrie	Dayton Newlin	Orpha Newlin
Leona Guthrie	Delmas Newlin	Rhesa Newlin
Nannie Guthrie	Elbert Newlin	Ruth Newlin
Everett McBane	Hale Newlin	Sadie Newlin
Neave McBane		Wendell Newlin

Five other students who were not Friends went from the Green Hill district to Guilford College: Della Braxton, Edward Braxton, Everett Braxton, John H. Braxton and Pearl Braxton. Twenty-three of these young men and young women received the bachelors degree — a remarkable record. Only eight of the thirty-seven remained in their home community after leaving Guilford College.

Though neither of these two schools, within the limits of Spring Monthly Meeting, can be considered a Friends School, the Quaker influence is seen as important in both of them. In the Spring School it appears to have been predominant, so much so that it was sometimes referred to as a "Quaker school." The cooperative interest in the education of their children, shown by the members of these three meetings, reveals qualities of life which must have made these communities shining lights in the area.

## UNITING MEN'S AND WOMEN'S MEETINGS

One of the significant changes in Spring Meeting which took place near the turn of the century was the fusion of the men's monthly meeting with that of the women. This step was significant in that it brought the professed equality of men and women in the Society of Friends one step closer to reality. In its setting in the early history of the Society the women's meeting began in some of the local meetings of England. In 1679, a quarter of a century after the beginning of the Society of Friends, Irish Friends set up a women's yearly meeting and in 1671 women's meetings were set up in Virginia. In 1681 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting established a women's yearly meeting. In the American Colonies all the yearly meetings set up preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings for women. In England London Yearly Meeting did not allow the establishment of a women's yearly meeting until 1784, more than 100 years after women's yearly meetings were set up in

Ireland and America.

There are no minutes of Spring Women's Preparative Meeting but it seems safe to assume that there was one. When Spring Monthly Meeting was established in 1793 the women's monthly meeting was set up on a par with that for men, as a part of the monthly meeting. It began under strong leadership with Mary Laughlin Woody as clerk and Hannah Thompson as assistant clerk. During the first twenty-one years of the history of the monthly meeting, a period marked by the loss of the minutes of the men's meeting, the minutes of the women's meeting are the primary source for the history of the monthly meeting.

As the beginning of the twentieth century drew near the movement which brought an end to the women's meeting, or perhaps it should be said the movement which united the men's and the women's monthly meetings, swept through most of the Society of Friends, including North Carolina Yearly Meeting. In many cases the transition was brought about gradually and sometimes over a period of several years. After the early years of the 1870s joint sessions of the men's and women's meetings in North Carolina Yearly Meeting became more and more frequent though the discipline continued to encourage women to keep up their meetings. In the revision of 1869 the discipline contains the following:

Women's Meetings. Recommended that women Friends continue to hold Preparative, Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in separate apartments: and therein to have the care and oversight of their sex, and exercise the discipline relative thereto and request the judgment and assistance of the men Friends when they think it necessary.

This provision of the discipline shows that women's meetings were restricted to a more narrow scope of jurisdiction than the men's meeting. This was repeated in the revisions of 1876 and 1893, but the Uniform Discipline, adopted in 1902 by North Carolina Yearly Meeting, is completely silent on the subject of women's meetings, indicating that they had, or would soon, come to an end.

The last minutes of the women's meeting of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting are for the session of "8th Month 15, 1898." In the session of the yearly meeting for August 9, 1900, Albert Peele, on behalf of the representatives, reported that they were "united in proposing the name of L. L. Hobbs to serve as clerk of the men's meeting . . . and . . . Priscilla Hackney as clerk of the women's meeting." Evidently the men and women representatives had met as one body and named clerks for the two yearly meetings. However in the session of the following year, for August 9, 1901, the representatives named L. L. Hobbs as clerk of the yearly meeting and Priscilla Hackney and W. Jasper Thompson as assistant clerks. This seems to show that North Carolina Yearly Meeting



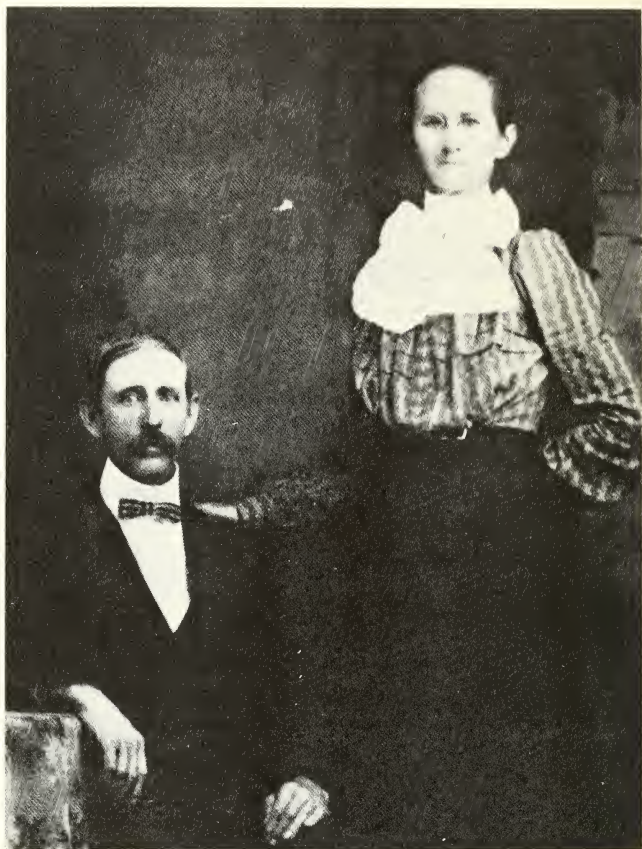
had united the two meetings just before the ratification of the Uniform Discipline by that body.

The transition was taking place in local meetings in North Carolina before 1900. In New Garden Monthly Meeting most of the sessions of the year 1893 were joint sessions in which the men and women worked together. The last minutes of the women's meeting were for the session of February 24, 1894.

In Spring Monthly Meeting the men and women's meetings met simultaneously for approximately one hundred years after the monthly meeting was set up in 1793. In this meeting the fusion of the two meetings must have been made gradually as it was done in other places, but the transition is hidden from view, in part, by the loss of pertinent minutes of the men's monthly meeting for the period in which the transition was taking place. The last minutes of the women's monthly meeting now known are for the session of February 25, 1885, but this was certainly not the last session of their monthly meeting. The minutes of the men's monthly meeting are missing for the period between the session of September 29, 1894 and that of January 30, 1897. In the minutes for January 30, 1897, both men and women are included in the monthly meeting committees, indicating that the two meetings had been joined together. However, Samuel Woody signed the minutes of the monthly meeting until January 29, 1898, when he and Katie Woody signed the minutes as clerks.

No specific statement has been found in the minutes of the meeting which stated that the men and women had joined together in one meeting but the signature of the minutes by a man and woman gives ground for the assumption that the union of the two meetings had taken effect.

The fusion of the meetings of men and women was a significant step which opened the way for women to move toward a position of equality with the men in meetings for business. However neither the minutes of the meetings nor the pens of the historians have fully recognized the significance of the change. It seems to have been one of the last needed steps leading toward the equality of the two sexes in the Society of Friends. Though putting men and women together in meetings for business made equality possible it was not accomplished immediately. When the change was made, women's meetings were thought of as being abolished and the men's meeting as continuing with the addition of the women. During the early years after the transition the clerk of the meeting was almost invariably a man and the assistant, or recording clerk, was a woman. After a few years this ceased to be true and today women are often seen in the clerk's position in monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings.



*William ("Bill") and Catherine Buckner Perry*

Spring Meeting has been in this stream of Quaker history. Not many years after the men and women were united in their business meeting Lenora McBane was named as the clerk of the meeting. The present clerk, Mary Ruth Perry, has been in that position for more than thirty years. It is evident throughout most of the Society of Friends that women have moved into a position of equality with men in meetings for business and in many meetings they bear more of the weight of the meeting than men.

## NEW MONTHLY MEETINGS

As the nineteenth century drew near its close the status of the preparative meeting in North Carolina Yearly Meeting was changing. A stronger local meeting consciousness seemed to be emerging and with it a desire for monthly meeting status. In 1902 North Carolina Yearly Meeting adopted the Uniform Discipline which dropped the preparative meeting from the constitutional structure. Now if a particular meeting wished to exercise the functions of local autonomy it must have monthly meeting status.

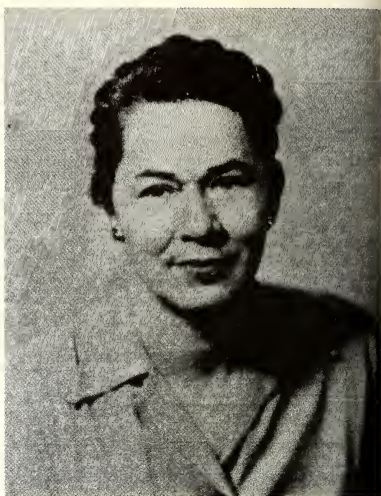
In 1847 when Eno Meeting was laid down Spring Monthly Meeting was reduced to three subordinate meetings: Chatham, South Fork, and Spring. Through nearly 150 years the members of these meetings had been bound together by close ties of kinship and monthly meeting affairs, and so far as anyone is able to see there had been no desire to break this close association until the twentieth century was drawing near. In 1897 South Fork Friends requested the privilege of holding monthly meetings. A decade later this request was made by Friends in Chatham Meeting.

Other influences must have had their bearing upon the actions by South Fork and Chatham meetings. The inconvenience of riding horseback or in a buggy several miles to attend a session of the monthly meeting must have had its influence. What took place at the end of the ride could have been given some consideration. Anyone who has the time and patience to endure the dull monotony of reading the minutes of a monthly meeting, almost any monthly meeting, can often find there very little which would entice a busy person to make a long journey. In their preparative meetings they had dealt with matters of local interest; why not do this in sessions of their own monthly meeting? The stream (Cane Creek) which separated Spring meeting from the other two must also be given its place in these developments. During its flood stages the stream hampered attendance at the sessions of the monthly meeting.

## SOUTH FORK MONTHLY MEETING

A review of the constitutional developments in the South Fork Meeting prior to the application for monthly meeting status shows long intervals between successive steps; these intervals between the indulged meeting and the monthly meeting add up to approximately 100 years.

On the "3rd of 11th mo 1800" Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends reported that, "Friends on terrels Crick and the South Fork of Little Cain Crick requests Privelidge of holding meeting amongst them-



*Bertha Zachary Lindley*

selves." The committee appointed to inquire into the capability of their holding meetings for worship reported favorably on the "8th of 12th mo 1800." The monthly meeting granted the South Fork Friends the status of an indulged meeting for worship. This recognition came only seven years after the establishment of Spring Monthly Meeting but it was probably forty years after the Friends on the South Fork of Little Cane Creek began holding meetings for worship in that area.

Whether South Fork Friends had a meeting house in 1800 is not known. An article which appeared in a newspaper on October 10, 1925, indicates that meetings for worship were held in a log schoolhouse which stood on land owned by Sam Lindley at that time, but the time of its construction is not known. On February 11, 1811, William Williams held a "highly favored meeting at Spring Meeting House." On the previous day he had been at a meeting at South Fork, but he did not mention a meeting house. There is a tradition in the community that the first meeting house for South Fork Friends was a log structure which stood near the present site. In 1888 this was replaced by a meeting house similar in structure to that at Spring at that time. It was divided into two rooms with a meeting room for men and one for women. The "shutters" in the partition wall, when open, enabled men and women to have joint meetings for worship while seated separately in their respective rooms. The meeting house in use in 1925 provided only one worship room.

On 12th month 26, 1818, Spring Monthly Meeting reported to quarterly meeting that "The members of South Fork Meeting request that their meeting be established. Meeting approved laying it before the



quarterly meeting." This was eighteen years after Spring Monthly Meeting had indulged South Fork Meeting for Worship. After another seventeen-year interval, on February 23, 1835, Spring Monthly Meeting records that "South Fork requests the privilege of holding a preparative meeting." For some unknown reason the consideration of this proposal was postponed at each of the two succeeding sessions of the monthly meeting. On April 26, 1835, the request was approved and directed to quarterly meeting. With meticulous care the matter came to quarterly meeting

9th of 5th mo 1835. Spring Monthly Meeting informs that the members of South Fork request the privilege of holding a preparative meeting at South Fork meeting house the fifth day preceding the last seventh day in the month.

A committee was appointed to visit said meeting on this occasion. At the next session of Western Quarterly Meeting on August 8, 1835, South Fork Preparative Meeting was approved.

On July 31, 1875, Spring Monthly Meeting decided that the sessions of the monthly meeting should alternate between Spring and South Fork, a recognition of the strength of South Fork Meeting.<sup>4</sup>

After another long interval of twenty-two years the last step toward the establishment of South Fork Monthly Meeting was begun. On January 30, 1897, Spring Monthly Meeting reported that "South Fork Preparative Meeting requests for a monthly meeting to be set up at that place to be known as South Fork Monthly Meeting."

Western Quarterly Meeting, held at Cane Creek on February 13, 1897, completed the constitutional development of South Fork Meeting, as indicated in the following minute:

Spring Monthly Meeting applied for a new monthly meeting embracing South Fork and Plainfield, meeting places to be held alternately at South Fork and Plainfield and known as South Fork Monthly Meeting . . . This meeting concurs in the same . . .

Nothing has been found to indicate that anyone in Spring or Chatham meetings objected to the establishment of this new monthly meeting even though it must have taken more than half the membership of Spring Monthly Meeting. South Fork Friends had patiently waited through the long intervals between successive steps for a total of nearly 100 years for this final stage in their development.

## CHATHAM MONTHLY MEETING

There are obvious similarities between the early decades of the

history of Chatham and South Fork Meetings. Their first settlers seem to have arrived in the decade of the 1750s, not far behind the first to reach Spring. From their early history, ties of kinship bound both of them to members of Spring Meeting and to each other, but the history of Chatham is different from that of South Fork in that tradition tries to break through the cloak of secrecy which time has spread over these early settlements. It would have us believe that the first meetings for worship were held in the home of the newly married William and Katharine Lindley White who could have been the first Quaker settlers in the community.<sup>5</sup> Tradition also makes the tenuous claim that Cane Creek Monthly Meeting recognized this meeting as an indulged meeting for worship soon after it began, but no confirmation has been found for this claim.

Clear light of history was brought to bear on Chatham Friends when on August 28, 1824, Spring Monthly Meeting made this record in its minutes:

The Friends in the neighborhood of Samuel Holliday requests the privilege of holding an indulged meeting which this meeting takes into consideration so far as to appoint John Newlin (senr), Samuel Woody, William Morrison, Nathaniel Newlin and Isaac Shugart, to visit them.

Isaac Shugart lived in the Chatham community, and possibly one other member of the committee, though the duplication of names makes it impossible to say so. The report of this committee was approved by the monthly meeting September 25, 1824. This was nearly twenty-four years after Spring Monthly Meeting recognized South Fork as an indulged meeting for worship, and sixty-eight years after meetings for worship were reputed to have begun in William White's home. The minute which records the approval by the monthly meeting shows the meticulous care in this step taken by Friends:

The committee appointed last meeting to visit and judge the capability of the friends in the neighborhood of Samuel Holliday of holding meeting for worship reported that it is their sense and judgment that their request be granted with which this meeting unites and grants it accordingly and directs that it should be held on first and fifth days of the week except preparative meeting week, then no meeting on fifth day and directs that it be opened on fifth day next (after) the 30th of the month, which is to be known by the name of Chatham Meeting. William Morrison, Aaron Lindley and John Woody to attend the opening of s'd Meeting.

At the time of this action by the monthly meeting the boundary line between Chatham County and that part of Orange which later became Alamance followed the meandering course of the stream to the west, as closely as a straight line could, all the way to the Cane Creek Meeting

House. Since nearly all the members of the newly indulged meeting were living in Chatham County, the monthly meeting directed that it should be called Chatham Meeting. It seems quite possible that this designation had already been given Friends in this meeting. Seventy-one years later this county line was moved about three miles to the south, putting most of the members of Chatham Meeting into Alamance County, but the name of the meeting remained intact.

On October 29, 1824, Samuel Holliday deeded one acre of land lying in Chatham County" to Simon White and Nathaniel Newlin "for some people called Quakers." In 1825 these "people called Quakers" built a log meeting house on their one-acre tract of land. It was located on the west side of what is now Highway 87, approximately one mile south of Cane Creek. For many years this meeting house was also used for a "subscription school" for children in that community. In the years following the Civil War this school's term was never more than three months, sometimes less.<sup>6</sup>

The names of the early overseers of the meeting may identify some of the early members of the meeting. In 1822 the monthly meeting named Simon White, the only son of William and Katharine Lindley White, as overseer of the meeting. In 1824 Nathaniel Newlin, sometimes designated as "Junior," who lived near the meeting house, was put in this position. He was succeeded by George Curl in 1828.

During the next half-century history was unkind to Chatham Meeting; it was left in a "news blackout." Even the ministers who left journals and memoirs neglected the meeting. On June 30, 1832, there was one slight exception: the monthly meeting appointed a committee of twelve Friends "to visit Chatham Meeting and judge of the propriety of further indulgence in holding meetings there." A month later the appointed committee "advised that further indulgence be given with which this meeting unites." These two minutes leave a bit of uncertainty about the reasons for the investigation.

The little log meeting house, later referred to as "Little Chatham" or "Old Chatham," doubled as a place for worship and a schoolhouse through a period of sixty-three years. In 1888 a new meeting house was built approximately one mile west of the "Old Chatham" meeting house. It was built upon a tract of land given by George Guthrie, and located only a couple of hundred yards from his home in what was then Chatham County. He and his wife Sarah Ann Morris Guthrie and their four children had come from Saxaphaw, soon after 1870, where he had been superintendent and part owner of the textile mill which had been built and operated by John Newlin, a member of Spring Meeting. George Guthrie was a millwright and at the head of a partnership he had built a grist mill on Cane Creek, a short distance from his home. He and

his family became members of Chatham Meeting in 1873.

On January 29, 1898, Spring Monthly Meeting left the following minute:

A petition from Chatham Meeting was presented to this meeting asking for a preparative meeting at that place. S. E. Woody, A. L. Zachary, A. L. Guthrie, Camillis McBane, Caroline Guthrie, Mary McBane are appointed to have the matter in charge.

The first two members of this committee were from Spring meeting and the other four from Chatham. On February 16, 1898, the monthly meeting reported that "The Preparative Meeting report is accepted." With the exception of the substitution of the name of Mary E. Newlin for that of Camillis McBane, the same committee was appointed to attend the opening session of the preparative meeting. William W. Newlin was appointed as the first clerk of the meeting.

The history of Chatham Preparative Meeting presents three surprises, two of them the results of changes in the discipline of the yearly meeting. The first of these is the establishment of Chatham Preparative Meeting by Spring Monthly Meeting, without the consent of the quarterly meeting. A revision of the discipline between 1876 and 1888 made this possible. Before and under the revision of 1876 the consent of the quarterly meeting had been required.<sup>7</sup> The second surprise is the preservation of a full set of the minutes of all the sessions of this meeting. This seems to be almost unique in North Carolina Yearly Meeting; at least only one other preparative meeting has been found to have done so. The first session of the meeting was held 5 mo. 18, 1888. In the second session of this preparative meeting held "6 mo. 10, 1888 This meeting was made a meeting of record in this month, 6 mo. 1888."

Chatham Preparative Meeting was surprisingly short-lived — only fourteen years. The reason for its termination is revealed in the last paragraph of the minutes of its last session, 11 mo. 20. 1902 "This being the last preparative we will hold. We will now take up the new discipline."<sup>8</sup> The "new discipline" was the Uniform Discipline by which the Five Years Meeting (now Friends United Meeting) was established. North Carolina Yearly Meeting had just adopted it. That discipline eliminated the preparative meeting from the organization of the yearly meetings which ratified it. It was one of the important changes made by the Uniform Discipline.

The process of dividing Spring Monthly Meeting into two, Spring and Chatham, was not accomplished as smoothly as the Cane Creek stream draws the natural line between the two communities. The process was long and involved. On 7th mo. 24th, 1908, a minute of the monthly meeting records that:



A request (was received) from Chatham congregation that they be granted a monthly meeting to be known as Chatham Monthly Meeting to be held on 3(rd) seventh day in each month at eleven o'clock A.M., together with a list of charter members. This meeting unites with their request and the clerk is directed to send it to Quarterly Meeting, the request and the list of members.

Before Spring Monthly Meeting could agree on a recommendation to quarterly meeting, for the establishment of Chatham Monthly Meeting, a two-way division of opinion arose within the monthly meeting. It was not just one particular meeting against another; in neither Chatham nor Spring meeting were all the members completely united in their response to the proposal. A few of the Chatham Friends opposed the proposal so strongly that when the Chatham Monthly Meeting was set up they retained their membership in Spring Monthly Meeting.

On July 25, 1908, Western Quarterly Meeting made the following minute: "A report from Spring Mo. Mtg. grants the request of Chatham congregation for a new Mo. Mtg. at that place with which this Meeting unites and appoints a committee to carefully consider the matter." On the committee were David Sampson, W. T. Hargrove, Rodema Wright, Alfred H. Harris, J. D. White, W. Patrick Stout, Sallie C. Sampson, Roxie Dixon White and Ed. Hodgin. It was a strong committee, drawn from all the monthly meetings in the quarter.

This was the beginning of what proved to be a long investigation before the new monthly meeting was set up. The quarterly meeting's committee was made up of able Friends. Four of them were ministers. It was six months before the committee came to the quarterly meeting again, and then it was to be increased by three additional members. The *Friends Messenger* reported that the investigating committee had meetings with members of both Spring and Chatham.<sup>9</sup>

On May 8, 1909, the committee's report was accepted by the quarterly meeting. That report refers to objections to the separation of the two particular meetings:

We regret the existence of some conditions but desire to express our sympathy with Friends of Spring Mtg., who seem to feel that the withdrawal of Chatham Friends will weaken the mtg., but we are fully of the belief that they are abundantly able to carry forward their work.

Then with the difference of opinion in mind on the subject which was known to exist within the membership of Chatham, the committee's report turned to that particular meeting:

We further suggest that the new monthly meeting be held under the care of the Qtly. Mt's committee that shall be appointed for twelve months and to name the Clerk to serve Chatham Monthly Meeting for a year. We also

suggest that should there be any Friends at Chatham particular meeting who have conscientious objections to the establishment of the new mtg (that they) be allowed to remain members of Spring Mo. Mtg. if they so prefer.

The quarterly meeting then appointed as a committee of oversight for the first session of Chatham Monthly meeting and for the coming year

S. E. Woody, Alfred Harris, Sallie Sampson, David Sampson, N. C. Stuart, Lydia Stuart, J. M. Thompson, Sr., Jane Harris, Georgia Reece, Miles Reece, and T. F. Andrew to meet at Chatham 3rd 7th day in 6th month, 1909, and proceed to the setting up of said meeting, and report.

This was a strong committee, all members were well-known leaders in Western Quarterly Meeting. These eleven Friends made an impressive body for the first session of the new monthly meeting. Miles Reece opened the meeting. The quarterly meeting committee chose James N. Newlin for clerk and Nannie Guthrie for assistant clerk for the coming year.

Chatham Meeting was now a monthly meeting and Spring Monthly Meeting was the nearest neighboring meeting. The cooperation between the two began within a few months when they carried out the direction of the quarterly meeting with reference to the Friends who had "conscientious objection to the establishment of the new meeting." In their sessions of April, 1910, the two monthly meetings appointed committees to cooperate with each other in a canvas of their memberships, to see "some members" and find out "which place they want their membership." On May 10, 1910, the minutes of Chatham Monthly Meeting give the report of their committee, "that they have seen some (of the members) and that they want to remain at Spring, and this meeting accepted the report." On the twenty-fifth of the following June the committee appointed by Spring Meeting reported to that body, "All doubtful members still hold their membership at Spring." The Quarterly Meeting Committee of Oversight reported that "from the list of members to constitute Chatham Monthly Meeting Camillis McBane and Wm. C. Norwood requested that they be allowed to remain members of Spring Meeting in accordance with the minute from the quarterly meeting. Their request was allowed." Their first cooperative effort had been carried out satisfactorily and intervisitation between the two meetings was resumed almost immediately, a presage of a long friendly association.

With the establishment of Chatham Meeting, Spring, for the first time in its history, found its membership restricted to the one particular meeting. This was rapidly becoming the pattern for the yearly meeting.



*Lamp given by Ed and Elzena Perry Hodgin. It was used in the meeting room until electric lights were installed in 1937.*

### THE CHALLENGE OF THE "NEW EMPHASIS"

The story of Spring Meeting in the period following the Civil War includes the new emphasis on evangelism which swept through North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. It brought changes in the meeting for worship and in the vocal ministry, but its most obvious aspect was the emphasis on revival meetings. It is easy to see how these innovations would divide Friends.<sup>10</sup> The two divisions were given different labels: "Progressive Friends" and "Conservatives" — sometimes "Gurneyites"



and "Wilburites." The "Conservative" or "Wilburite" element was the smaller of the two. The breach between them became wider as the end of the century approached.

At the beginning of the twentieth century expounders of what was called "The Holiness Doctrine" invaded Western Quarter and visited Spring Meeting. Thomas Hodgkin, a native of Western Quarter, returned to North Carolina after a considerable sojourn in Ohio, and rather vigorously presented the doctrine and its accompanying practices in some of the Quaker Meetings in the Piedmont. His spirited crusade is said to have left its mark on some of the meetings in the quarter — with loss of some members by one or two meetings. The last of the survivors of that period says that the response of the Spring Friends to his movement was cold and that the meeting was left unchanged by it.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, it was one of several tests put to members at that time.

Revival meetings ran their course at Spring in about three-quarters of a century. The fact that many other Quaker meetings, and many of the neighboring congregations of other denominations, were having a similar experience is one indication that this practice was not restrained at denominational boundaries. Not all the revivals at Spring were reported in the minutes of the monthly meeting and this makes it impossible to give the exact number held in the twentieth century. It seems quite probable that this emphasis was strong in the early years of the century, and these meetings were scattered through three decades, from 1920 to the 1950s. The last seems to have been held in 1954. Eventually the "mourner's bench" type of revival gave way to a series of "spiritual emphasis" type of meetings.

Perhaps no one can feel fully competent to attempt a correct evaluation of the effect of these meetings on Spring Meeting. They were in a period when this type of meeting in various denominations drew large numbers of people, and its decline at Spring came when the power to attract people was waning over the country. A search of the membership statistics, for evidence of any long range effects, has not been very profitable. For the first few years after 1910 the membership was around 55, in 1930 it was 68. In 1942 it reached 82, the highest in the twentieth century. In 1950 it was 64, and in 1960, six years after the last revival meeting, it had declined to 50, approximately what it had been fifty years earlier.<sup>12</sup> What the difference would have been if there had been no revival meeting is beyond the reach of the historian.

## SPRING FRIENDS AND THE SEPARATION

The separation between the Conservative and larger element in



1-  
exp 9-15

23-30 exp 27 Botta, 29 Botta

31, 32, 36, 38, 39

most women not exp  
111-113 Jones

41 minutes

48, 49<sup>+</sup> Baptists

Emigration west 57<sup>+</sup>

Joseph Nelson to Honolulu only 68-8

72

Pastoral study 89-92

94 + 97 New study houses 1820s-80s - same as in the 1800s

New England 123<sup>+</sup>

Pastoral 125 + 726  
13/middle

? Gurneyite - Wilburite Separation  
- 1902-1904

? - Univ. of Pennsylvania Discipline of F.Y.M.  
F.Y.M. center

## ***CHURCH HISTORY***

Giles Chapel United Methodist Church was founded in May, 1833, when the Reverend Alsan Grey organized a congregation which met in a small log schoolhouse. On March 29, 1876, a white frame church was completed on land donated by Mr. & Mrs. Reuben Giles. In 1948-49, the building was renovated and brick veneered. In 1951-52 the Educational Wing was built and in 1958, four more classrooms were added to it. Stained glass windows were installed in the Sanctuary in 1956. Improvements have been made over the years and are still being made at present to the building and grounds.

## ***CHURCH DIRECTORY***

Bishop .....	<i>L. Bevel Jones, III</i>
District Superintendent .....	<i>Dr. Richard Crowder</i>
Pastor .....	<i>Bill Berry</i>
Administrative Council Chairperson .....	<i>John Snider</i>
Sunday School Superintendent .....	<i>Ronnie Hunt</i>
Treasurer .....	<i>Imogene Snider</i>
Choir Director .....	<i>J. B. Trogdon, Jr.</i>
Pianist .....	<i>Mildred Trogdon</i>
Organist .....	<i>Dorothy Green</i>

### ***Parsonage Address:***

BILL BERRY  
2003 Gold Hill Road  
Asheboro, North Carolina 27203  
Phone: 672-1835

North Carolina Yearly Meeting came between 1902 and 1904, a quarter of a century after the first Gurneyite-Wilburite Separations in the Middle West, the result being two yearly meetings each bearing the name "North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends." The North Carolina separation began in Eastern Quarter and moved rather slowly through Contentnea, Southern and Western Quarters. The adoption in 1902 of the Uniform Discipline of the Five Years Meeting by North Carolina Yearly Meeting is usually pointed to as the cause of the separation. The new discipline made changes which were interpreted as depriving local meetings of some of the authority and freedom which were deeply imbedded in Quaker history, and opened the way for an extension of the pastoral system which had recently begun in a few of the meetings. This interpretation is given support by the yearly meeting's directing the local meetings to adjust the conduct of their business affairs to the provisions of the new discipline.

The adoption of the Uniform Discipline provided the force needed to bring the smoldering discord to flame, but the basic causes had been festering for at least a generation. Evidences of these forces, the new evangelism and the drift into the pastoral system, may be seen in the history of Spring Meeting although it would not turn to the pastoral system for another couple of decades.

When the new discipline had been adopted and the separation had taken place in Eastern Quarter of North Carolina Yearly Meeting the issue pushed its way into the thinking of some of the members at Spring. The way by which the issue was met, whether by soul-searching or by letting matters take their course, is not clear today. That the issue was met by some of the Spring Friends with an open mind is supported by the memory of some of the older Friends,<sup>13</sup> and to some extent by the records of the meeting. During this period there was a decided increase in the frequency of visits from ministers from the larger yearly meetings. Two of the ministers from the Conservative Yearly Meeting held meetings at Spring and visited in the homes of some of the members on more than one occasion. Alfred L. Zachary, the resident minister at Spring, was a key person in Spring's consideration of the separation. He was respected in the meeting and in the Friends meetings of the surrounding area. The Conservative visitors found hospitality and a sympathetic hearing in his home. He was generally more conservative than some of the other ministers in the quarter and he is known to have thought that some of the changes in the new discipline were unwise. He met this serious issue with the same calm deliberation which characterized his life, and he kept unchanged his yearly meeting affiliation. On the other hand, the recent history of the meeting suggests that those who responded to "the winds of change" had weight in the meeting. The

revival meetings which had been held repeatedly during the previous thirty years suggest this. With those of evangelical and those of conservative tendencies working together, there must have been a commendable degree of open-mindedness. How else can the increased number of visits from ministers, pushing both sides of the issue, be explained?

Without seeing clearly the manner in which the decision was made — whether by corporate seeking for one mind, or by “muddling through” — this crisis was passed without any break in the membership of the meeting.

### PASTORAL MINISTRY AT SPRING

Friends in Spring Meeting turned to a paid ministry in 1919. That with which they began was hardly a full pastoral ministry. The first pastors would come to Spring only once each month, and only for one day, with little opportunity to render any service in pastoral work. These ministers could be characterized as “preachers” rather than pastors. The first of these was Fleming Martin, the young pastor of Graham Meeting, who consented to be at Spring for one meeting for worship each month. Before the end of the year a fatal illness brought his work to an end. John Permar took his place in both meetings. One aspect of the arrangement with Permar was the purchase of a horse and buggy by Spring Friends to enable him to make his monthly journey from Graham to Spring. Within a few months the horse and buggy were sold and an automobile was purchased to provide the means of transportation. In the early years of this stage in Spring’s experience in pastoral work the minister’s remuneration did little more than cover his travel expenses. In one instance the minister was to receive all of the collection for that day. In another he was to receive \$165.00 for the year.

The following nineteen persons have served as pastors of Spring Meeting: Fleming Martin, John Permar, Cora Lee Norman, J. Waldo Woody, Lewis McFarland, D. Virgil Pike (first term), Victor Murchison, Allie Kemp, Theodore Perkins, Charlie Lamar, J. Floyd Moore, Orval Dillon (first term), Hiram Hilty, Norman Osborne, D. Virgil Pike (second term), Larry McIntire, Wallace L. Sills, Elbert Newlin, Orval Dillon (second term), David Hobson and Scott McCorkhill. Of the nineteen ministers who have served Spring Meeting as pastors, seven were graduates of Guilford College. Only one woman has been pastor of the meeting. In recent years the same pastors have served both Spring and Chatham Friends, dividing the time of pastoral work and vocal ministry according to the agreement between the two monthly meetings.



## *A Concluding Commentary*

### IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Some of the major developments at Spring in the early years of the twentieth century have already been described. It is obvious that there were many other activities, developments, personalities, and relationships which contribute to the life of the meeting and community. Only a few of these stand out with sufficient clarity to be included in this treatise. An article in the *Friends Messenger* for Third Month, 1904, brings to light a few of these:

We have a membership of about 50. Three of whom are ministers of the Gospel. Two . . . missionaries in Cuba and one is regularly with us and alive in Bible School and church work. Our meetings for worship are well attended. For two years we have had a good graded school running more than half the year. Our efficient principal, J. Clark Wilson is also superintendent of our Sabbath School.<sup>1</sup>

This article might leave the impression that the graded school referred to was provided by Spring Monthly Meeting but actually it was a public school with no official connection with Spring Meeting.

During the five-year period from 1900 to 1905 four members of Spring Meeting were recorded as ministers. The first of these was Alfred L. Zachary in 1900. He was followed by three who were missionaries in Cuba: Ellen Woody, Martha Woody and Arthur Pain. Ellen Woody was recorded in 1902 and soon after that she married Arthur Pain. For a few years Ellen Woody Pain kept up a column in the *Friends Messenger* which told of the work of Friends in Cuba.

In the December 1906 issue of that publication someone wrote:

We are glad to report brighter conditions than for years. Arthur and Ellen Pain, our missionaries in Cuba have been laboring in our meeting for the past two months. They began a series of meetings the Second Sabbath in 11th mo., which lasted for two weeks . . . Twenty-four were converted and the church generally revived and the whole community blessed.



*Spring Meeting House, 1983*

Several members of the Woody family have given distinctive leadership to Spring Meeting: to the meeting for worship, to the Sunday School, and to the organizational work of the monthly meeting. One of the first of these was Mary Laughlin Woody who stood out in the Spring community as a living model of the strong pioneer woman. She was a minister, an able leader in the meeting and the first clerk of Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends. Nathaniel Woody, her grandson, was a leader and an elder, and "timed the meeting for worship" (sat head of the meeting) for many years. His son John W. Woody was a prominent Friend, but his distinction was achieved after he left the Spring community.

Three of the children of Nathaniel Woody and his second wife, Margaret Cox Woody, made marked contributions to Spring Meeting and to the Society of Friends. The two youngest in the family, Ellen Woody Pain and Martha Woody, both ministers and both missionaries in Cuba, kept their contacts with Spring Meeting. Samuel E. Woody, a brother of Ellen and Martha, was a farmer and a teacher. He was clerk of Spring Meeting for several years.

In the period following 1900, Nathaniel Woody as a leading spirit in Spring Meeting was followed by Alfred L. Zachary, a recently recorded minister. These two men were not alone in the process of giving Spring Friends Meeting its strength and character. Some of the other men and women who stand out in the history of this period are: Ada Boone McBane, Grant McBane, Leonora McBane, Hannah Zachary Marlette, Catharine Perry, and Clark Wilson.

These Friends set examples of industry, honesty and unselfish living for others in the meeting and in the community to emulate. It is not likely that either of these Friends ever thought of himself, or herself, as giving strength to Spring Meeting or its community. Each one lived generously and unselfishly in relations with neighbors and friends. Each was able to find through Spring Meeting the source of spiritual life which made leaders in their meeting and held the members together. Spring Meeting owes them a debt of gratitude and a place in its history for the strength and endurance which it acquired through their constant work and leadership.

Overlapping to some extent and following the period in which these worthy men and women were working together in Spring Meeting, other Friends were making their contributions to Spring Meeting.

Kiva Andrews Marlette, in her quiet manner of dignity, acquired for herself an important place in the affections of the members of the meeting. For many years after her marriage to Lawrence Marlette in 1910 she was the pianist for the congregational singing in meetings for worship, in the Sunday School and on other occasions. Her sister,



Beulah Andrews McBane, filled that position for an equally long period. The leadership of these two valued members of the meeting has extended over a period of nearly seventy years.

Three other members of Spring Meeting have earned places in its history in spite of the fact that they have lived most of their adult lives beyond the geographic limits of the meeting. Edgar Holt McBane, son of Alfred and Ada Boone McBane, made an outstanding record of achievement in his undergraduate work at Guilford College, in collegiate and professional baseball, in teaching and coaching, and in business. He has been an active leader in the Greensboro Friends Meeting and for many years was a member of the Permanent Board (now Representative Body) of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. Though his membership in the Society of Friends was moved from Spring to Greensboro Monthly Meeting he has retained his interest in and his love for Spring Meeting and the surrounding community.

Jonathan Thompson ("Tom") Zachary was the son of Alfred L. and Ila Guthrie Zachary. He chose Guilford College for his educational training. There his wide experience in football, basketball and baseball was an essential prelude to his long and successful career as a baseball pitcher in the major leagues. This made him the outstanding athlete in the history of Spring Meeting. When the American Friends Service Committee initiated its first program of relief and reconstruction work in France, at the latter part of World War I, Tom Zachary was a member of the team chosen to go to France.

Mildred Marlette, daughter of Lawrence and Kiva Andrews Marlette, has made for herself an enviable life's record. The major part of her adult life has been at Guilford College. Her work there has been distinctive as a teacher in the Department of English. For fourteen years she was Dean of Women, a position in which she won and kept the affection and respect of the students. During World War II Mildred volunteered for service in the Womens Appointed Volunteer Emergency Service, the Womens Reserve in the United States Naval Reserve. She was in this service for nearly four years. During this long period she was moved from place to place over a wide geographic area and was stationed in the Hawaiian Islands when the war ended. She is an affiliated member of New Garden Meeting but she has continued to keep her membership in the Society of Friends at Spring Monthly Meeting and has given her assistance to that meeting as time and distance would allow.

In a small meeting the naming of a few of its members as leading workers produces its caution: the possibility of the failure to name others who deserve recognition. Even in the face of this risk four members of the meeting have been standing out as leaders during the past two or





*Kiva Andrews Marlette and Beulah Andrews McBane, 1983*

three decades. Mary Ruth Perry has been the clerk of the meeting for over thirty years. Wade Fuquay has served as a trustee for much of this time. Zilpha Harris Hargrove is recognized as one of the active leaders of Spring Meeting for her work as superintendent of the Sunday School and her assistance with the music. They and Jane Andrew Lindley have been devoted to the ideals and purposes of the meeting and have been among the major forces which have given the meeting strength and stability.

During most of the first two decades of the twentieth century the meetings for worship at Spring continued on the basis of silence. The vocal ministry was largely by Alfred Zachary and visiting ministers who came to Spring from time to time. In those days most of the members walked to Sunday School and to meetings for worship. In fair weather the attendance is said to have been good. On a winter day Alfred Zachary made his way through a snow storm to the Sunday morning meeting for worship. When he returned to his home he was asked how many people there were. His reply was, "Three; The Lord, me, and the devil." At Sunday School children proudly quoted passages of Scripture to the collected group. Samuel Woody must have beamed as one of his little granddaughters recited the Twenty-third Psalm, and to put into it her child-like improvised interpolation: "He leadeth me beside the still waters, He restoreth my heel."

The visiting ministers from other meetings who had been a vital stream in the history of Spring Meeting continued through the early years of the twentieth century, and then declined almost to the vanishing point. Jonathan Zachary ("Uncle Jottie"), an unrecorded minister and a member of South Fork Meeting, often attended the sessions of Spring Monthly Meeting and sometimes the meeting for worship, but his best remembered appearances at Spring were at "temperance meetings." Large crowds of people attended. "Uncle Jottie" never failed to give his

attack on "John Barleycorn" and his address was seldom finished without his rendition of his temperance song: "The Teetotelers air uh comin' an we'll sound it through the land." His type of ministry brought smiles from some people and stimulated young people to mimicry, but it had about it a solidity and soundness that left its imprint on the minds of people.

Rufus King was a welcome visitor and he seemed to feel at home in all the meetings of the area. A note from Spring Meeting in the October 1911 issue of the *Friends Messenger* reveals his folk-image and the affection of the people at Spring for him:

We hear of Rufus King's visiting Chatham and begging money to buy a cow. Rufus does not visit us any more, although we would be pleased to have him. We wish for Rufus that his last days will be his best days.

The cow was for an orphanage, not for Rufus' own use. Other visiting ministers from nearby meetings who were loved by Spring Friends included Thomas F. Andrew, Margaret Hackney, Alfred Harris (of South Fork), David and Sally Sampson and Rodema Wright.

Spring Friends have a glorious history. It covers a long span of time, more than 230 years. It is one of the oldest meetings in Piedmont North Carolina. In its long history, storms in human living have broken the peaceful life of these Friends on several occasions, and crises, even threats to the very existence of the meeting, are important features of its history.

In this concluding statement some of the crises and major developments which have been woven into this story should be pointed up again. Some of these relate to the membership of the meeting. The meeting was large when Spring was given the status of a monthly meeting but at that time a few of its members had already made their way across the Appalachian Highlands to find new homes in Tennessee. The migration to the Middle West which began almost immediately after the beginning of the migration to Tennessee developed into one of the most significant influences on the meeting which Spring Friends have ever experienced. When the migration ended at the outbreak of the Civil War, Spring Meeting had been reduced to a small meeting. From this it has never recovered its former numerical strength, but during the time it has been in this state Spring Friends have lived a meeting-life which has been valuable to them and to the surrounding community. They have carried the Quaker way of life through hard times and prosperous days, through crises and normal living, through long and bitter wars and days of peace. Today the meeting stands as a compliment to the Friends who have held the meeting together and kept it on its course through critical stages in its history.



*Peele and Trinnie Harris*

Smallness in the membership of a meeting should not carry a stigma. In fact in some yearly meetings it is extolled as better suited to the purposes and ideals of a Friends meeting than a large meeting. In some yearly meetings where this view prevails a large meeting may be urged to divide its membership into two or more meetings. The small meeting gives each of its members the opportunity to fill the place for which he is best suited and to grow in spirit and in service.

Throughout the history of North Carolina Yearly meeting a high percentage of its constituent local meetings have been small. That is certainly true today. The statistical report of North Carolina Yearly Meeting for the year 1981 indicates that the yearly meeting was made up of eighty-six local meetings. Thirty-four of these fall below one hundred in the membership range; this is nearly forty percent of the local meetings in the yearly meeting.

To get closer to the membership of Spring Meeting, twenty of the thirty-four small meetings in North Carolina come within a membership range between eight members and fifty. Nearly one-fourth of all the meetings in the yearly meeting are in this class, so far as numerical strength is concerned. Thirteen Meetings, fifteen percent of those in the yearly meeting, have fewer members than Spring Monthly Meeting. So, as a small meeting, Spring Friends are far from being alone in North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

In its status as a small meeting Spring has made a commendable





*Wade and Hazel Zachary Fuquay*

record in its outreach and service to the community and to the Society of Friends. Its members have assiduously applied Quaker principles and ideals in their struggles through crises and normal times. Some proof of this may be found in a glance at a few of the experiences of the meeting which have been more fully treated.

After the membership of the meeting had been greatly depleted by emigration the little band of remaining Friends successfully struggled to free their members from the curse of holding slaves. The task was delicate, difficult and long, but they succeeded. During the four years of the bitter conflict of the Civil War, with the membership at a low numerical point, these stalwart Friends stood together in upholding Quaker opposition to war, and some of them suffered terribly for it. In the midst of the period of economic depression after the Civil War Spring Friends built a meeting house. In architecture it was an attractive expression of Quaker simplicity, and designed to meet the needs of the meeting of that time.

By the year 1900 Friends at Spring were ready to work with other people in their school district to establish and maintain a school which could give their children a quality of education superior to that given by previous schools in the area and superior to most schools in the surrounding country. In the first decade of the twentieth century four members of Spring Meeting were recorded as ministers of the gospel. These are examples of the united efforts made by Friends in Spring Meeting to meet the responsibility which came to them in the course of their history.



For 230 years Spring Meeting has stood as a cooperative venture in Christian living, working through a corporate mind toward the purposes of the Society of Friends. Through this long period the meeting has been sustained and kept on its course by a small stream of Friends living and working by Quaker ideals.

Stephen Grellet's prophetic observation relative to divine preservation of Spring Meeting, "Thus the Lord was pleased to make the faithfulness of one the blessing of many," may stand as a memorial to the men and women whose dedication to the spirit and objectives of the meeting have made Spring Meeting a living force in its geographic area. A more inspiring exhortation to all Friends who are now members of Spring Meeting could hardly be found.

## *Appendix A*

### CHRONOLOGY OF SPRING MEETING

1751. Probable date of the first Quaker settlement in the Spring area.  
1751. Probable date of the first meeting for worship.  
In the 1750s the first meeting house was built.  
February 6, 1761. Earliest known reference to Spring Meeting.  
August 4, 1764. Meeting for worship indulged by Cane Creek Monthly Meeting.  
August 14, 1773. Meeting for worship "established" by Western Quarterly Meeting.  
November 13, 1779. Preparative meeting established by Western Quarterly Meeting.  
August 12, 1793. Spring Monthly Meeting established by Western Quarterly Meeting.  
From October 7, 1793, through December 1814 the Minutes of the Men's Monthly Meeting are lost.  
In the late years of the 1860s the first revival meeting at Spring was held.  
1876. Third meeting house was built.  
1896. The men's and women's monthly meetings were joined together.  
1902 to 1907. The minutes of the men's monthly meeting are missing.  
1907. The present meeting house was built.  
1919. The pastoral system began at Spring.  
1973. Commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the recognition of the meeting for worship.

### CHRONOLOGY OF ENO MEETING

- February 2, 1754. Cane Creek Monthly Meeting indulged the meeting for worship.  
August 8, 1761. Meeting for worship established by Western Quarterly Meeting.

- August 14, 1762. Preparative Meeting established by Western Quarterly Meeting.
- May 12, 1768. The Preparative Meeting laid down by the quarterly meeting.
- August 11, 1824. Preparative meeting set up by Western Quarterly Meeting.
- November 13, 1847. Preparative Meeting laid down by the quarterly meeting.

### CHRONOLOGY OF SOUTH FORK MEETING

- May 1, 1801. Meeting for worship indulged by Spring Monthly Meeting.
- February 13, 1819. Meeting for worship established by Western Quarterly Meeting.
- August 8, 1835. Preparative meeting established by Western Quarterly Meeting.
- July 1, 1875. Sessions of Spring Monthly Meeting began alternating between Spring and South Fork.
- February 13, 1897. South Fork Monthly Meeting established by Western Quarterly Meeting.

### CHRONOLOGY OF CHATHAM MEETING

1754. Probable time of the first Quaker settlement.
- . Probable time of the first meeting for worship.
- . Tradition has the meeting indulged by Cane Creek Monthly Meeting.
- September 25, 1824. Meeting for worship indulged by Spring Monthly Meeting.
1824. First meeting house — a log structure.
1888. Second meeting house built at present location.
- February 26, 1898. Preparative meeting established by Western Quarterly Meeting.
- November 10, 1902. The preparative meeting terminated.
- May 9, 1909. The monthly meeting established by Western Quarterly Meeting.

## *Appendix B*

### TWO HUNDRED YEARS 1773-1973 — A SPECIAL OBSERVANCE

Spring Friends observed their two-hundredth anniversary on Saturday and Sunday, October 13 and 14, 1973. The Saturday observance began with the singing of the congregational hymn "The Church's One Foundation." Opening remarks and recognition of visitors was by Orval Dillon, pastor. Mildred Marlette introduced the speaker, Edward F. Burrows, Professor of History at Guilford College. Following the singing of Whittier's "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind," the congregation adjourned to the front of the meeting house for the unveiling and dedication of the Historical Marker:

G 91

Spring Friends

Meeting

Meeting House by 1761;

Meeting recognized, 1773;

Preparative Meeting, 1779;

Monthly Meeting, 1793

The meeting on Sunday morning was an open service of worship led by Orval Dillon. Wade Fuquay presided at the afternoon session. Mary Ruth Perry, clerk, recognized visiting Friends. Mildred Marlette recounted some aspects of the history of Spring School. Algie I. Newlin, Professor of History, Emeritus, of Guilford College, and Seth B. Hinshaw, Pastor of Rocky River Meeting, related some aspects of Spring meeting.

The printed bulletins listed the officials of Spring Meeting as Mary Ruth Perry, clerk; Jane Lindley, recording clerk; Janet Zachary, treasurer; Zilpha Hargrove, Sunday School superintendent; Beulah McBane, pianist.

The Special Observance committee was Wade Fuquay, Chairman, Orval Dillon, Jane Lindley, Mary Ruth Perry, Mildred Marlette, and John and Judy Braxton, assisted by Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw.



Flowers were placed in the meeting room in memory of Cora Alta Zachary, a life-long member, 1898–1973.

The large congregation of members and friends of Spring enjoyed the bountiful lunch in the fellowship hall on Sunday. Exhibits of Colonial artifacts, old and recent pictures, and early farm implements had been arranged there under the direction of John Braxton.

## Notes

### Chapter 1. FRIENDS SETTLE AT THE SPRING

1. There are several variations in the spelling of this family name but in this treatise the spelling given here will be followed.

2. At one time this interpretation of the descent from William Edmundson was disputed by William Perry Johnson, a prominent genealogist in Raleigh, North Carolina. He later wrote the author that this interpretation might be correct.

3. Algie I. Newlin, *The Newlin Family: Ancestors and Descendants of John and Mary Pyle Newlin* (Greensboro, North Carolina, 1965), p. 35.

4. "Life of Daniel Stanton," *Friends Library*, XII, 169.

5. The spelling of these two names is taken from letters written by them as published in their biographical accounts in *Friends Library*, Vol. XI.

6. *Some Account of the Life and Gospel Labours of William Reckett*. (Philadelphia, 1783), p. 80.

7. Book 5, p. 326. Register of Deeds Office, Hillsborough, Orange County, North Carolina. Traditions would have us believe that Thomas Lindley gave the land for the Spring Meeting House and graveyard. If he did it must have been by verbal agreement, or the deed was never recorded.

A survey made in 1968 shows 8.0598 acres in the tract, two and one-half acres more than is shown by the deed of 1970.

### Chapter 3. THROUGH COLONIAL CRISES

1. Walter Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XLX (Goldsboro, North Carolina), p. 847.

2. Algie I. Newlin's account of the Battle of Lindley's Mill was published by the Alamance County Historical Association in 1975.

3. Eli Caruthers, *Revolutionary Incidents and Sketches of Character Chiefly in the "Old North State"* (Philadelphia, Hayes & Zell, 1854), pp. 212-213. Quotes an "aged" Quaker, who was "well informed on" the battle, as saying that Colonel McDougal of the Loyalist army "came under a foam of sweat to the house in which the prisoners were being kept . . ." The implication given by the entire account is that all of the prisoners were in this unnamed house. If even a large part of them were included it had to be Spring Meeting House as no other house in the area was likely to have been large enough.

4. Hugh Laughlin's daughter, Mary Laughlin Woody, became the first clerk of Spring Monthly Meeting of Women Friends.

## Chapter 4. THE MEETING COMES OF AGE

1. In 1902 the Uniform Discipline, which was adopted by North Carolina Yearly Meeting, deleted the provisions for a preparative meeting from the organizations of Friends in the yearly meetings which adopted that discipline. In the revision of the discipline of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, *Faith and Practice*, in 1970, the preparative meeting was brought back into the organization of the yearly meeting. This may account for the lack of knowledge of the preparative meeting on the part of many of the members of this yearly meeting.

2. Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism, I* (Macmillan and Co., London, 1921), p. 408.

3. "Elisha Kirk's Journal," *Friends Miscellany*, VI (1) (Eighth Month 1834), p. 29.

4. The recognition of approximately a half dozen meetings, including Spring, during the 1890s by the quarterly meeting and the fact that emigration did not begin a drain on the membership of Spring Meeting until after 1800 lend support to this conclusion.

## Chapter 5. THE GEOGRAPHIC LIMITS

1. "Memoirs of Catharine (Payton) Phillips," *Friends Library* XI, p. 212.

2. *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney* II, p. 113.

## Chapter 6. IN THE WIDER SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1. Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism, I* (Macmillan & Co., London, 1921), pp. 194-195.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

3. Joseph Oxley, "Journal of his Life, Travels and Labours of Love," *Friends Library*, II, p. 456.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

## Chapter 7. THE "STATE OF THE MEETING"

1. Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of Irish Quakers to Pennsylvania* (Published by the author, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1902), p. 200.
2. Ibid., p. 78.
3. An article written by Flora Worth John, entitled "John Carter," published in *Friends Messenger*, dated October, 1912, p. 7.
4. Ibid., p. 8.
5. Benjamin Seebohm, ed., *Memoirs of Stephen Grellet, I* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 64.
6. Ibid., p. 65.
7. "Thomas Scattergood's Memoirs," *Friends Library*, VIII, p. 34-35.
8. *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Labours in the Work of the Ministry of John Griffith* (Printed and sold by James Phillips, in George Yard, Lombard Street) London, 1779, pp. 375-376.
9. Eli Caruthers, in his *Revolutionary Incidents*, says a Captain William Lindley, a Loyalist, was killed about 1781. Dr. Lindley Butler of Rockingham Community College says this William Lindley was the son of Captain James Lindley. The William Lindley who was visited by Elisha Kirk died about three months after the visit by Elisha Kirk.
10. "Elisha Kirk's Journal," *Friends Miscellany*, VI (1) (Eighth Month, 1834), p. 29.
11. Job Scott, *Life and Works*, (Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1820), p. 297.
12. Ibid.
13. Stephen Grellet, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet*, Volume I, ed. by Benjamin Seebohm (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 64.
14. *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney*, Volume II (Philadelphia, c. 1854), p. 113.
15. Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1924), p. 161.
16. Sallie Stockard, *A History of Alamance* (Raleigh, N.C., 1900), p. 84.
17. Ibid., p. 64.

## Chapter 8. SPRING FRIENDS IN THE GREAT MIGRATION

1. Diary of William Rees. The original is in the Earlham College Library. One of this Indiana delegation was Catharine Woody Elliott, daughter of Samuel and Eleanor Hadley Woody, and a birthright member of Spring Meeting.
2. This is revealed in the quarterly meeting reports to the yearly meeting during that decade.
3. The "skid" was a type of flat bottomed boat.
4. A short biographical sketch of Jonathan Lindley is found in Authur L. Dillard, *Orange County (Indiana) History*, Paoli, Indiana, 1971, pp. 37-43.
5. Quoted by Algie I. Newlin, *The Newlin Family* (published by the author, Greensboro, N.C., 1965), p. 521.
6. S. Arthur Watson, *William Penn College* (Published by William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1971), p. 281.



7. Diary of William Rees. The original is in the Earlham College Library, Richmond, Indiana. An extract from this paragraph has already been quoted.

## Chapter 9. MEETING NATIONAL CRISES

1. The letter is found in the *Journal of the Life and Travels of John Woolman*, Essex House Press (London, 1901), pp. 105-111.

2. Quoted in the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, December 1, 1781.

3. *Memoirs of William Forster*, Volume II (London, 1683), p. 17.

4. This Nathaniel Newlin was a nephew of the Nathaniel Newlin who helped to found Bloomingdale Meeting in Indiana.

5. Miranda Braxton, who later married John Newlin, was the grandmother of the author of this treatise. Many of her grandchildren heard her tell the story. The little graveyard for slaves is on land now owned by Burton Newlin.

6. John W. Woody's Notebook: A Lesson in Church History of North Carolina, p. 9.

7. His prominence in Spring Meeting is indicated by the references to him in the minutes of the meeting.

8. The story of Jesse Buckner is given in Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes* (Cambridge, Riverside Press, 1895), pp. 146-150.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. J. Waldo Woody says that Willian N. Woody, brother of John W. Woody, went to Indiana, was drafted in the Union army. He was killed in the war.

15. Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes*, p. 225.

16. Earl Weatherly, *The First Hundred Years of Historic Guilford, 1771-1871* (Greensboro, N.C., 1872), p. 137.

17. *Ibid.*

18. J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Papers of Jonathan Worth*, Vol. I (Raleigh, Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1909), pp. 185, 186, 207.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

20. J. Waldo Woody, unpublished manuscript on the Woody Family.

## Chapter 10. IN THE WAKE OF WAR

1. This system of barter is treated in the beginning of the chapter entitled "Spring Enters the Twentieth Century."

2. This use of the kitchen was common in the author's childhood (1895-1910). See similar use of the kitchen described in John J. Janney, *Virginia: An American Farm Lad's Life in the Early 19th Century*, chapter entitled "The Kitchen," pp. 17-22.

3. Hugh T. Lefler, *History of North Carolina* (University of North Carolina

Press, 1954), chapter 34, entitled "Reconstruction Politics, 1868-1877," pp. 463-473, treats this subject rather forcefully and clearly,

## Chapter 11. THE POST-WAR STATE OF THE MEETING

1. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 318. A different figure is found in Allen Jay, *Autobiography*, p. 201. Here he indicates that the membership of North Carolina Yearly Meeting grew from 2200 in 1866 to 5500 in 1876.

2. Allen Jay, *Autobiography*, p. 94.

3. Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, Volume II, p. 922.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 798.

5. Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes*, pp. 478-479.

6. William Rees, unpublished diary. Original in Earlham College Library.

7. Much of the information about the architecture in this meeting house was given me in 1970 by Alpheus F. Zachary, son of Alfred and Ila Guthrie Zachary. The floor plan was drawn from his description. The minutes of the Spring Monthly Meeting for the period from August 1876 to February 1877 and for the month of January 1878 are missing. It is possible that the missing minutes could have had references to the new meeting house.

8. Soon after it was completed this yearly meeting house was given to the New Garden Boarding School for its use. It became the First King Hall of the Boarding School and of the College.

## Chapter 12. SPRING ENTERS THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1. Most of the names of the teachers were secured from Edgar H. McBane and Mildred Marlette. The main source for the educational background of the teachers was the Alumni Directory of Guilford College. Jessie Stockard and Lonnie Foust were among the author's teachers at Green Hill School. They are among his most revered teachers.

2. Walter Siler became a prominent attorney at Pittsboro, North Carolina, and for a period of years held a position in the government of North Carolina.

3. This list of teachers was made with the assistance of Ruth Newlin Coble.

4. For Chronology of these changes, see Appendix A.

5. William White and Katharine Lindley, daughter of Thomas and Ruth Hadley Lindley, were married April 22, 1756.

6. The author's father, James N. Newlin, attended this school, the only school he ever attended.

7. The revised editions of the discipline of North Carolina Yearly Meeting for 1876 and 1893 are available. Between these two and before 1888 another revision must have been made which enabled the monthly meeting to set up preparative meetings without the consent of the quarterly meeting.

8. Chatham Preparative Meeting is the only preparative meeting of North Carolina Yearly Meeting now known to have left a complete set of minutes.

9. *The Friends Messenger*, October 10, 1908 (pages not indicated).

10. The early revival meetings at Spring have been treated in an earlier chapter.

11. From an interview with Alpheus F. Zachary in 1970.

12. These statistics on the membership of Spring Meeting have been taken from the statistical reports of the yearly meeting for the years indicated.

13. From an interview with Alpheus F. Zachary in 1970.

### Chapter 13. A CONCLUDING COMMENTARY

1. Part of this paragraph has been quoted in an earlier chapter.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Algie I. Newlin is eminently qualified to write the history of the Spring Meeting, not only because of his profound scholarship and his delight in research, but also because his ancestral roots go deep in the Spring community. He is personally related to about one-fourth of the people who are mentioned in the narrative, and can count some twenty-five of the early settlers as his direct ancestors. His perspective as a Quaker historian has developed throughout a lifetime of experience, teaching and writing.

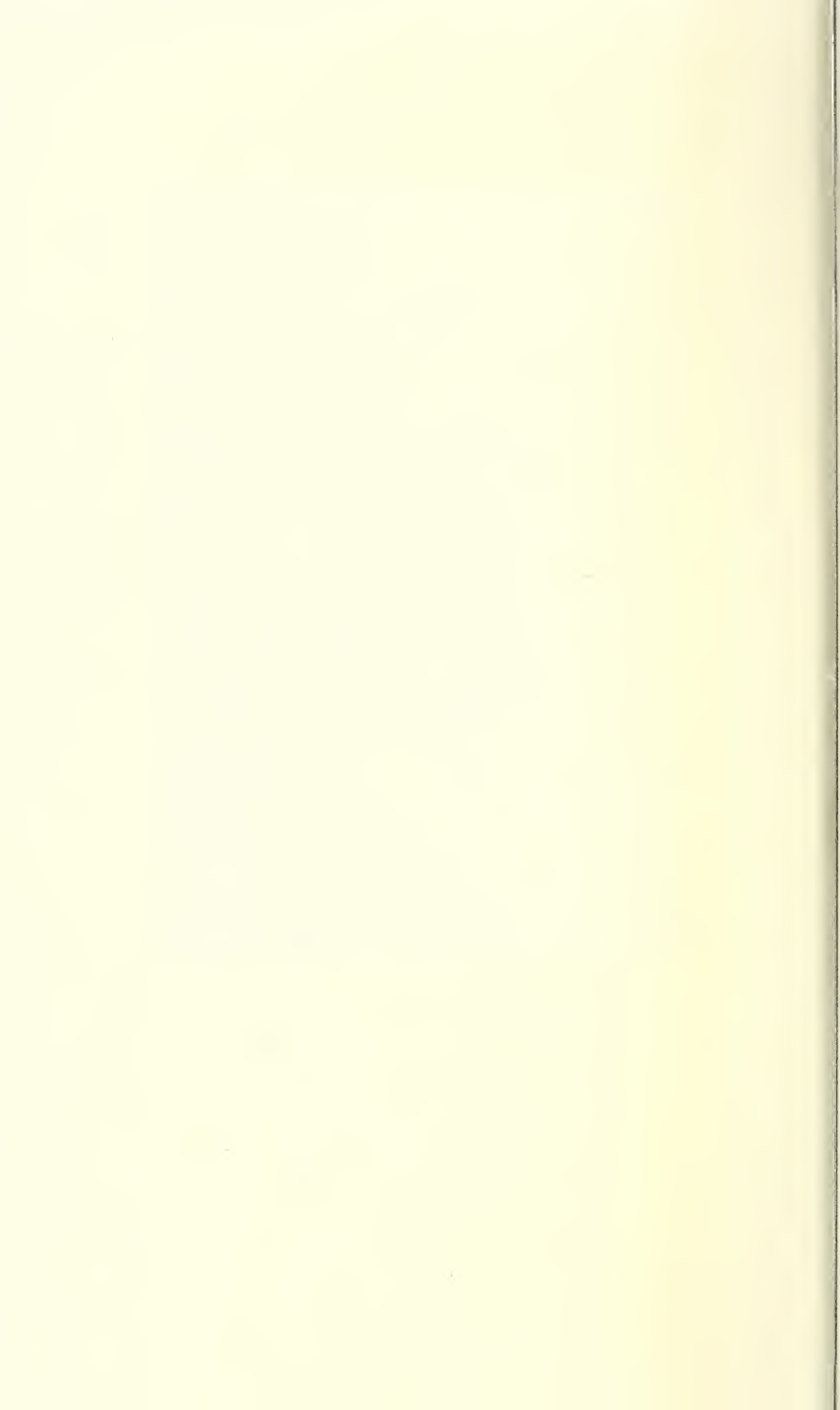
A native of Alamance County, Newlin is a graduate of Guilford College, with a doctor's degree from the University of Geneva in Switzerland. He is now retired after forty-two years as professor of history at the college. He has also served as co-director (with his wife Eva Miles Newlin) of Friends International Center at Geneva, Switzerland. He served a term as chairman of the southeast regional office of the American Friends Service Committee, as clerk of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, and clerk of Five Years Meeting of Friends.

Algie Newlin's other books include *Arbitration Policy of the United States, 1920-1940*, *The Newlin Family: Ancestors and Descendants of John and Mary Pyle Newlin*, *The Battle of Lindley's Mill*, *The Battle of New Garden*, and *Charity Cook: A Liberated Woman*.











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