

For Ye Know Not When the Master of the House Cometh: Privacy and Power in the
Development of North Carolina's Religious Culture

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Abstract

J Mark Leslie: For Ye Know Not When the Master of the House Cometh: Privacy and Power in the Development of North Carolina's Religious Culture
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This dissertation makes three interrelated points. First, the religious landscape of colonial North Carolina was diverse. For the colony's Anglican governors, a stable Anglican establishment would have created a stable and loyal colony. Unfortunately for these governors, the colony remained diverse until the end colonial period. Second, religious celebrations were often both about celebrating the divine and also about affirming more worldly relationships. Third, this project calls into question narratives of development that are premised upon the assumption that the colonial "South" was largely Anglican. Some historians assert that evangelicalism brought with it a more individualistic religious culture that replaced an Anglican culture that focused on community and hierarchy. Other historians claim that evangelicals were unsuccessful in challenging men's claims to dominion over their households. This dissertation, however, claims that Anglican culture in colonial North Carolina was far from hegemonic, and instead a diversity of religious groups developed diverse communities in North Carolina. Some of those religious groups developed community standards that challenged men's claims to dominion over their households while others developed communities that celebrated men's authority over their households. By the antebellum period, however, this diverse religious landscape had been replaced by a new cultural hegemony in which

households were seen as private spaces largely beyond the reach of religious inspection and correction. Ministers and groups who violated this privacy either chose to leave North Carolina in order to preserve their spiritual purity or they were forced out of positions of authority. The religious communities and leaders that thrived left men free to govern their households.

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Introduction

Having served as the royal governor of North Carolina for six years, Arthur Dobbs reflected upon the miserable state of the colony's religious establishment. In a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), Dobbs emphasized two basic problems with North Carolina's established religion. First, he was concerned about the paucity of ministers and congregations in North Carolina. The efforts of the SPG had accomplished much, but the Anglican Church remained weak in the colony. Second, he believed that the people attending Anglican worship in North Carolina were far from model parishioners

Dobbs claimed that establishing two bishops over the North American colonies would solve both of these problems. These bishops would help colonists become Anglican ministers by enabling colonists to receive ordination without the long and expensive journey to Britain. According to Dobbs, by 1760 there were still only "8 resident Clergymen" in North Carolina. Some colonies to the north suffered a similar dearth but "tho' they have not Episcopal Clergy yet have other instructors which give them Christian Principles, when there is a total want here, having only strollers who set up for teachers, without any regular instruction." Dobbs also hoped that bishops in the colonies could operate some sort of spiritual court in order to separate "the faulty from communion." Better discipline among Anglican communities, Dobbs was convinced, "would...have a good effect." As things stood, however, Dobbs thought North Carolina's Anglican establishment a failure. If more missionaries or stationed ministers could be brought to North Carolina then perhaps the colony could "lessen the sectaries." Without some reform or more assistance, however, the dissenters would continue to "abound in

this and the neighbouring colonies."¹ In his call for two Anglican bishops over the North American colonies, Dobbs was not particularly unique--other reformers had similarly called for the establishment of a North American bishop--but his calls for reform expressed the particularly desperate state of the Anglican Church in North Carolina.²

Dobbs' plea to the SPG reveals three points that will be integral for this dissertation. First, colonial North Carolina was a religiously diverse colony. The Anglican establishment was much weaker than we have previously assumed. There were more sectarians, and there were perhaps more unchurched people than we have often assumed. Second, for Dobbs as well as for historians of Southern religion, church rituals were both about celebrating the divine and affirming community relationships. Ritual life within religious communities often affirmed local power structures even as these rituals celebrated the divine. Third, expanding the chronology of this study from the colonial era through the early republic enables this study to reexamine the significance of changes in North Carolina's religion. Indeed, this study questions the common narrative that indicates North Carolina's religion evolved from hierarchal Anglicanism to a more democratic evangelicalism. Instead, this study reveals a diverse colonial world in which Anglicans labored to create communities that would prove more obedient to the king in parliament, but they were often unsuccessful. Groups that affirmed different power

¹"Governor Arthur Dobbs to Philip Bearcroft," 22 January 1760, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina: Published Under the Supervision of the Trustees of the Public Libraries by order of the General Assembly*, ed. William L. Saunders, vol. 6 (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Pub. Co., 1993-1994), 222-223.

²In Rhys Isaac's *The Transformation of Virginia*, for example, Isaac explores a similar proposal by a group of Virginian Anglican ministers to establish a bishop in North America. Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, (W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 1982), 181-186.

structures within their communities were arguably more successful in spreading their culture across North Carolina. By the antebellum period, however, religious rituals had been restricted by expectations of privacy.

First, Anglican missionaries and governors agreed that there were few missionaries or established congregations, and they agreed that most North Carolinians were by-and-large ignorant of Anglican religion. The religious world that Arthur Dobbs described in 1760 was not one of religious homogeneity but one of great religious diversity. The historical literature, however, often implies that Anglicans typified and defined the colony's religious culture. One historian of religion in colonial North Carolina, for example, thought the paucity of Anglican clergymen in colonial North Carolina should not lead historians to the conclusion that most North Carolinians were non-Anglican. According to Walter Connor, we may incorrectly assume that Anglicanism was weak in colonial North Carolina if we "too glibly [assume] that numbers meant power."³ According to Connor, there was a strong culture of Anglicanism

³Walter Connor, *A Coat of Many Colors*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 73. Other historians of colonial Anglicanism in North Carolina have described North Carolina as having perhaps the weakest Anglican establishment in North America. Two of the last three royal governors "were the only royal governors of North Carolina who showed much zeal for the promotion of religion." Due to the efforts of these two governors—Arthur Dobbs and William Tryon—the "number of parishes, communicants, and clergymen increased considerably in the decade before the Revolution, but the Church was never as strong or as popular in North Carolina as it was in Virginia or South Carolina." *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, ed. Lawrence Foushee London and Sarah McCullah Lemmon, (Raleigh: Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, 1987), 25. Gary Freeze has not only noted the presence of numerous dissenters in North Carolina but also the weakness of the Anglican establishment. As indicated by Freeze, only in the "last ten years" before the Revolutionary crisis "came efforts to make the church a healthy institution." Gary Freeze, "Like a House Built Upon Sand: The Anglican Church and Establishment in North Carolina, 1765-1776" *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 48, no. 4 (1979): 430. Rhys Isaac's study of religion in Virginia described a society that was dominated by Anglicans until the

in colonial North Carolina even if there weren't many ministers. Governor Dobbs would have begged to differ.

Historians of religion in the late colonial South disagree about many things, but they typically agree that evangelicals entered an Anglican dominated world. Rhys Isaac, for example, asserted that the double movement of evangelicals and republicans in Virginia shared a common antipathy for the "old order" in which family connections and wealth had set the elite "over their neighbors in parish and county." Within the new world created by evangelicals and republicans, local communities seemed to be less like "patriarchal protectorates and more like outlets for the electoral ambitions of individuals."⁴ In writing about the South more generally, Donald Mathews indicated that the evangelical movement of the late colonial era "expressed dissatisfaction with authority, it recruited men and women who for some reason had cut their emotional ties

arrival of Presbyterians and Baptists after mid-century. This narrative may have described religion in colonial Virginia, but historians have tended to assume that the religious world of Virginia can be used to describe religion in other "Southern" colonies. Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*. Christine Heyrman, for example noted that the "only formidable competitor for souls" in the colonial South was "the Church of England." Christine Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 11. Of course, studies such as Allan Kulikoff's *Tobacco and Slavery* suggest that the Anglican religious model may not have been all that normative for Virginia either. By the middle third of the eighteenth century only "about half the whites came to services" in the Tidewater region. Probably only about "a third participated in piedmont Virginia" Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 234.

⁴Isaac, 314. Nathan Hatch--adopting a national focus--has indicated that those intent "on bringing evangelical conversion to the mass of ordinary Americans...could rarely divorce that message from contagious new democratic vocabularies." Nathan Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 7.

with traditional ways of assigning prestige and commanding respect."⁵ Historians generally agree that the rise of evangelicalism in the colonial South represented a challenge to the established order defined by Anglicanism.

As sectarian studies of North Carolina and other Southern colonies are increasingly revealing, however, the colonial South was a much more religiously diverse region than we have previously envisioned.⁶ The late colonial South was home to a number of European religious groups: Anglicans, Moravians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Baptists, and Jews.⁷ Many had migrated to Virginia,

⁵Indeed, the first chapter of Mathew's work on Southern evangelicalism "Disallowed Indeed of Men" portrayed the colonial south as a region dominated by Anglicans in which evangelicals intruded. Donald Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 14, 4-38.

⁶In his article exploring the limitations of the historiography on Southern religion, Jon Sensbach notes the different pictures of the South provided by synthesizers and those conducting sectarian studies. Increasingly, those working on individual sects are revealing a diverse religious world in the colonial South. Those studying "religion" in the South rather than individual sects, however, continue to talk about the colonial South as dominated by Anglicans with perhaps a few dissenters. Jon Sensbach, "Before the Bible Belt: Indians, Africans, and the New Synthesis of Eighteenth-Century Southern Religious History," *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture*, ed. Beth Barton Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 5-30. Indeed, it would appear that Stephen Weeks' statement made more than a hundred years ago is still true today. "As a rule the history of the earliest Southern Friends has been either misrepresented or ignored, or both. And the importance of that great wave of Quaker migration, rising in Pennsylvania, striking Maryland about 1725, and spending its dying power on the colonization of Georgia, 1770-75, seems never to have been duly appreciated." Stephen Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History*, (Baltimore: 1896), vii.

⁷Jews settled throughout British North America Eli Faber, *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654-1820*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). The sectarian studies of Jon Sensbach and Stephen Weeks indicate that the colonial South was home to a number of different protestant sects. Jon Sensabach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). and Stephen Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*.

North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia along the Great Wagon Road from Pennsylvania in the middle of the eighteenth century. Many others came directly from Europe to new homes in what is now regarded as the American South. The southern colonies were also home to numerous Africans and American Indians who practiced religious traditions that were often different from their European neighbors.⁸

This diversity, however, does not necessarily indicate that an Anglican culture did not predominate. Admittedly, many of the sectarian groups that lived in North Carolina and other Southern colonies had relatively small followings, and the majority of the people in North Carolina attended no regular services whatsoever. Perhaps most of these unchurched people were Anglican in their orientation and practiced Anglican rites in their homes even though there was no Anglican church in the vicinity. How might we measure the strength of something as immaterial as religious culture in an era before Gallup Polls? Certainly information from religiously inclined Anglicans like Arthur Dobbs helps to provide some perspective. As chapter 1 will indicate, Anglicans in

⁸Joel Martin's work on Native American religion reveals a complex religious world among Native Americans. Some adhered to Native American faiths after Europeans arrived. Many others adopted European religious practices, and many combined elements of both. Joel Martin, *The Land Looked After Us: A History of Native American Religion*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Albert Raboteau's work on the religious heritage of African Americans in North America has suggested the presence of a wide diversity of religious traditions brought from Africa to North America. Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978). This interpretation of African American religion in North America, however, remains controversial. Jon Butler's book *Awash in a Sea of Faith* indicated that in North America "an African spiritual holocaust...forever destroyed traditional African religious systems as *systems* in North America and...left slaves remarkably bereft of traditional collective religious practice." Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 130.

colonial North Carolina were aware that Anglicanism remained weak in the colony. Missionaries and governors alike believed that most North Carolinians were not simply unchurched. Instead, missionaries and governors alike agreed that the majority of North Carolinians were irreligious. In contrast, the Quakers built communities across North Carolina stretching from the Piedmont to the coast. Chapter 2 explores the growth of Quakerism in North Carolina, and the alternative community structure created by Quakers. Thus, these two chapters combined show that Anglicanism was weak not only in the number of congregations found within the colony but also in its attempts to capture the hearts and minds of the people. In contrast, Quaker communities were found from the coast to the piedmont, and the records from those communities indicate that Quakers had put together a viable--and if numbers do matter perhaps more common--alternative to the Anglican worldview.

Second, many contemporaries believed that religion was both about celebrating the divine and celebrating more earthly power structures. In 1760, Governor Dobbs was concerned about what the presence of so many sectarian groups meant for British authority in the colony. For him, a strong Anglican establishment meant the colony would behave obediently, but he was convinced that much work lay ahead before such a colony could be created. Chapter 1 of this study will also show other Anglican leaders' concerns about the strength of Anglicanism and what the inability of Anglicanism to capture the hearts and minds of the people indicated about the strength of the empire. Indeed, spreading Anglicanism in North Carolina was not just about providing rhetorical support for the crown but also establishing stable communities with paternalistic social structures. Several missionaries indicated that the strength of sectarian groups in North

Carolina was not only a threat to Anglicanism but the power of the king in Parliament. Other religious groups organized their communities differently, and at times Anglicans regarded these communities as threatening.

Thus, histories assuming that the colonial South was dominated by Anglicanism have a tendency to reduce the complexity of religion in the colonial South to a simple binary. Histories exploring changes in religion between the colonial and antebellum periods often assume that residents had two religious options: hierarchal and monarchical Anglicanism or individualistic and egalitarian evangelicalism. Historical accounts limited by this binary tend to assume a natural relationship between community focus and hierarchy on the one hand and individualism and egalitarianism on the other. Timothy Hall, for example, expresses a common assumption about religion, egalitarianism, and individualism. In his study of religion, Hall contrasts a colonial religious culture that focused upon "community, responsibility, authority, and deference" with an evangelical religion that presented an "egalitarian Christianity that was better able to thrive in the mobile, commercial world that America had become."⁹

⁹Timothy Hall, *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 7 and 15. The description provided here by Hall closely mirrors that provided by Rhys Isaac in *The Transformation of Virginia*. In this book, Isaac ends by comparing the world created by the evangelicals and their allies with that of colonial Virginia. According to Isaac, by the 1790s "[t]he idea of patriarchy was ceasing to be the overarching concept for the organization and understanding of authority in society at large. Contractual entry into association made prominent the image of an autonomous individual giving free assent." Isaac, 310. This tendency extends all the way back to Alexis de Tocqueville's study of religion in the new United States. According to de Tocqueville, "One has to admit that while equality brings the world much that is good, it also opens the door to some highly dangerous instincts, as will be shown later. It tends to isolate people from one another, so that each individual is inclined to think only of himself." Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. and trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 2004), 503. This tendency to connect egalitarianism with

Did colonial North Carolinians believe that community focus and deference went hand in hand? Are we projecting contemporary assumptions about egalitarianism upon the past, and might there be an alternative model of egalitarianism that was not also individualistic? In chapters 1 and 2 of this study, highlighting the diverse religious groups that lived in colonial North Carolina is intended to show that the supposedly natural connections that have been affirmed over and over in the historiography were not all that natural to those living in eighteenth-century North Carolina. Unsurprisingly, Quakers and Anglicans viewed their world in strikingly different ways, and they also distributed authority within their communities in strikingly different ways. In Anglican communities there was often very little distinction made between the will of the community and the will of the most powerful people who lived in those communities.¹⁰ In contrast, Quaker discipline was designed to humble all members of the community. Within Quaker communities, individuals were expected to submit themselves to the

individualism and community focus with hierarchy seems to be a distinctly American interpretation of religion. Ferdinand Tönnies did not make this connection in his work on *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* concerning pre-modern Germany. Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, ed. and trans. Jose Harris, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁰In Virginia's eighteenth-century Anglican churches, the style of the service and the articles contained within the churches resembled those of the gentry class. Thus, the appearance of Anglican churches and the performances that took place within Anglican services made the power of the gentry seem natural. After all, churches should contain all the refinement of gentlemen's homes. What else would have been "proper for the leading gentleman of the universe?" Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia*, (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1986), 173. Allan Kulikoff has similarly argued Virginia's eighteenth-century gentry class "applied their ideas of social order to church activities, irretrievably mixing the profane and sacred." Kulikoff, 237.

collective mind of their community. Thus, the Quakers do not fit into the binary between evangelical individualistic egalitarianism and Anglican community focused hierarchy.

Historians are used to dealing with the Anglican communities that were both hierarchal and community centered, but the Quakers occupied a religious world that is perhaps difficult for us to understand. In her study of eighteenth-century Quaker women, Rebecca Larsen showed that Quakerism provided women with public roles that were largely denied them in other aspects of their lives. Quaker women were more independent from their husbands than many of their non-Quaker neighbors. The Quakers' "valuing of individual religious experience performed a crucial, liberating function for eighteenth-century women." At the same time, eighteenth-century Quakerism "was conservative in its strict oversight of members' dress, language, and behavior, and often patriarchal in its organizational structure."¹¹ Some studies that focus

¹¹Rebecca Larsen, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775*, (New York: Knopf, 1999), 303. Other historians drawing upon the writings of prominent Quakers have also had a tendency to portray the Quakers as rather anti-authoritarian. E. Brooks Holifield, for example, indicated that "from the outset [Quakers] were theological populists, ridiculing an educated clergy and proclaiming that every Christian, men and women, could preach as the Spirit moved." E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 321. In contrast, historians of colonial Quakerism who focus upon the monthly minutes rather than the journals of colonial Quakers have a tendency to portray Quakers as authoritarian and stifling. Seth Beeson Hinshaw, for example, described eighteenth-century Quakers as "strict Quaker pharisees who saw disorderly action as offenses against the Discipline rather than offenses against the Holy Spirit." Seth Beeson Hinshaw, "Friends Culture in Colonial North Carolina: 1672-1789," *The Southern Friends: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* 22, no 1-2 (2000): 69. In studies focusing on monthly meeting minutes rather than journals, a much stricter and authoritative Quaker community is revealed. Both Pennsylvania Friends and North Carolina Friends experienced dramatic increases in the number of Quakers who were expelled from membership because of their increasing disobedience. Indeed, Seth Hinshaw's description of the rising incidence of disownments in the eighteenth century very closely resembles disownments occurring in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.

on the disciplinary records of Quaker meetings have gone so far as to say that the strict discipline among Quakers indicated that a "sort of authoritarianism [in the middle of the eighteenth century] replaced the individual religious freedom which had characterized the early Quaker movement."¹² Thus, the Quakers' world in the eighteenth century has been described as both liberating and authoritarian, both individualistic and communally focused. Perhaps Quakers—as people often do—lived with these apparent contradictions without feeling any need to reconcile their liberating and their stultifying tendencies. This study suggests, however, that the tendency to encourage gender equality yet stifle individualism reflects the unique perspective that Quakers as plain people supported in North America.¹³ In order to understand these apparent contradictions from the Quaker point of view, we have to look at what Quakers meant when they talked about liberation.

Jack Marietta's thorough study of disownments in Pennsylvania reveals a Quaker world in crisis during the second half of the eighteenth century. Jack Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

¹²Seth Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665-1985: An Interpretation*, (North Carolina: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1984), 116. Another historian of a local monthly meeting indicated that there was a "harsh, unforgiving spirit about dealings. As a result Quakers disowned many members for small offenses....The most harmful circumstance was that the majority of the disownments were of youthful members." Cecil E. Haworth, *Deep River Friends: A Valiant People* (Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1985), 19.

¹³Studies of the Anabaptist and Moravian tradition both in Europe and in North America have emphasized this alternative understanding of freedom that was common among these sects. In her study of Moravians in North America, Elisabeth Sommer indicated that Moravians understood freedom as subordination to the divine will. Sommer indicated that such a society could be viewed by modern readers as promoting "an unacceptable intrusion into the private lives of the individuals concerned." Such domination and intrusion by the community, however, was intended to help individuals achieve "a spiritual freedom, which found expression in the submission to the good of the whole and obedience to Christ as literal lord of the community." Elisabeth Sommer, "A Different Kind of Freedom? Order and Discipline among the Moravian Brethren in

As chapter 2 of this dissertation will indicate, these seemingly contradictory interpretations of eighteenth-century Quakerism were not all that contradictory to the Quakers who lived in that world. For eighteenth-century Quakers, freedom meant very different things than what freedom generally means to us today. For them, freedom was freedom from sin. The goal of their lives was not to give people the power to break through established social barriers but to stifle the natural desire for sin. One was truly free when one was obedient to God's laws. Those who disobeyed God's laws were slaves to sin. The desire to prevent fellow Quakers from sinning often manifested itself in egalitarian ways. They made decisions by community consensus, and thus when they expelled a member from fellowship they sought the will of the community as a whole. For them, the unity of their minds reflected the will of the Lord. When a Quaker community united behind a position, they interpreted that unity as evidence of the divine will. After all, the house of the Lord was not divided unto itself.

Not all historians, however, are trapped by a binary that insists the colonial South was dominated by hierarchal Anglicanism whereas the antebellum South was dominated by individualistic, egalitarian religion. For Christine Heyrman, evangelicals brought not an individualistic culture but instead one that invaded male dominated households. Much like other historians of Southern religion, Heyrman indicates that late colonial evangelicals upset an Anglican "social hierarchy that set rich over poor, men over

Germany and Salem, North Carolina, 1771-1801," *Church History* 63, vol. 2 (1994): 221. Historians of European religion have long viewed the religious landscape as much more complicated. Historians of continental Anabaptism, for example, have regarded the European Anabaptists as a religious tradition that did not fit neatly on a religious spectrum between Lutheranism on the one hand and Catholicism on the other. Robert Friedmann, *The Theology of Anabaptism; An Interpretation*, (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1981), 81.

women, and white over black."¹⁴ In this alternative description of religious development, however, those evangelicals became dominant in the South because they eventually accepted rather than rejected those hierarchies that helped Southern whites make sense of their lives. By the nineteenth century, Southern evangelicals tried to recast themselves as defenders of manliness rather than threats to Southern manhood. The anecdotes that itinerants left in their journals "asserted the congruence between preachers' lives and the prevailing ideals of white southern manhood."¹⁵ Thus for Heyrman, the importance of evangelicalism in the eighteenth century lay not in its promotion of individualism but rather its threat to male prerogative. For Heyrman, the narrative of religion from the colonial to the antebellum South is not that of a paternalistic hegemony successfully challenged by alternative an individualistic culture brought by evangelicals. Instead, Heyrman describes a religious hegemony in the colonial South that was successful in preserving the importance of manhood despite the threat posed eighteenth-century evangelical itinerants. In other words, the new evangelicals became the dominant religious group by supporting rather than rejecting the previously established religious culture. This project, much like Heyrman's, focuses on the importance of household authority in shaping North Carolina's religious culture. It is different, however, in the development that is presented.

Thirdly, this project calls into question a common narrative indicating that a Southern culture dominated by Anglicanism eventually gave way--or as Heyrman indicated failed to give way--to a more supposedly democratic culture of evangelicalism

¹⁴Heyrman, 11.

¹⁵Heyrman, 238.

by the nineteenth century. This study presents colonial North Carolina as a religiously diverse place. That diversity, however, was replaced by the nineteenth century with a dominant culture demanding privacy for male heads of households. Expanding the chronology of this study to include the colonial and antebellum periods thus enables this study to complicate the binary that has existed between Anglican hierarchy and supposedly egalitarian evangelicalism. Chapter 3 explores the years following the end of the Revolutionary War when Quakers and Anglicans could agree that society was becoming more rather than less secular. It will not be surprising to see that those Anglican ministers who remained in North Carolina in the 1790s regarded North Carolina as a godless society, but Quakers and other itinerants in North Carolina regarded themselves as living in particularly godless times as well. The draw of worldliness seemed particularly strong for Quakers in the last third of the eighteenth century. Faithful Quakers noted the rising trend toward disobedience and placed the blame on a number of social ills ranging from the availability of unchristian literature to the worldliness of slaveholding. Though leading Quakers tended to pin the blame for increasing worldliness on either the free intellectual climate or the rise of conspicuous consumption, worldliness tended to express itself in the young people who increasingly chose to marry outside of the Quaker fold or have sex outside of marriage. Though some itinerant Quakers saw North Carolina as a barren landscape ripe for the harvest, many others saw North Carolina as a land of temptation that drew away the minds of their children.

Strict adherence to discipline among eighteenth-century religious groups has been called pharisaical, and the decline of church discipline has not generally been lamented.¹⁶ Indeed, from our modern perspective church discipline seems quite authoritarian and intrusive. At the same time, discipline was often used in ways that checked the power of those who would have otherwise been left unchecked. For eighteenth-century Quakers, husbands, wives, and children were all to be disciplined so that they could increasingly follow the directions of the inward light. Ultimately, the master of the house was God, and church discipline was implemented to help Quakers remember this reality. Eighteenth-century Anglicans were different in that they believed local elites were fathers on earth even as they had a common Father in heaven, but this cosmology also required that Anglicans' earthly fathers acted in godly ways. Both groups then hoped to hold earthly fathers accountable. Whereas eighteenth-century Quakers defined freedom as religious obedience, nineteenth-century laypeople in North Carolina jealously guarded their independence from closer inspection and religious discipline. In other words, what eighteenth-century Quakers would have described as licentious rebellion nineteenth-century laypeople described as freedom.

¹⁶In his study of discipline among the Puritans of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, Emil Oberholzer noted the decline of disciplinary cases in Puritan New England with approval. In emphasizing discipline, according to Oberholzer, the Puritans had "shared the Pharisee's tragedy." Rather than observing Luther's insight about grace, the Puritans made the error of claiming that "salvation was attested by good works which were more or less capable of objective measurement." Emil Oberholzer, *Delinquent Saints; Disciplinary Action in the Early Congregational Churches of Massachusetts*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 251. Richard Bushman has made similar claims about church discipline among the Puritans in the eighteenth century. Like Oberholzer, Bushman indicates that the decline of discipline shows religious maturity rather than religious decline and the rise of secularism. Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee; Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

Thus, Chapters 3 and 4 enable this study to explore how the introduction and growth of evangelicalism in North Carolina changed the state's religious culture. These chapters do so by drawing comparisons between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and they also explore how Anglicans and Quakers perceived the changes taking place. Though commonly viewed as a period of religious revival and increasing Christian strength, many Episcopalians—the Anglican Church had become the Episcopal Church of the United States in 1785 after the North American colonies broke with Britain—and Quakers in North Carolina regarded North Carolinians in the antebellum period as a people in rebellion against God rather than as citizens in a Christian commonwealth. Quakers in North Carolina left in large numbers for the Old Northwest. They undoubtedly left for a variety of reasons but protecting their children from the temptations of a worldly society seems to have been prominent in the minds of many who made the difficult migration away from their homes to an unknown territory. The course of Episcopalianism in North Carolina similarly reflected the limits of calls to obedience. As Episcopalians discovered, it was one thing to speak against sinfulness from the pulpit. It was another thing altogether to actually look behind closed doors and inspect the lives of believers.

The picture often portrayed of Christianity in the antebellum South—of which North Carolina was a part—is not that of disciplinary restraint but that of strict adherence to discipline. The Baptists in the antebellum South in particular are renowned for their strict use of the discipline to expel sinners.¹⁷ Yet when comparisons are made between

¹⁷In his description of discipline among antebellum Southern Baptists, Gregory Wills notes “[a]ntebellum southern Baptists excommunicated nearly 2 percent of their membership every year. Achieving excommunication rates nearly 60 percent higher than

the types of activities disciplined by antebellum Baptists and colonial Quakers, the differences are quite striking. For colonial Quakers, the most common offenses dealt with marriage or sexual misconduct. For antebellum Baptists, the most common causes of complaint were for abuse of alcohol. Perhaps antebellum North Carolinians were

their northern colleagues, they fully exemplified their professions of allegiance to discipline." Gregory Wills, *Democratic Religion: Freedom, Authority, and Church Discipline in the Baptist South, 1785-1900*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 22. In her study of Baptist discipline in the antebellum South, Monica Najar similarly argues, "in an era of increasing autonomy for white male householders, churches nonetheless intruded into the relations of the household, reconfiguring them according to an evangelical model." Monica Najar, *Evangelizing the South: A Social History of Church and State in the Upper South*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 11. Such studies indicate, as Anne Loveland has argued, that Southern evangelicals were not merely "shaped by and completely subservient to the ideology of the Old South." Instead her "research has convinced me that in some cases southern evangelicals were more autonomous than such an interpretation suggests." Anne Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), ix. The conclusions of Najar and Wills are a bit surprising considering the work of others on the reformist impulse in America. In general, these studies have indicated that the reformist impulse was weaker in the antebellum South than in the North. In his study exploring reform in the nineteenth century South, John Kuykendall concluded that religious groups in the South "avoided the corporate and social dimensions of Christian activity and developed a vision of the mission of the church which was basically individualistic and otherworldly." John Kuykendall, *Southern Enterprise: The Work of National Evangelical Societies in the Antebellum South*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 165. Indeed, other historians of Southern religion have emphasized that Southern religion has not made efforts to reform the society around it. Southern evangelicalism--according to Samuel Hill--remained content with conversion without making radical claims upon the lives of believers. For Hill "it is dramatically clear" that for Southern evangelicals the emphasis upon justification "maintains an extraordinary, almost mesmeric, power over the southern church. Individualistic evangelism and morality are all it gets excited about, notwithstanding the headline-making events which occur under its nose almost every day." Samuel Hill, *Southern Churches in Crisis*, (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 115. Stephanie McCurry's study of evangelical religion in Tidewater South Carolina similarly describes a religion that failed to make significant claims upon the lives of its believers. According to McCurry, "[t]his was not an evangelicalism that inspired a critique of the state's peculiar domestic institution but one that turned easily, almost effortlessly, to its defense." Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 172.

made of less promiscuous stuff than their religious colonial predecessors. This dissertation will claim, however, that religion in North Carolina became more popular as religious leaders became less intrusive in the lives of their believers.

Since the 1970s, some feminist scholars have claimed that privacy has a tendency to support patriarchal authority, and this study builds on their findings in order to support the claim that abandoning efforts to more closely inspect the lives of believers had negative consequences for dependents within male dominated households. In her study of late eighteenth-century political culture, for example, Carole Pateman concluded that the type of freedom that ended "the constraints" of an older political culture also "creates the new civil limits of mastery and obedience." Emancipating men perhaps created less freedom for women.¹⁸ In North Carolina, as will be seen in the fourth chapter, protecting

¹⁸Carole Patman, *The Sexual Contract*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 229. In his work, *Publics and Counterpublics*, Michael Warner provides a nice description of the ways that feminist scholars have interpreted privacy of a tool of patriarchy. As one of the scholars described indicated, the curbing of the modern state "in the name of private liberty, had entailed a curb on politics as well, freezing in place all those for whom the private was the place of domination rather than liberty." Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 42. Thus, many historians have expressed concern about Jurgen Habermas's arguments concerning the public sphere. For Habermas, the "depersonalization" of the state and the creation of a system of social relationships in which individuals were "emancipated from governmental directive and controls" led to the creation of a society in which individuals "made decisions freely in accord with standards of profitability." Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 46. Critics of Habermas's study have pointed the privileged status of men within the nineteenth-century public sphere. Stephanie McCurry's study of the antebellum South reminds us that participation in the public sphere may have been premised upon a shared sense of men's mastery over their private households. McCurry indicates that Southern men "like other republicans, established their independence and status as citizens in the public sphere through the command of dependents in their households." Stephanie McCurry, "The Two Faces of Republicanism: Gender and Proslavery Politics in Antebellum South Carolina," *The Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (1992): 1246

the privacy of individual households from religious inspection tended to be supported using gendered language. Thus, from the perspective of some nineteenth-century Episcopalians and many nineteenth-century Quakers, earthly fathers were left as the heads of their households and in the process denied the sovereignty of their heavenly Father.¹⁹ As Carole Pateman and others have indicated, more freedom from inspection created more room for mastery.

In the end, North Carolina's colonial religious world does not appear to have been all that more hierarchal than religion in antebellum North Carolina, and North Carolinians do not appear to have been all that more religious than their colonial forbearers. That is not to say that nothing changed in North Carolina's religious world between the colonial and antebellum periods. Whereas Anglicans, Quakers, and German Pietists dominated North Carolina's Christian landscape before the Revolution, by the

¹⁹Such a description of power resembles Antonio Gramsci's reflections in his prison notebooks. According to Gramsci every economic order "creates together with itself, organically, on or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields." Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey N. Smith, eds., trans., (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 5. In other words, every society will have a collection of assumptions that justify that arrangement of people. Thus, the unspoken and commonly held assumptions can also be interpreted as a relationship of power even though the issues are no longer debated. As one political theorist regarded the unspoken assumptions that exist within any society. In any collection of people, people will act "unaware of the consequences of one's action." Thus, power can "be exercised without the exerciser being aware of what he (it) is doing." Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, (London: Macmillan, 1974), 51. In this work, assumptions about what was appropriate for public discussion and what was taboo had the effect of conveying power to some at the expense of others. This approach has been markedly different from other descriptions of religious life and hegemony in the antebellum South. Studies like Stephanie McCurry's have focused upon the ways in which Southern churches disciplined women. This study, however, has focused upon the unspoken assumptions that distributed power. This dissertation has focused upon the ways in which not disciplining men could be interpreted as a redistribution of power in North Carolina.

middle of the nineteenth century about eighty percent of North Carolina's churchgoing population attended either a Baptist or a Methodist church.²⁰ Similarly, freedom in religion also changed between the colonial and antebellum periods, but the changes were more complicated than we have previously imagined. The change was not from hierarchy to freedom but rather from one kind of freedom to another or perhaps from one form of hierarchy to another. Whereas religious folks in colonial North Carolina aspired to be free from sin, religious folks in the antebellum period were particularly concerned about freedom from inspection. The freedom from inspection demanded in the antebellum period placed dependents more firmly under the control of the earthly masters of these private households.

²⁰Guion Johnson has provided a nice description of the various religious groups in North Carolina in the nineteenth century, and she has indicated the various strengths of each denomination. In 1860, the Methodists and Baptists were by far the largest denominations in North Carolina. The Methodists had 966 congregations and 61,000 members. The Baptists had 780 congregations and 65,000 members. In fact, about 80% of the churchgoing population in North Carolina in 1860 was attending either a Baptist or a Methodist church. Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 369.

Chapter 1 Submit Yourself to Your Masters: The Precarious Anglican Establishment in Colonial North Carolina

When William Tryon became governor of North Carolina in 1765, he attempted to inaugurate his administration with a proper military parade befitting his status. Things began well enough even though tensions were high in the colony because of the crisis created by Parliament when it passed the Stamp Act. Tryon arrived in Wilmington on board the sloop *Viper*, and the militia of Wilmington waited to greet Tryon when he arrived. Once he arrived, Tryon gave a speech encouraging cooperation and reconciliation between Britain and North Carolina. As one observer noted, Tryon “added if the People would receive the Stamps, he would make a Present of stamped Licenses to the Tavern-Keepers, and give up all Fees particularly belonging to him.” Tryon hoped that the people of Wilmington would appreciate his willingness to compromise and that America might return to its place as “helping her Mother” Britain.²¹ Tryon even provided the local militia with punch and a roasted ox to celebrate his inauguration as governor.

Things went awry, however, when the sloop *Viper* landed. As one observer remembered the scene, the captain of the *Viper* insisted that the local militia had “the insolence...not to Strike their colours on his Boats coming.” In response to this insult, the captain of the *Viper* ordered his sailors to go ashore and “bring them off which was accordingly done.” This action, however, set off a riot in Wilmington. The militia—themselves feeling insulted by the actions of the captain—promptly pulled the *Viper* out

²¹“Samuel Johnston to Thomas Barker,” 9 January 1766, *The Correspondence of William Tryon and Other Selected Papers*, ed. William S. Powell, vol. 1 (Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, Dept. of Cultural Resources, 1980-1981), 219.

of the river “and dragged her round the Town till they came under the Window of Capt. Phips’s Lodgings where they made a stand to insult him.”²² The mob then took the “roasted Ox” and hung it “upon a Gallows, where it probably hangs to this Day.”²³ The mob also took the barrel of punch “broke in the heads of the Barrels of Punch and let [it] run into the street.”²⁴ Insulted by the mob and convinced that the leading men of the town had done little to prevent these insults, Tryon resolved to move the colonial capital from Brunswick—just down the Cape Fear River from Wilmington—to New Bern.

The riot in Wilmington in 1765 nicely illustrates many of the difficulties that William Tryon faced during his tenure as governor of North Carolina. In this incident, Tryon tried his best to position himself as a benevolent benefactor to the community. In celebration of his governorship, he provided the local militia with roasted ox and alcohol. In gratitude, he expected the locals to respect his position. Instead, the locals took the symbols of Tryon’s benevolence and dumped them in the streets and hanged them from the gallows. During Tryon’s tenure as governor, he was given the difficult task of reconciling the inhabitants of North Carolina to the will of the crown in Parliament. When he tried to reconcile the inhabitants with each other and with Britain, he quite often found himself before a mob of angry North Carolinians. Tryon continued to confront the colonial assembly after the passage of the Townshend Duties, and despite Tryon’s letters the Board of Trade, Parliament remained unwilling to compromise on the important issue of paper currency in North Carolina. Indeed, the scarcity of money in the colony

²²Ibid.

²³“Extract from a Letter,” 18 January 1766, Ibid., 221.

²⁴“Samuel Johnston to Thomas Barker,” Ibid., 219.

prevented colonists in the interior—where specie was especially hard to come by—from paying their taxes. Tensions in the interior led to the Regulator uprising. Of course, the fact that local sheriffs had been lining their own pockets with colonial taxes did little to ease tensions.²⁵

Given the magnitude of these difficulties, it may be a bit surprising that Tryon would use his influence to improve the status of the Anglican Church in North Carolina. Of all the institutions that needed strengthening—both the military and the courts occasionally found themselves overwhelmed by angry mobs—it would seem that trying to strengthen the authority of Anglican ministers could wait until more pressing matters were attended to. Tryon and the Board of Trade, however, recognized the importance of a settled Anglican Church in pacifying the countryside. As one Anglican missionary described the importance of the Anglican Church, Anglican worship in North Carolina was part of the process of creating a “just and laudable proceeding of the Government.”²⁶ How did the Anglican Church encourage the just and laudable proceeding of the government? It did so in two ways.

First, Anglican missionaries served as religious apologists for the government. Missionaries cited scriptures that encouraged slaves to obey their masters and encouraged the poor to obey their social superiors. As they indicated, God had created a chain of obedience. Wives obeyed their husbands. Children obeyed their parents. As within this

²⁵For more on the Regulator Movement, see: Marjoleine Kars, *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

²⁶“Theodorus Swain Drage to the Bishop of London,” 29 May 1770, Fulham Palace Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

supposedly natural chain of household authority, subjects were supposed to obey their metaphorical fathers as well. Just as we all were supposed to be obedient to God so God expected subjects to obey those He had placed in power. Anglican missionaries thus served as rhetorical defenders of both biological and metaphorical fathers' authority

Second, Anglican churches served as the sites where fatherly relationships were created within local communities.²⁷ Indeed, the fatherly authority of locals sometimes went beyond metaphor. Nepotism often shaped who got plum positions within North Carolina. Controlling marriage and the passions of the children who entered this bond could thus impact the fortunes of families. The indigent could also become dependents within the households of their benefactors. Converting North Carolina from a colony dominated by independently minded yeomen into a large family with the governor as the metaphorical head was what William Tryon hoped the Anglican establishment would be able to accomplish in North Carolina.

Thus for colonial Anglicans, there was little distinction to be made between the secular and the profane. For them, a "just proceeding of the government" demonstrated a healthy religious environment. When people behaved selfishly, communities came apart. When the poor failed to love and respect those who cared for them, they fomented rebellion. When the rich failed to care and love those put in their charge then hatred and discord would grow at the expense of Christian love. Thus, the secular and the profane aspects of Anglican ritual and worship were impossible to untangle because the people who tried to spread Anglican worship believed them to be intimately intertwined.

²⁷Both Dell Upton and Rhys Isaac explore the ways that colonists in Virginia used Anglican churches to organize their communities. Upton, *Holy Things and Profane* and Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*.

Anglican worship was about growing love within communities, and encouraging loving and paternalistic relationships within individual communities was exactly what Tryon and other reformers believed would make imperial governance easier.

There were several problems confronting those who tried to improve the strength of the Anglican establishment in North Carolina. First, the strong population of dissenters in the colony was less than excited about a stronger Anglican establishment. The journals of Anglican missionaries and the letters of William Tryon agree that there were many dissenters in North Carolina. In fact, there were several regions in the backcountry that Tryon conceded to the dissenters. In several parts of the piedmont, Tryon felt that the Presbyterians were too strong for an Anglican missionary to become established. Indeed, the journals of missionaries who served in North Carolina indicate that most North Carolinians were ignorant of Anglican worship, but there were many others who were familiar enough with Anglicanism to ridicule and harass Anglican missionaries.

Second, even those who attended Anglican churches often disagreed with imperial officials about how to improve the Anglican establishment in North Carolina. Tryon found that even those local gentlemen who hoped to benefit from a stronger Anglican establishment were resistant to some of Tryon's goals. In particular, tempers between the local vestrymen²⁸ and the governor flared over the right of presentation. Tryon insisted that he—as the king's representative—had the power to present ministers to individual parishes. Any missionaries sent to North Carolina, after all, came because they were heavily subsidized by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG).

²⁸Vestrymen were the lay overseers of the parish property and community. They were voted into office annually on the Monday after Easter by the freeholders of the parish.

Wasn't it right and proper therefore that imperial officials should therefore have the power to present missionaries to local congregations? Local vestries, however, insisted that the power to appoint ministers rested with them. Vestrymen considered themselves to be the proper leaders of their communities, but Tryon and Anglican missionaries doubted the ability of these people to act like good fathers in their communities.

As this chapter will show, Tryon and Anglican missionaries had good reason to suppose that unchecked authority within local communities could lead to tyranny. If the missionaries were "presented" by the vestrymen of the congregations they served then local officials could deprive ministers of their salaries. If missionaries were left in the control of local vestries, those uncouth vestrymen might be left free to take unfair advantage of those placed under their care. Thus, imperial officials and missionaries were wary of allowing vestrymen unchecked power over their missionaries and the people served by Anglican parishes.

When William Tryon became governor of North Carolina in 1765, the prospects of the Church of England appeared bleak.²⁹ As Tryon wrote to the secretary of the SPG, there were 32 parishes in North Carolina yet only 5 parishes had officiating clergymen.

²⁹John Woolverton in his account of colonial Anglicanism indicates that the establishment in colonial North Carolina was particularly weak. In the seventeenth century, Quakers had spread in eastern North Carolina, but the Anglican Church was virtually absent from the colony. Even after North Carolina began receiving assistance from the SPG, Anglicanism remained weak in North Carolina. Woolverton indicates that the "history of the efforts of the Church of England and the SPG to form parishes and build churches in North Carolina from 1700 to roughly 1740 is one of failure." Indeed, not "until the 1760s did North Carolina obtain a strong Episcopal church." John Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 169, 172.

These parishes were also geographically centered in eastern North Carolina. In his letter, however, Tryon framed the despondency of the establishment in positive terms. Since five parishes were already provided for, “twenty seven clergymen are only required.”³⁰ Even if the SPG had managed to get 27 more clergymen for North Carolina, those missionaries would have had difficulty reaching all of their parishioners. According to Tryon’s estimate, North Carolina had about 120,000 black and white residents by 1765. Even if North Carolina had 27 ministers to staff its parishes, it’s difficult to see how those 27 missionaries could minister to 120,000 colonists.³¹

Two years later, Tryon’s efforts had yielded some improvement, but the Anglican establishment still had a long way to go before it could claim the hearts and minds of a majority of North Carolina's inhabitants. In 1767, North Carolina had 13 ministers in residence, and Tryon described the status of each parish relative to the Anglican Church. Nine out of the thirty parishes established in North Carolina were listed as being too poor to support a clergyman and thus remained without one. Three more parishes were listed as mostly populated by Presbyterians and thus Tryon recognized that an Anglican minister would be unwelcome. Five other parishes were listed as capable of supporting a minister but remained without one. Even in the parishes that had ministers by 1767, however, missionaries would have had great difficulty reaching all their parishioners. In Edgcomb parish, for example, the Reverend Burgess cared for 1,500 taxables.³² In St.

³⁰“William Tryon to the SPG,” 31 July 1765, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 7, 103.

³¹“William Tryon to Sewallis Shirley,” 26 July 1765, Tryon, vol. 1, 139.

³²“Taxables” in these tables was intended to list white, adult men.

Johns parish the Reverend Cupples cared for 1,299 taxables. In St. Matthew's parish, the Reverend Micklejohn cared for 3,573 taxables.³³ In these geographically large parishes, it seems altogether probable that only a tiny fraction could have had regular contact with North Carolina's Anglican clergymen.

The journals of Anglican missionaries confirm that most North Carolinians were unchurched and ignorant of Anglican beliefs and practices. Charles Woodmason, for example, had been a planter in South Carolina before traveling to London to gain ordination as a missionary. Returning to the Carolinas, he saw it as his mission to preach to the people living in the piedmont of North and South Carolina. Woodmason was less than impressed with the people that he encountered in the far reaches of Britain's empire. Writing in his journal about the inhabitants, Woodmason indicated that they were "the lowest Pack of Wretches my Eyes ever saw," and that they were "wild as the very Deer."³⁴

According to Woodmason, these people knew nothing of the manners expected of churchgoers in cosmopolitan places like London, and they could not be made more civilized until churches dotted the landscape. In the piedmont, he saw "the Females (many very pretty) come to Service in their Shifts and a short petticoat only, barefooted and Bare legged—Without Caps or Handkerchiefs—dress'd only in their Hair." Quite scandalized, Woodmason also noted that they "sleep altogether in Common in one Room,

³³"William Tryon to Richard Terrick, Bishop of London," 20 April 1767, Tryon, vol. 1, 460-461.

³⁴Charles Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant*, ed. Richard J. Hooker, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 31-32.

and shift and dress openly without Ceremony.” Of course, many of the habits that Woodmason found to be indicators of the barbarity of the inhabitants’ were more than likely related to their extreme poverty rather than their boorishness, but Woodmason believed that all these problems could be fixed if only the Anglican Church could extend its reach into the piedmont and teach these inhabitants proper manners. Indeed, Woodmason tended to think of these inhabitants as living in a state of nature and as such civilization “must be born with at the beginnings of Things” and would not be “mended till Churches are built, and the Country reduc’d to some Form.”³⁵

Many of the inhabitants that Woodmason encountered were not simply ignorant of Anglican religion and culture; some were knowledgeable enough about Anglicanism to be openly hostile to it. Already, Presbyterians and Quakers had traveled down the wagon road from Pennsylvania through Virginia and were rapidly filling up the backcountry with European migrants. Woodmason indicated that the Presbyterians were especially troublesome. Arriving in one community, Woodmason claimed that the local “Scot Presbyterians...had hir’d these lawless Ruffians to insult me, which they did with Impunity.” These ruffians shouted that “they wanted no D---d Black Gown Sons of Bitches” and threatened Woodmason with bodily harm. Quakers in the piedmont were less violent, and Woodmason found some that were quite polite. Others, however, could be quite insulting. On one occasion, Woodmason found that some Quakers had “posted a most virulent Libel at the Meeting House—ridiculing the Liturgy...calling me by Name an old Canting Parson.”³⁶

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., 16-17, 46.

Other Anglican missionaries in North Carolina similarly warned that much of North Carolina was devoid of Anglican religion, and they were concerned about the effect that a weak Anglican establishment might have on the strength of the empire in North Carolina. For many missionaries, there was no clear delineation between the spread of Anglican religion and the spread of Britain's secular authority. Theodorus Drage--a missionary of the SPG--warned in 1770 that if his superiors did not more fully support his efforts in North Carolina "the Church of England may not for many years be established, if ever, as the power of the opposers will be Strengthened." Without the presence of a permanent Anglican establishment the people could be "seduced, and carried away into some Sect or other so become the worst Subjects."³⁷ Another observer recognized the deplorable condition of the Anglican establishment but congratulated Tryon on his efforts to more firmly establish the Anglican Church in North Carolina. This writer hoped that Tryon would be "equally Successful in erecting Schools, not to make good Scholars, but to make good Men and good planters of the rising generations of his Majesty's Subjects under your Government." This writer felt assured that Tryon would "receive the plaudite 'Well done thou good & faithful Servant &c.'"³⁸ As this

³⁷"Thodorus Drage to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," 29 May 1770, Fulham Palace Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Josiah Martin, who became governor of North Carolina in 1771 agreed that an obedient society was an Anglican society. In a letter back to England, Martin was struck with "the congeniality of the principles of the Church of England with our form of government." For Martin as for Drage, Church and State worked together to create a well-ordered society. Freeze, 426.

³⁸"James Murray to William Tryon," 3 July 1765, Tryon, vol. 1, 117. Others have also explored the relationship between the authority of the government and the Anglican Church in colonial North America. Dell Upton, for example, in his study of colonial Virginia has indicated, "English and Virginian lawmakers accepted the traditional belief that the state's security depended on this Sunday ceremony." Indeed, unlike the Catholic

writer was making an allusion to the Bible, it's unclear who would congratulate Tryon as a good and faithful servant. Was this supposed to be what the king would say or would God provide the congratulation? Was the writer being intentional in blurring the lines between the secular and the divine role that the Anglican Church served?

It may be a bit unsettling for contemporaries to read about religious conversion as a political affair, and it might also be a bit puzzling. How exactly might the Anglican Church help make better subjects? Why would it be so important that backcountry farmers more closely resemble Londoners? Why would missionaries of the Anglican Church be so concerned about acculturation? Anglican missionaries' denunciations of revolts in North Carolina help to illustrate the connections between the divine and the secular in the Anglican worldview. In short, there was not a clear division between secular society and the religious world. George Micklejohn, for example, in a sermon he preached to Governor William Tryon's soldiers after they had forced the Regulator uprising of 1767 to disband tied together the connections between the Anglican Church and civil obedience.

As Micklejohn described the civil order, God blessed humanity by providing order to an otherwise chaotic and dangerous world. In a world devoid of order, "no language can fully describe those various scenes of misery and horror which would continually arise before us, from the discordant passion and divided interests of mankind." God, however, was infinitely good and "provided a natural security against all these mischiefs in those different ranks and order of men." In order to prevent chaos,

Church which was "an independent representative of a higher power, the reformed Anglican Church was just that—the Church of *England*, an arm of the state, part of an interpenetrated temporal and spiritual power, over both of which the monarch was supreme earthly head." Upton, 4, 55.

discord, and violence God has allotted some to govern and “others obliged to obey, that so the happiness of the whole community might the more effectually be preserved.”³⁹ In order to fully demonstrate His love, God provided a natural hierarchy in order to protect and guard the objects of His love. Thus, those who “instead of praying for the safety of our governors and protectors, presume to threaten their sacred persons with violence” were really paying the insult to God “because they derive their authority from *him*.” As Micklejohn pointed out to his listeners, God was referred to in scripture “as the God of Peace, and Lover of Concord” and those who worked against the good order that God had established were therefore threatening the “peace and harmony” that God wanted for His people since He was the God of peace.⁴⁰

Thus a stable society and the leaders who provided that stability demonstrated the great love that God had for His people. As the God of peace, God detested violence. As God acted benevolently in providing for such peace and tranquility on the earth so too those who had been placed in authority ruled with benevolence. As Micklejohn described North Carolina’s governors and magistrates during the Regulation, those put in authority were “protectors and guardians.” To the leaders whom God had provided them, therefore, North Carolinians “owe our security from all that numerous train of mischiefs.” It was to these leaders that we are “indebted for the safe and comfortable

³⁹George Micklejohn, *On the Important Duty of Subjection to the Civil Powers : A Sermon Preached before His Excellency William Tryon, Esquire, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of North-Carolina, and the Troops Raised to Quell the Late Insurrection, at Hillsborough, in Orange County, on Sunday, September 25, 1768*, (New Bern, NC: 1768), 5.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 3, 7.

enjoyment of all the blessings of private life, and all the advantages we derive from civil society.”⁴¹

Thus from Micklejohn’s perspective, God wanted peace and the best assurance that peace would be preserved was that order would be protected from chaos and passion. In order to prevent passion from destroying the community, God had placed some in power and expected others to obey. Hierarchy was thus a manifestation of God’s love for His people. Those placed in power cared for those placed in their trust just as God cared for those whom He was ruling over.⁴² In a letter to the SPG, Micklejohn described Tryon as just such a paternalistic governor. Micklejohn declared that Tryon “rules a willing People with the Indulgent Tenderness of a common parent who desires rather to be beloved, than feared by them and takes the truest care towards securing their utmost Love by shewing in every step of his conduct that he entirely loved them.”⁴³

⁴¹Ibid., 9.

⁴²Tryon often indicated the role of the rulers of North Carolina was in fact to act paternalistically just as Micklejohn had indicated. In this order, Tryon indicated that he had become aware that certain merchants in and around New Bern intended “setting forth [with a] great Quantitys of Corn exported from that Port to the Northern Colonies and West India Islands.” Such a shipment, however, would “make that Grain a scarce commodity in those parts and unless timely prevented will manifestly distress the poor and labouring people in General.” In order to avoid distress, Tryon therefore ordered “to Prohibit the Exportation of Indian Corn from the Rivers Neuse and Trent.” “Proclamation of the Governor,” 26 March 1766, Tryon, vol. 1, 268.

⁴³“George Micklejohn to Daniel Burton,” 14 September 1767 *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 7, 519. Micklejohn’s description of civil society as a family corresponds with Tryon’s vision of North Carolina. As Micklejohn described North Carolina’s leaders as benevolent and caring so too Henry Conway advised colonial governors that the colonists could not imagine “the paternal care of his Majesty for his Colonies.” Neither could they imagine the “Lenity & Indulgence of the Parliament.” “Henry Seymour Conway to William Tryon,” 31 March 1766, Tryon, vol. 1, 269-270.

For Micklejohn, therefore, there were no clear lines that separated the secular and the religious aspects of Anglicanism. For Micklejohn, the stability and peace that a good ruler supplied to the people manifested the love of God. Thus, a well-governed society made obvious the love of God. Supporting the secular authority of Britain's earthly leaders was thus intertwined with the spread of religion. Micklejohn's sermon, however, was essentially royal propaganda presented to congratulate the troops and condemn those who had tried to upset the colonial order. The role of the Anglican Church in North Carolina, however, went beyond rhetoric and propaganda. Within individual Anglican communities, the Anglican Church created the social order in which those who ruled cared for those whom God had placed in their care. In turn, those who were cared for were called to show their love through obedience. In the process of creating these reciprocal and paternalistic relationships, stability and peace would hopefully come to North Carolina.

The Anglican Church in 1765 was a weakly established institution, but in the places where it was established and functioning it tended to create the relationships between neighbors that Micklejohn described in his sermon. In several seacoast towns—Edenton, New Bern, Bath, Wilmington, and Brunswick—Anglican missionaries had been preaching for years. Within these towns, Anglican churches had become integrated into local communities. Indeed, Anglican churches were more than facilities in which coastal North Carolinians worshipped. Within Anglican churches, North Carolinians presented themselves to their neighbors. They attempted to establish bonds of friendship. They attempted to find marriage partners. Arriving at church dressed in the finest clothing, and

attending the best post-worship parties were integral in the lives of many in coastal North Carolina.

If Charles Woodmason considered the backcountry particularly unpolished and uncouth, many folks on the coast were making concerted efforts to ensure that they could be counted among the gentry. Describing the merchants and large planters in the Wilmington area, one commentator noted that the merchants “in the town, and considerable planters in the country, are now beginning to have a taste for living, and some gay equipages may be seen.” Here were people who sought respectability as defined by English high society. If the people of the piedmont would have shocked Londoners, as Woodmason indicated, many folks on the coast hoped to impress rather than disappoint. As the same commentator indicated about Wilmington, “Their houses are elegant, their tables always plentifully covered and their entertainment sumptuous. They are fond of company, living very sociable and neighbourly, visiting one another often.”⁴⁴

Local Anglican churches made up a vital part this "neighbourly" and "sociable" environment on the coast of North Carolina. This is not to say that this religious experience was something less than genuine. Some who attended Anglican worship were quite devout. In Edenton, North Carolina James Iredell left a diary and letters describing the lives of the merchants and planters who lived in that region. James Iredell is most famous for being one of the first justices in the Supreme Court. In the colonial period, he lived in Edenton, North Carolina where he worked as a port tax collector and trained as a

⁴⁴Quoted from “Scotus Americanus” in Lawrence Lee, *The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 190, 443.

lawyer under the tutelage of Samuel Johnston. Iredell never served the parish as a vestrymen or a warden, but the friends with whom he associated on Sundays were among those who commonly served in St. Paul's vestry. Iredell often spent his Sunday afternoons at Samuel Johnston's house, for example, and Samuel Johnston was often asked to serve as a vestryman for St. Paul's parish.⁴⁵ Iredell never served on the vestry in Edenton, but his diaries and essays indicate that religion and worship within St. Paul's were integral in his life. In his letters and in his diary, Iredell often reflected upon his own religious beliefs and defended religious orthodoxy against those who asserted that religious belief was a mere prejudice. In 1768, Iredell regretted the "general turn to infidelity which universally prevails." Unfortunately, the "man who is singular enough to profess a value for religion, is too frequently considered as a morose, or an unreflecting being, whose conduct is unsocial, or whose principles are unsound."⁴⁶

Others attending Anglican services, however, were less orthodox. Cornelius Harnett, for example, was buried in St. James' churchyard in Wilmington, North Carolina; and the epitaph on his headstone indicates that he was a "Slave to no sect he took no private road But looked through nature up to nature's God."⁴⁷ From the tone of his epitaph, it seems likely that Harnett was a person that regarded people who were too

⁴⁵Samuel Johnston served as a vestryman in 1770, 1772, 1773, and 1775. *Vestry Minutes of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan County, North Carolina 1701-1776*, ed. Raymond Parker Fouts, (Cocoa, FL: GenRec Books, 1983), 172, 178, 180, 184.

⁴⁶James Iredell, "Iredell's essay on Religion," *The Papers of James Iredell*, ed. Don Higginbotham, vol. 1, (Raleigh, N.C.: Division of Archives and History, Dept. of Cultural Resources, 1976), 8-9.

⁴⁷*St. James Church, Wilmington, North Carolina: Historical Records*, ed. Ida Kellam, (Wilmington, NC: I.B. Kellam, 1965), 30.

doctrinal as “unsocial” or “unreflecting.” It seems likely, therefore, that folks who were fairly devout and folks that were less devout worshipped within the walls of the same Anglican churches.

Even for the particularly devout Iredell, attending worship in St. Paul’s, was not solely about with religious devotion. Iredell’s diary reveals that church attendance was also about the respectability that many colonists sought. On one Sunday in 1770, Iredell recorded that he went to services, and he thought that the minister’s “Text was;—(I forget the Chapter & Verse,—) Fervent in Spirit, serving the Lord.” Inspired as he was, Iredell could not recall much about the content of the sermon. What was particularly memorable for Iredell was that “it took up about 20 minutes—a very reasonable length.” This left Iredell plenty of time in the afternoon to socialize with Mrs. Johnston and Mrs. Blair.⁴⁸ Indeed, socializing with his friends comprised a major portion of Iredell’s Sunday worship. On another Sunday in 1773, Iredell did not go to church “the Weather being rainy” and thus there would be “no Ladies going from Mrs. Blair’s.” Instead of going to church, therefore, Iredell went to his friends’ homes in order to socialize until eleven o’clock in the evening.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Iredell, “Iredell Diary,” *The Papers of James Iredell*, vol. 1, 177.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 206. Iredell’s experiences in Edenton, North Carolina are fairly similar to what parishioners in eighteenth century Virginia did in their Anglican churches. As Allan Kullikoff described the typical Sunday for Anglican, the typical parishioner “went to Sunday services to enjoy the liturgy, to affirm their position in the social hierarchy, and to conduct business.” Kullikoff, 240. Similarly, Rhys Isaac has noted that Virginians, “whatever their rank, generally did not affect postures of grave piety and that on Sunday at church they took for granted the close proximity of the profane to the sacred.” Isaac, 60-61.

Attending church services and the post-service parties integrated Iredell into the life of the community, and Iredell was able to make some powerful friends capable of securing Iredell future opportunities in colonial North Carolina. On Sundays after church services and on other days as well, Iredell developed an intimate and friendly relationship with the Johnstons. Samuel Johnston was a politically powerful individual who was also very wealthy. A friendship with Johnston brought Iredell political opportunities, and it was Samuel Johnston who tutored Iredell in the law. As intimate as Iredell was with Samuel Johnston, it was Samuel Johnston's sister Hannah who dominated Iredell's diary and personal correspondence.

It was to Hannah Johnston that Iredell devoted his most passionate declarations of love and affection. In 1772, Iredell wrote to Hannah Johnston that he could not "any longer delay expressing the most tender and sincere Affection for you." Again in 1773, Iredell wrote to his beloved that he did not have a "Heart which can be cooled when every Circumstance of Duty, Affection and Gratitude, exacts the most ardent Attachment."⁵⁰ As passionate and heartfelt as Iredell's language sounds, it should also be noted that certain aspects of Iredell's declarations of love are strikingly different from what we might expect from a contemporary love letter. In his second letter in 1773, Iredell confessed his ardent affections, but he also connected his "affection" to other emotions and actions that we would not necessarily associate with romantic love. For Iredell, affection and duty were connected. Indeed, it was duty that peaked his affection and burned in his heart.

⁵⁰“James Iredell to Hannah Johnston,” *The Papers of James Iredell*, vol. 1, 94, 144.

In other letters to friends overseas, Iredell revealed that he was not only thinking about Hannah Johnston but also the political and financial benefits that might be gained through marriage with her. In 1773, Iredell wrote to Samuel Munckley in order to celebrate his recent engagement to Hannah Johnston. Iredell thanked him for the wishes for his happiness and informed him that he had finally gained “an Income at present which will enable me to live genteely and with the most flattering prospects in my view” and thus he became engaged to be married. He was happy to receive the hand of someone who “inexpressibly dear to me herself, and with the most respectable and agreeable Connections in this Country. This Circumstance ensures me the utmost domestic Felicity I could ever have thought myself to expect or wish for.” To modern audiences, Iredell’s comments to his friends make his engagement to Hannah Johnston seem disingenuous. As Iredell himself indicates, part of the reason that he finds Hannah Johnston dear to himself is that she has “the most respectable and agreeable Connections in this Country.” Indeed, Iredell’s friendship with her brother—Samuel Johnston—allowed him access to a genteel status. Someone looking at James Iredell’s engagement could thus make an argument that he was using his fiancé for the political and financial connections that Iredell gained through her. For us, interest in money and power and interest in marriage tend to be mutually exclusive. Someone who marries for money is marrying for the wrong reasons; however, Iredell did not likely see the quest for political connections and the quest for marital affections as mutually exclusive. Indeed, as Iredell indicates to Munckley, his relationship with Hannah Johnston would provide “the utmost domestic Felicity.”⁵¹ What, after all, could provide domestic happiness more than

⁵¹“James Iredell to Samuel Munckley,” *Ibid.*, 159.

affection, money, and gentility? We should thus be open to the possibility that a politically advantageous marriage—at least in Iredell’s mind—could also be a marriage in which affections blossomed. Perhaps affection might even be more evident in a marriage in which political connections were gained.

As Iredell described his own emotions, what he felt for Hannah Johnston was different than what he described as “debauchery,” and religious practice provided protection against “debauchery.” As Iredell noted often in his life, he found pleasure when his “Attention is rationally employed upon Religion,” and it was in religion that he found the “principles of Duty.” Knowing his duties protected him from participating in the in “the idle [Sauntering?] & [frothy?] Conversation in Taverns” where people participated in scenes of “Debauchery & Intemperance.” In reflecting upon his religious duties, Iredell believed himself to be protected from “the Debasers of our Nature; & the destruction of whatever is amiable & lovely, of that inward self possession, & pleasing consciousness of doing well, which alone can make us truly happy.”⁵²

The religion that Iredell practiced served as a protector against the “debauchery” that threatened everything in his life that was lovely. Much like George Micklejohn’s sermon, religion was about a godly order, and that godly order resisted the baser passions that led others to create violence and turmoil. It thus made sense to use words like “love” with words like order and to use words like “debauchery” with disorder and violence. Within this worldview, religion stood as a bulwark against baser emotions.⁵³ We should

⁵²“Iredell Diary,” Ibid., 195.

⁵³Other colonists made similar connections between religion, love, and order. When Charles Cupples’s daughter died he felt that he could be consoled because of “a

thus view Iredell's religious devotion in worship and Iredell's social life after church as interconnected. We may be tempted to classify parishioners like Iredell as lukewarm Christians, but for Iredell and perhaps for Micklejohn as well the social world of Anglican churches and the higher love of God were connected both in practice and in belief. Iredell's religion was about protecting and encouraging whatever was amiable and lovely, and Iredell's happy domestic life indicated he was following godly directions.

Iredell's understanding of his world reflects the same kinds of connections between the secular and the divine expressed in Micklejohn's sermon before William Tryon's troops. For Iredell as for Micklejohn, the peaceful and affectionate relationships between individuals within a community demonstrated the love of God. Thus, the religiously devout Iredell saw no conflict between celebrating God and his relationships with his acquaintances on Sunday mornings. Instead, community order and hierarchy were intimately connected to more spiritual affairs. Indeed, in Iredell's descriptions of his love for Hannah Johnston he commonly joined the same kinds of words together that Micklejohn had joined together in his sermon before Tryon's troops. Honor and love went hand in hand. And the peace that paternalistic love created manifested the love of God.

Love of God" that had led his daughter to perform "every Duty incumbent upon her to Superiors, Inferiors or Equals." "Charles Cupples to Charles Pettigrew," 16 June 1776, *The Pettigrew Papers*, ed. Sarah Lemmon, vol. 1 (Raleigh, NC: State Department of Archives and History, 1988), 10-11. In a similarly melancholy situation, Peter Singleton described the love that Charles Pettigrew—an Anglican missionary in Edenton, North Carolina—had shared with his wife while she was still living. He indicated that the two "had assisted the other in the mutual duty of Husband & Wife in striving together for your Spiritual & temporal welfare, wch. made your love perfect & gave that Worthy Lady a right, as a good Christian." "Peter Singleton to Charles Pettigrew," 26 April 1787, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 54.

In the connections that he made between religion, love, political power, and money Iredell was not alone. The only surviving colonial parish records for North Carolina were left by St. Paul's vestry in Edenton. Those records indicate the connections that other parishioners made between their daily practices, the social order, and religious observation. St. Paul's vestrymen, for example, were given the task of caring for Edenton's poorest residents. As Micklejohn noted, those placed in authority ought to be benevolent toward those who had been entrusted to them. Typically, vestrymen paid third parties to take care of the needy. In 1743, for example, the vestrymen voted to allot Nathaniel Hocott "Thirty Shillings for Attendance with his horse and Cart to Carry the poor to his house."⁵⁴ The vestrymen compensated doctors when they attempted to heal the sick, and the vestrymen compensated those who helped to bury strangers and others unable to provide for their own funerals. As an institution of the state, Anglican churches provided for the needs of their poorest residents in order to ensure the welfare of all the members of the community.

Behaving like benevolent fathers brought social responsibilities but also brought status and respect for those who behaved like metaphorical fathers within their communities. In 1738, for example, "John Williams proposed to this Vestry to take and Keep of the [parish] a Child Born of ye Body of one Mary Vann Single woman." Since Mary Vann had died, Williams proposed having "the Child bound to him till it Cums of age."⁵⁵ The vestrymen's action in the case of Mary Vann and her child was fairly typical

⁵⁴*Vestry Minutes of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan County, North Carolina 1701-1776*, 78.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 60.

of how vestrymen dealt with impoverished people within their parish. In 1749, Thomas Marloe agreed with the vestrymen to drop his charges for taking care of an orphaned child and to take care of him until he also came of age. Marloe agreed “to teach, or cause him to be taught, to read & write and also to get his living in an honest and industrious Way.”⁵⁶ In exchange, the orphaned child was bound out to Marloe as his servant and dependent.

St. Paul’s vestrymen thus expressed their concern and affection for Edenton’s poorest residents, but they expected to receive benefits from their affectionate care as well. Though Marloe agreed to teach the orphan indentured to him a useful trade, it seems fairly reasonable to assume that Marloe would have had more self-interested reasons for having an orphan indentured to him. Indeed, having an orphan indentured to himself indicated that the orphan became part of Marloe’s household. Essentially, the orphan became his servant. As corrupt a system as this sounds, such a system made sense in a society without many of the public facilities that we take for granted. Lacking orphanages and hospitals, St. Paul’s vestrymen had to rely upon the assistance of local people who had the expendable wealth needed to take care of the community’s less fortunate. Acting as paternalistic caretakers of their society—metaphorical fathers within the community—it was not much of a stretch to actually make the people that they took care of part of the household of those who cared for them.⁵⁷ They loved their

⁵⁶Ibid., 100.

⁵⁷The English Book of Common Prayer also referred to the church community as a fictive or metaphorical family into which the child entered when receiving baptism. “We yeild thee hearty thanks, most mercifull Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this Infant with thy holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own Childe by Adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy Church.” *The English Rite; Being a*

communities as God loved His creation. They cared for those in need, and they provided order when disorder in the form of death or some other misfortune threatened to unbalance the community.

The position of laborers and other poor people as dependents within the houses of local benefactors is also demonstrated from the use of names in the St. Paul's vestry book. Most of the people listed in St. Paul's vestry book are listed as having both given and surnames. The development of given and surname naming practices had occurred long before English colonization of North America began, but the names are important for understanding local people's places within a trans-Atlantic empire. Surnames allow distant authorities to locate a specific person in a distant place. If a vestryman like Samuel Johnston did not fulfill his financial obligations to a business partner in Barbados then that business partner would be able to locate Samuel Johnston whereas finding a Samuel would be a more difficult task. At times it might be in Samuel Johnston's best interest to remain hidden from distant people—as when Johnston wanted to deceive distant authorities or not fulfill his end of the bargain in a business transaction—but in order to establish permanent trading relationships he had to make himself locatable by the outside world. If having a surname allowed Johnston to be sued in court, his trading associate's surname increased the likelihood that Johnston could sue him in court if his

Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, with an Introduction and an Appendix., ed. Frank Edward Brightman, (London: Rivingtons, 1921), 745. Similar notions of “adoption” can be found in the rites of baptism conducted in private households. “We yeild thee hearty thanks, most mercifull Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this Infant with thy holy spirit, to receive him for thine own childe by Adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy Church.” *The English Rite; Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, with an Introduction and an Appendix.*, 749.

trading partner broke the terms of the initial agreement. Social theorists have described such naming practices as part of the process of creating “legibility.”⁵⁸ Making local conditions more legible to people outside of the community was important in the development of both centralized states and a market economy.

The same rules of legibility, however, did not apply to servants and slaves recorded in St. Paul’s vestry book. Within the vestry book, slaves were typically listed by their first name and their race. Thus, the vestry book lists that the estate of James Trotter was compensated for the services of “Negro DUBLIN.”⁵⁹ In one maid’s case of fornication in 1725, we can see the ways in which servants remained a class of people hidden within the households of their masters. In 1725, a “Maid” was convicted of fornication and her master—Mrs. Ruston—paid a fine “for her Maid’s Fornication.” The duty of Mrs. Ruston to pay the fine for her servant indicates the dependent relationship into which Mrs. Ruston tried to position her servant. Though Mrs. Ruston was expected to pay the fine for her dependent, the court’s decision affirmed Mrs. Ruston’s position as a master who represented her dependents. The court confirmed her servant’s position as a dependent within the private household of her master. Mrs.

⁵⁸As James Scott indicates, “[l]arge-scale commercial exchange and long-distance trade tend to promote common standards of measurement.” Those common standards of measurement also allow for the expansion of state institutions. Local communities without those standard measurements are “a hindrance to any effective intervention by the state.” Centralized states need a “thoroughly legible society [that] eliminates local monopolies of information.” James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 30, 78.

⁵⁹*Vestry Minutes of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan County, North Carolina 1701-1776*, 125.

Ruston took responsibility for her servant, but she expected to be accorded the status of a matriarch over her dependent in return.

Local people with expendable wealth were often expected to take care of those within their community who could not take care of themselves, but they expected respect in return. In 1744 Henry Baker indicated that he was willing to donate part of his land and some of his lumber in order to build a chapel in one of the outlying districts of St. Paul's parish, but in return St. Paul's vestrymen allowed him to shape the interior of the chapel in order to demonstrate his high position within society. Henry Baker gave "One Acre of Land" and "Timber to Build a Chapple on Knotty Pine Swamp." In exchange for his generosity, Baker "Shall have Liberty to Build a Pew in any Part of the sd: Chapple he Pleases."⁶⁰ Bakers' benevolence and the position within the chapel that was his reward indicate the ways in which locals used their Anglican churches. At church local Anglicans expected to learn about religious principles, but in church they also attempted to position themselves as respected members of the community. Baker, for example, generously gave of his finances in order to assist the local Anglican Church, but in exchange he received an exalted position within the church. He got to pick the pew that he wanted.

In at least Edenton, North Carolina, the church was thoroughly integrated into the life of the community, and the life of the church there indicates why Tryon would be so concerned about establishing similar churches throughout North Carolina. In the lives of many in eastern North Carolina, the colonial Anglican Church was an institution that provided social stability and promoted affection. Through the vestry, the wealthiest in

⁶⁰Ibid., 80.

the community were compensated for the care that they provided for the poor. In exchange for that support and care, however, eastern North Carolinians expected social standing and respect. These desires manifested themselves in indenture contracts created by vestrymen and the exalted positions that philanthropists gained through their support of their local churches. Even as parishioners were called to be obedient to God, they were also called to be obedient and loving to their temporal masters as well. In Anglican rhetoric and practice, God was the greatest of the local gentlemen and the gentlemen were His representatives and caretakers.⁶¹

Even within communities like Edenton where long established Anglican communities had been nurtured for a generation, Anglicanism did not function quite like many colonial governors would have liked. Vestries commonly complained of the extreme poverty within their parishes and were thus happy to accept heavily subsidized missionaries from the SPG. Though vestrymen did not like to pay for Anglican missionaries, they expected to wield authority over those missionaries. The SPG, however, regarded the situation differently. Since these missionaries were funded largely from funds in Britain, the SPG assumed that the ultimate authority over these missionaries should reside in Britain rather than within local vestries. This difference often led to conflicts between vestrymen and imperial officials. The arguments over the

⁶¹This is the way that Dell Upton summarized the situation within Anglican churches in Virginia. Most of the accoutrements within Anglican churches were well beyond what most ordinary Virginians could have afforded for their own homes. Many of the “church furnishings duplicated or resembled the current or recently set-aside domestic furnishings of the upper class.” Upton similarly indicated that it was altogether appropriate that the churches resembled the households of the leading members of the community. What else, after all, would have been “proper for the leading gentleman of the universe.” Upton, 158, 173.

right of "presentation" in North Carolina reveals the differences between local gentlemen and imperial officials even though they could typically agree upon the worldview offered by the Anglican establishment.

Though both Tryon and local gentlemen appreciated the order, peace, and harmony that Anglican worship provided to local communities, vestrymen and Tryon disagreed about who ought to wield authority over local parishes. The Anglican Church became the established church of North Carolina in 1715, but even after that date the Anglican establishment remained weak. It did not help matters that the colonial assembly kept drafting establishment laws only to have them rejected by the Board of Trade. As Tryon noted, previous establishment acts were regularly "clogged with objections incompatible with the rights of the Crown and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction." Rather than state explicitly that the king and his representatives held the authority to present missionaries to parishes, the act of 1765 did not mention how ministers were inducted into parishes. As the Bishop of London wrote, unlike the establishment acts of 1755 or 1760 the "present act is free from most of those objections which principally referred to the Powers claimed by the Vestry with regard to the Right of Presentation." The act of 1765 was "silent as to any claim of that Right and therefore leaves it in the crown to be exercised by the Governor by virtue of his Patent from the King."⁶² Indeed, Tryon

⁶²“The Bishop of London to William Tryon,” 13 January 1766, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 7, 150. In his biography of William Tryon Paul Nelson similarly indicates that between “1741 to 1762, four establishment bills had been passed by the legislature only to be disallowed in London because the Assembly, while accepting an Anglican establishment, insisted that patronage to church officials belonged to the vestries.” In 1765, Tryon managed to get the colonial assembly to at least ignore the issue if not concede. Paul Nelson, *William Tryon and the Course of Empire: A Life in British Imperial Service*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 25.

viewed this alteration as a success, and used the absence of an explicit statement to the contrary to indicate that he held the power to present missionaries in North Carolina.⁶³

The vestrymen tended to interpret the situation quite differently. As they had traditionally claimed the power to elect ministers, they tended to view the lack of an explicit statement to the contrary to indicate that the relationship between parishioners and ministers had not been altered by the act of 1765.⁶⁴

Though believing that the establishment act of 1765 was a great success, Tryon recognized the fragility of his claims, and his frustration with local vestries occasionally resulted in Tryon adopting a condescending tone. As Tryon noted, he intended the

⁶³Gary Freeze captured Tryon's sense of accomplishment at getting the vestry act of 1765 passed even if Freeze had a tendency to exaggerate what was actually accomplished in the act. According to Freeze, the "Anglican-dominated colonial assembly had just passed and received approval from the Crown for a new vestry act expected to strengthen the position of the established Church. The new act put an end to more than a decade of political disagreement between local churchmen and the ecclesiastical hierarchy in England. The new provisions were to aid the established church in ordering the official religious affairs of the province, in the face of increasing dissent resulting from immigration and the Great Awakening." Freeze, 405-6. As the rest of this chapter will show, however, the passage of a new vestry act in 1765 did little to actually clear up differences between the vestrymen and imperial officials, and Tryon succeeded in improving the status of the Anglican Church in North Carolina but did little to actually stem the tide of dissenters.

⁶⁴In St. James Parish, Tryon and the parishioners could not agree on who held the power to induct ministers. Writing to the parish, Tryon indicated "the Reverend Mr Wills (who has been long a resident among you) expressed desire of settling your parish, I am to acquaint you that I propose to give him Letters of Presentation and Induction thereto. I should therefore be glad to learn from you Gentlemen whether there are any objections to Mr. Wills in the duties of his sacred office." "Gov. Tryon to the Vestry of St. James" 9 February 1770, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 8, 174. The vestry of St. James accepted Mr. Wills, but they could not "agree to his being inducted into the parish as they humbly conceive from the best information they can procure that no power of presentation or Induction is lodged in the Crown by any Act of Assembly in this Province." "The Vestrymen of St. James Parish to William Tryon," 11 May 1770, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 8, 199.

omission of a presentation clause to empower the king and his representatives to present clergymen to parishes. At the same time he recognized that he would encounter resistance within local communities. Indeed, vestrymen were jealous of their power and were hesitant to allow someone outside of their control to have authority within their parishes. Tryon noted, “Many persons have industriously spread among the parishes and vestries that as the patronage to livings is not specified in the above Act, the Crown cannot claim the patronage.” Since it was not clearly stated in the establishment act of 1765, the SPG and Tryon had to move cautiously. Unfortunately, “the minds of the larger body of inhabitants thro’ the want of the means of culture are incapable of entertaining generous principles of public utility” by maintaining the right of presentation in the crown.⁶⁵ Indeed, Tryon could be quite dismissive of the intelligence and culture of even the supposedly more cultured and cosmopolitan eastern residents. On another occasion, Tryon wrote to the SPG that the missionaries in Brunswick and Wilmington would need continued assistance because of “the peculiar difficulties of their situation and the backwardness of the Inhabitants to acquiesce in their Establishment.”⁶⁶

Tryon’s claim that local vestrymen resisted Tryon’s claims to the power of presentation stemmed from vestrymen’s ignorance is certainly debatable. What is clear is that local vestries interpreted the vagueness of the establishment act of 1765 quite differently than Tryon. John Barnett—missionary of the SPG—reported to London that local vestrymen were particularly jealous of their power of presentation. Barnett reported

⁶⁵“William Tryon to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” 6 October 1766, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 7, 261.

⁶⁶William Tryon is quoted in Lee, 221.

that Brunswick's vestrymen desired religious instruction, and they particularly wanted Barnett to stay with them. The vestrymen in Brunswick, however, wanted him to stay on condition that they retained the ability to maintain "an annual re-election." If Barnett was willing to allow for an annual election, the vestrymen were willing "to make some addition to the former Salary, but this my inclination as well as my duty prevents my acquiescence with." Hearing about Barnett's case, Tryon gave the vestrymen of Brunswick six months to accept his presentation, or he would have Barnett sent into the backcountry. Rather than accept the authority of the king's representative to present a minister to a parish, Brunswick's vestrymen decided to let Tryon appoint him to a different parish.⁶⁷

Thus, the arguments that divided vestrymen from the governors were about who should rule at home rather than the type of government that should run affairs in North Carolina. Both sides could agree on the superiority of Anglicanism, and both sides were happy to encourage the growth of Anglicanism in North Carolina. Both sides also benefitted from the kind of paternalistic societies encouraged in Anglican parishes. Tryon wanted to establish a stable and governable colony. For him, establishing a string of Anglican parishes across the colony would help to solidify support for the empire in North Carolina. Many locals also liked Anglican culture and the paternalistic hierarchies that came with Anglicanism. Being a metaphorical father over a community brought great responsibility but it also brought honor and an exalted social position for those metaphorical fathers. The debates over the power of presenting ministers to local

⁶⁷"John Barnett to Daniel Burton," 11 June 1768 *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 7, 789-790.

parishes, however, revealed that local elites and the governor could disagree over who ultimately held power over the parishes. For the vestrymen, the power to appoint their own ministers was a cherished right. For many missionaries and the governor, allowing local vestries to appoint their own ministers would prevent imperial officials from holding locals accountable for their misbehavior.⁶⁸

Missionaries expected local populations—gentlemen and slaves—to be obedient to their authority and to the authority of the king in parliament; however, local gentlemen asserted that local decisions depended upon the authority of vestrymen not on the authority of missionaries. The case of Thomas Thomlinson’s Anglican school in New Bern is a particularly illustrative example of the potential for conflict between local gentlemen and Anglican missionaries. In 1767, Thomas Thomlinson wrote to his financial supporters in England that he had found much support in New Bern for his proposal of opening a school. Several local gentlemen indicated that they wanted to have their children educated in just such a school. Thomlinson was thus pleased to report that he was increasingly successful in “making it my Business to imprint upon the Minds of the Children committed to my Care the Principles of the Christian Religion agreeable to

⁶⁸Frederick Mills has indicated that the election of bishops indicated that the Revolutionary Era made American bishops “in every way more democratic than their English counterparts.” Frederick V. Mills, *Bishops by Ballot: An Eighteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), x, 304 Robert Mullin has similarly reflected upon the role of the bishops in the post-Revolutionary Episcopal Church. He indicates that the laity was slow to allow bishops to hold power over the churches. Mullin, however, views this development less in terms of democratic tendencies and more of a contest between religion and culture. In the post-Revolutionary Episcopal Church “inclusive piety triumphed over exclusive ecclesiology. Whether this should be viewed as a tragedy or a triumph perhaps depends on how an individual comes down on the always thorny question of Christ and culture.” Robert Mullin, *Episcopal Vision, American Reality: High Church Theology and Social Thought in Evangelical America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 214-215.

the Doctrines of our established Church.”⁶⁹ As has been noted earlier, both Tryon and gentlemen would have wanted the minds of North Carolina’s children to become “imprinted” with Anglican principles. The Anglican Church gained the opportunity to transform locals into obedient people within the empire, and local gentlemen gained the opportunity to have their children become urbane and genteel.

By 1772, however, relations between Thomlinson and several local gentlemen had soured. Thomlinson complained to the SPG that he had been fired from his position as headmaster through the scheming “of One great Man & two of his Adherents.” Apparently, Thomlinson had made the mistake of “correcting & turning out of school some of their Children for very notorious Offences.” Understandably upset that the schoolmaster had refused to teach their children, the unnamed gentlemen managed to convince the other members on the board of trustees to have Thomlinson fired. In response, Thomlinson whined to North Carolina’s governor and the SPG for redress. Thomlinson, much to his dismay, received a letter from Governor Josiah Martin—Tryon left North Carolina in 1771—indicating that the governor was powerless to intervene. Governor Martin noted, “that he had no legal Power to interfere.” Martin knew that the trustees who had fired Thomlinson were “jealous of the power which was given them by Act of Assembly” and refused to let anyone else make decisions about the school.⁷⁰

Thus, Thomlinson’s case indicates the unique position in which many Anglican missionaries found themselves. As government bureaucrats, they often perceived

⁶⁹“Thomas Thomlinson to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” 26 January 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

⁷⁰“Thomas Thomlinson to Daniel Burton,” 20 February 1772, Fulham Palace Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

authority as coming from their superiors in London. The actions of local gentlemen, however, indicated that gentlemen thought they held authority over religious worship and education. The point of contest in Thomlinson's case was one of power. Who ultimately had power to correct children? Should locals be allowed to bend missionaries to their will? Shouldn't vestrymen and other local notables also be obedient to the will of God and His representatives?

If some North Carolinians were concerned that the king's representatives would deny them freedom of conscience or property, some missionaries worried that allowing local vestrymen free reign within their communities would allow them to mistreat those who were under their care: missionaries and poor parishioners. Vestries had traditionally expected local people with expendable wealth to take care of the poor, and they had given those philanthropists power over those poor people in exchange. In 1774, a missionary for the SPG in Newbern—James Reed—worried that a recent act of the North Carolina assembly would enable locals to abuse the poor people under the care of local vestries. Reed complained that a recent act empowered “Vestries to build workhouses for [the poor] and the keepers of such house to inflict corporal punishment on such poor under their care as shall behave refractorily.” Reed recommended that the SPG should work in London to have the act repealed as the “very thought of whipping the aged and infirm, though a little refractory, is shocking, and such authority ought certainly to be vested in persons of more humanity than is generally to be found in the keepers of Workhouses.”⁷¹ Such a situation highlights the problems that could be created if vestrymen's authority within their parishes went unchecked. If Tryon's claims to authority threatened freedom

⁷¹“James Reed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” 19 July 1774, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 9, 1014-1015.

of conscience in North Carolina, the freedom that vestrymen sought from such arbitrary authority threatened the bodies of the poor. By making the poor dependents within the private households of wealthy people, vestrymen risked making the lives of the poor quite miserable if the wealthy person to whom they had been indentured proved to be less paternalistic and more tyrannical. Reed, for one, thought that many entrusted with the bodies of the poor did not have the necessary humanity for such authority.

In other correspondence, James Reed was quite clear about his fears that allowing vestrymen to claim the power of presentation would enable them to act as tyrants within their communities. In a letter to the SPG, Reed indicated that he was very pleased with the new establishment act of 1765. He hoped it would help to curb the “tyranny” of the vestries. Reed noted that the right of presentation “is given up to the Crown which has freed us from the insolence and tyranny of Vestries and a shorter and much easier method is appointed for the recovery of our Stipends by Law wherever it may be necessary to have recourse to such a severe and desperate remedy.”⁷² The end of Reed’s statement indicates the financial benefits that missionaries could accrue from the presentation debate. If the king—and his representatives—held the right of presentation then vestries could not deny a missionary his pay by voting him out of office.⁷³ On the other hand,

⁷²“James Reed to The Secretary, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” 10 July 1765, Tryon, vol. 1, 20. William Tryon similarly noted that the “Establishment of a Minister dependant on the Caprice of a Vestry is too precarious a Choice for the Option of any Man of Real Merit.” “William Tryon to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” 30 April 1767, Tryon, vol. 1, 458.

⁷³In was not unusual for vestries to refuse to compensate their ministers. In 1766, for example, the Reverend James Moir complained that the locals “would not bring suit against the Sheriff who collected the Taxes tho’ the salaries for two years and a half were then due to me.” He returned to that parish, however, with the assurance that they would be better at paying the minister’s salary in the future. Moir “did not doubt of Clergymens

Reed's statement also reveals something about his opinions of the vestrymen. In his statement, he described them as insolent. In his letter in opposition to the workhouse bill, Reed indicated that those placed in charge of those facilities needed more humanity. Both vestrymen and the king's representatives could agree that in this world, God had appointed some to lead and some to obey. Perhaps, however, vestrymen were not fit to be God's representatives in North Carolina.

Experience had taught Reed that local elites often ignored the Christian duties that they owed to those put in their care. Reed, for example, lamented the unwillingness of local masters to allow their slaves to be instructed in religion or baptized. Reed complained that his parish was too large for him to be able to reach all the unconverted slaves "& their masters will not take the least pains to do it themselves." Reed felt comfortable baptizing slaves whose "masters become sureties for them, but never baptize any negro infants or Children upon any other terms" for fear of upsetting their masters.⁷⁴ Another missionary, Lewis DeRosset, explained that local white people did not want to be equal to the black people around them. Local masters did not want "to have their children instructed with their Slaves, which though in my Opinion a very trifling reason, yet their prejudices are very deeply Rooted."⁷⁵

Salaries being punctually paid from henceforth Governor Tryon having put it out of the power of Collectors and Vestry's to play tricks as formerly." "James Moir to Daniel Burton," 13 October 1766, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 7, 265.

⁷⁴"James Reed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," 26 June 1760, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 6, 265.

⁷⁵"Lewis De Rosset to Rev. John Waring," *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777*, ed. C Vann Horne, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 226. Other Anglican ministers in North Carolina disobeyed local racial customs. In 1726, the Reverend John Blacknall

Given the history of the relationship between vestrymen and ministers in North Carolina, it is perhaps understandable why missionaries, bishops, and governors would want to preserve the independence of missionaries. In fact, vestrymen had shown a tendency to expel ministers who asked too many uncomfortable questions about vestrymen's sinful behavior. One John LaPierre, for example, had served St. James parish in Wilmington for several years when it came to his attention that "a great man" in the region was the "first occasion of my gradual depression and degradation." In other words, a local "great man" had worked to deprive LaPierre of his salary. Apparently, LaPierre discovered that this man had been involved "in public incest or polygamy" and he therefore "spoke against it till at last they substituted in my room...one Mr. Richd Marsden formerly a preacher in Charles town in South Carolina."⁷⁶ When local missionaries asked uncomfortable questions—or named names from the pulpit—vestrymen removed the offending ministers and replaced them with ministers more willing to neither ask nor tell. If locals held too much power over their ministers, then locals could have a license to misbehave. If missionaries remained independent of the parishes they served, then they would have more power to hold local elites accountable.

If power directed from abroad could be tyrannical, so could local entrenched authority. As framed by Reed and other missionaries, tensions between vestrymen on the one hand and governors and missionaries on the other was about protecting local people

"did join together in the holy estate of matrimony, according to the form of the Church of England, in Edenton, in Chowan precinct aforesaid, -----, a white man, and a mulatto woman." For this crime, Blacknall was fined fifty pounds. Francis Hawks, *History of North Carolina: With Maps and Illustrations* (Fayetteville, NC: 1857-1858), 126.

⁷⁶"John LaPierre to Edmund Gibson," 23 April 1734, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 3, 624.

from the power of an entrenched clique of elite colonists. Reed was concerned that without someone to hold locals accountable, local vestrymen and other officials would abuse their power. In fact, colonial records indicate that sometimes local elites had abused their positions of trust. Reed was concerned that local elites ignored the obligations that they owed to their slaves. Others found out that when they tried to correct the misbehavior of the elite, they could find themselves unemployed. If local vestries were left in charge of hiring and firing their missionaries, missionaries would no longer be able to hold local elites accountable without sacrificing their jobs. As Reed framed the problem, without an independent ministry in North Carolina the local "gentlemen" might be left free to abuse dependents in their households and poor people within their communities with impunity.

Local vestrymen's attempts to protect their authority within their local communities help us to understand why the creation of a bishop for North America was so controversial in the Revolutionary Era. As Arthur Dobbs—the governor of North Carolina prior to William Tryon—noted, appointing two bishops for North America would better enable the Anglican Church to develop in the colonies. With bishops, Anglicans could ordain clergymen much more quickly. With local bishops, prospective clergymen would have a much shorter and less costly journey in order to gain ordination. Without local bishops, prospective clergymen had to travel all the way to London to gain ordination from the Bishop of London. At the same time, these bishops would have “a power of suspension & degradation of the clergy, for immoralities or Heresies or for neglect of their cures.” Bishops would also have the power “of inflicting mild censure & discipline upon the laity, by depriving them of church communion where dissolute &

profligate.”⁷⁷ Considering the authority that vestrymen claimed within their communities, however, such powers from an external observer would have been fiercely resisted.

Tryon, for one, was convinced that freedom from inspection and surveillance could encourage local elites to abuse the power that had been given them. Tryon’s suspicions of locals’ pretensions and its bad effects were not restricted to religious matters.⁷⁸ In particular, the state of taxation in North Carolina was particularly deplorable. Prior to Tryon’s administration, sheriffs and treasurers had kept less than accurate records of the taxes they had collected. Tryon wanted to ensure that riots against taxes—like the Regulator movement—were suppressed, and he also wanted to ensure

⁷⁷“Arthur Dobbs to Daniel Burton,” 30 March 1762, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 6, 709-710. Indeed, as the English Book of Common Prayer framed baptism as an ceremony in which children were adopted into the larger Christian family. So too the baptism of adults was framed in terms indicating the child-like status of the newly baptized before God. They too were called to be obedient to the will of God and not to their fleshly desires. When baptizing those who were of “Riper Years” the Anglican minister was to pronounce that “all carnall affections may die. in them and that all things belonging to the Spirit may live and grow in them.” They were then to pray over the waters of baptism “And as for you, who have now by Baptism put on Christ, it is your part and duty also, being made the children of God, and of the light by faith in Jesus Christ, to walk answerably to your christian calling, and as becometh the children of light.” *The English Rite; Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, with an Introduction and an Appendix.*, 772, 775.

⁷⁸The following account is an example of Tryon’s efforts to improve imperial oversight over local officials. “Upon looking over the Laws of the Province I find the Superior Court Law passed in 1762 expires the End of the next Session of Assembly: This Law by the Eleventh Article gave the Appointment of the County Court Clerks to the Clerk of the Pleas, and directs that the Clerks should hold their Office during Good Behaviour: This in a great Measure renders them Independent, of Government, and makes them very remiss and neglectful in sending to the Governor or Secretary’s Office any Informations necessary to be required and obtained...therefore if this should be found impossible to be obtained, I would recommend that the Appointment of the said Clerks should revert to the Secretary who had the Appointing of them During Pleasure...” “William Tryon to the Earl of Shelburne,” 16 May 1767, Tryon, vol. 1, 438.

that corruption in tax collection ended. In a letter, Tryon confided that he believed that “the Sheriffs have embezzled more than one half of the Publick Money ordered to be raised and collected by them.” The primary cause of this corruption was that the “Treasurers have hitherto shewn so much illjudged Lenity towards the Sheriffs.”⁷⁹ In 1767, Tryon declared in his advice to the colonial assembly that something really needed to be done about the disgraceful collection of taxes. Tryon urged “the Necessity of your making” some reforms “as the Embezzlements and Irregularities practiced by several Collectors of the Public Revenue” had been commonplace for quite some time. Tryon therefore recommended that he be given some power of oversight over the collection and disbursement of taxes. If given this “Freedom of Inspection and Examination into the State of the Funds (which cannot imply a Possibility of Abuse to the Public)” then Tryon hoped that tax revenue would increase and public protest against unfair tax collection would end.⁸⁰

Indeed, when appointing officials to county or parish offices, Tryon intentionally appointed men who were strangers to the community because he thought that strangers would be freer to inspect and correct the misbehavior of local elites. The justices in the county of Pasquotank, for example, protested that the man whom Tryon had appointed to Pasquotank was a stranger to them and thus not an appropriate choice. Tryon responded by saying that the fact this man was “a Stranger in your County, is a strong Motive of Inducement, among others, for my thinking Him proper for the Office.” Tryon was of the opinion that the “less a Man (whose principles are directed to the Public Service) stands

⁷⁹“William Tryon to the Earl of Shelburne,” 4 July 1767, Ibid., 531.

⁸⁰“William Tryon to the Assembly,” 7 December 1767, Ibid., 593.

connected with private Attachments, and private Interests, the more likely he is to be free from the Biass of self Interested Motives, and more at Liberty to discharge impartially the Duties of His Office.”⁸¹ Similar sentiments could be applied to Anglican missionaries in North Carolina as well. The freer that missionaries were from local “Attachments” and “private Interests” the more the missionary could serve as the unencumbered representative of God’s will on earth.

In the minds of many missionaries, imperial control over local relationships was not just a matter of political obedience to the king but also spiritual obedience to divine laws. Tryon and several of the Anglican missionaries who served North Carolina shared a common belief that those claiming genteel status in North Carolina were not quite as genteel as they believed themselves to be. Tryon tended to voice his concerns in descriptions of the local elites as backward and ignorant. He also suspected they were corrupt. James Reed also regarded the local elites as leaving much to be desired, but he framed his concerns about the local elites in terms of spiritual uprightness. Reed was concerned that local elites were more concerned about their own self-interest than in protecting impoverished people in their community. Indeed, for Reed the attempt to construct a poor house in New Bern was a thinly veiled attempt by those with power in the community to take advantage of those least able to protect themselves. Tryon's comments about sheriffs and tax collection in North Carolina indicate that he too believed that local elites were more interested in lining their own pockets than in being true fathers over those put in their care. If colonial vestrymen wanted to be freer, many

⁸¹“William Tryon to the Justices,” William Tryon, *The Correspondence of William Tryon and Other Selected Papers*, ed. William S. Powell, vol. 2 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Dept. of Cultural Resources, 1980-1981), 2.

imperial officials believed that they wanted to be freer from imperial oversight so that they could freely fleece those put in their care.

In the colonial era, the established Anglican Church remained a weak institution. Colonial governors and missionaries alike recognized that most of the colonists remained unchurched, and many other sectarians were downright hostile toward Anglican missionaries. Even if the Anglican establishment had been placed on the solid foundation that Tryon proposed to the SPG in 1765, it is hard to see how the Anglican Church could have reached anything more than a tiny fraction of colonial North Carolina's population. Even if every established parish in North Carolina had a resident missionary, those missionaries would have been ministering to very large populations over great distances.

As Tryon and others indicated, a stronger establishment would help secure the region for the British Empire. As indicated in this chapter, Anglican ministers supplied rhetorical support for empire, but the importance of a stable Anglican establishment went beyond propaganda. Within parishes, Anglican churches created the kind of paternalistic relationships that Tryon believed would make the colony more governable. Within each parish local elites were often provided with respect and authority, but they were expected to behave benevolently toward the local population in return. The relationships created within Anglican communities were often described as loving relationships. Those with expendable income showed their love by assisting those in need. Those in need returned the love of those who cared for the community by honoring and obeying those who had cared for them. With these hierarchies in place, North Carolina would become a more peaceful and thus more stable colony.

Unfortunately for those trying to strengthen the Anglican establishment in North Carolina, even the supposed friends of the Anglican establishment could be less than supportive. Local vestrymen wanted to retain control over local congregations, but since the SPG heavily subsidized Anglican worship in North Carolina imperial officials believed the governor should be left with the power to appoint ministers to local congregations. Ministers and the governor believed that the distinction was vitally important. If local congregations were left with the power to appoint their own ministers, then the ministry would have to respect the wishes of locals. If ministers could remain independent of the congregations they served then they could more effectively hold locals accountable for their misbehavior. The differences between the governors and missionaries on the one hand and the local vestrymen on the other hand often made it difficult to create a stronger religious establishment.

For the missionaries and for the governors who served in North Carolina, the kind of freedom claimed by local vestrymen was a freedom that could potentially empower them to be greater tyrants over those put in their care. Tryon regarded local elites as a bit inferior to his expectations. They were ruder, cruder, and more ignorant than their English counterparts. For missionaries like James Reed, local elites were perhaps less holy than they would have preferred. The goal of Anglican missionaries was to create paternalistic communities in which the rich cared for the poor and the poor loved and respected the rich. Some missionaries suspected, however, that the goal of local elites was to make themselves wealthy at the expense of the poor. For missionaries like Reed, the self-interest of local elites was bad for the cause of religion. For governors like Tryon, the self-interest of local elites was bad for the stability of the empire.

Chapter 2 Build Up One Another in Faithfulness: Surveillance and Discipline within North Carolina's Eighteenth-Century Quaker Communities

One itinerant Quaker described an encounter between himself and an Anglican minister that seems inevitable given the great ideological divisions that separated Quakers and Anglicans. In 1776, George Walton met the parson who presided over Edenton, North Carolina. This Anglican thought that the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina's Quakers had acted brashly in forcing members of the Yearly Meeting to free their slaves. When this parson saw Walton, he approached him and asked "what was our Motive for Setting them free, what law or Scripture had we for it."⁸² An argument ensued and Walton left convinced that he had the superior argument. It seems likely, however, that the Anglican parson probably thought he had the better argument. Neither side was convinced by the arguments of the other, but strong words had been exchanged.

The exchange between Walton and this Anglican parson indicated that Quakers and Anglicans viewed the intersections between the world and religion differently. This fact should not be all that surprising. As historians have indicated, the SPG and SPCK were founded in part to root out Quakerism and "sought in the late seventeenth century to win England's frontier lands, particularly the American colonies for the mother church." Many Anglican leaders in the eighteenth century were "old and experienced foes of the

⁸²George Walton, "The Journal from 20 May to 10 October 1777," ed. Michael Crawford, *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden: The Quaker Struggle to Free Slaves in Revolutionary North Carolina*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 61.

northwestern Quakers.”⁸³ Indeed, as this chapter will indicate the Quakers represented a culture distinct from that within Anglican communities. As Chapter 1 indicated, the dominant model within Anglicanism used fatherhood as the primary means of understanding the supposedly natural order of human societies. Anglicans argued that even as there was a Father in heaven, so too were there fathers on earth who should also be respected and obeyed. Chapter 2 will indicate, however, that the Quaker understanding of the universe indicated that there was indeed a Father in heaven and all Quakers were His children. As George Fox--founder of Quakerism--indicated "Christ was come to teach people Himself."⁸⁴ God needed no intermediaries. In other words, God did not need earthly fathers. All Quakers needed was their heavenly Father, and this heavenly Father was the only teacher and leader Quakers needed. Thus, many in England and in North America regarded the Quakers as dangerous anarchists who would destroy all earthly order, and the first section of this chapter explores the individualistic aspects of Quakerism.

The second section of this chapter indicates, however, that community played an important and dominating role in the lives of Quakers. There were certainly many who regarded the Quakers as a dangerous group. As Frederick Tolles indicated, the title of one anti-Quaker tract from the seventeenth century nicely describes the impression that many people had of Quakers: "*Hell Broke Loose; or, An History of the Quakers.*" The group that Tolles described, however, was not one that simply tore down barriers. They

⁸³Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 173.

⁸⁴George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. Rufus M. Jones (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1976), 70.

also had strict expectations of their followers. Quakers certainly tried to remove all barriers that they believed prevented Quakers from communing with God, and this desire manifested itself in plain and simple buildings for worship. In this sense, then, Quakers removed all of the religious iconography that they believed distracted worshippers from the Almighty. Quakers, however, were not just about tearing down barriers. They also had high expectations of their followers. Quakers expected that the "simplicity of their worship carried over into the daily existence" and they therefore empowered the monthly meeting "to govern their dress, their speech, the furnishing of their houses, their whole way of life."⁸⁵

The Quakers' commitment to obedience helps us to understand why prominent leaders in eighteenth-century North Carolina saw Quakers as potential allies. Even as Tryon tried more firmly to establish the Anglican Church in North Carolina, he recognized the limits of the Anglican reach. As such, he was willing to make compromises with other sects present in North Carolina. Tryon declared that the "Presbyterians and Quakers are the only tolerated sectaries under any order or regulation, every other are enemies to society and a scandal to common sense."⁸⁶ He had been pleased with the actions of Quakers and Presbyterians during the Regulation in North Carolina, and he hoped that their actions during the Regulation indicated that they were religious folks with whom he could put together an obedient and governable province. Other British officials were not only willing to tolerate Quakers but even willing to

⁸⁵Frederick Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*, (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 21 and 73.

⁸⁶"William Tryon to Daniel Burton," 20 March 1769, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 8, 15.

extend the hand of friendship to them. On a religious visit to England, one Quaker encountered an English nobleman with large landholdings in North Carolina. This lord “was very loving, and inquired after friends in North Carolina, and said they were the best Tenants he had.” Lord Granville—who remained the proprietor of the northern portion of the colony of North Carolina—similarly “received us very kindly and had about two Hours of conversation on divers affairs in No. Carolina.” Lord Granville also “seemed to be well pleased with having friends for his Tenants.”⁸⁷

Thus, the Quaker worldview was about both tearing down those barriers within the world that prevented individual Quakers from better following after God's will and using the monthly meetings to strictly regulate the behavior of individual Quakers. The first section of this chapter explores the personal aspects of Quakerism. For Quakers, after all, the spirit spoke directly to each believer. The second section, on the other hand, indicates that growing in one's obedience to the light within required the assistance of other Quakers. Each Quaker was expected to humbly submit him or herself to the directions of the Holy Spirit. Submission would have been a word that Anglicans as well as Quakers would have employed. On the other had, Quakers were not simply Anglicans who spoke plainly and refused to remove their hats. Whereas Anglicans tended to describe the world as a manifestation of the heavenly hierarchies, Quakers believed that the heavenly hierarchy superseded more worldly matters. In other words, whereas Anglicans described God as a Father like earthly fathers, Quakers described God as the one and only Father and all people were the earthly children of this heavenly Father. This description of the heavenly family helps us to understand how eighteenth-century

⁸⁷“Journal of Thomas Nicholson,” Stephen B. Weeks Collection, Southern Historical Collection, 4, 16-7.

Quakers could be seen as both egalitarians and harsh disciplinarians. They expected all to be equally humbled before God. If establishing women as ministers indicated that Quakers believed the inward light to be equally available to men and to women then Quakers' discipline within their monthly meetings indicated that they expected individuals to be equally humbled before their God.

It is clear that Quakers inhabited a world quite different from our own, and words like "freedom" that appear to have clear meanings to us had very different meanings to eighteenth-century Quakers. Barnaby Nixon--a Quaker born in North Carolina who eventually moved to Virginia--gives us some sense of how words like "freedom" had very different definitions for eighteenth-century Quakers than for twentieth-century historians. While attending worship, Nixon felt as though he was overwhelmed with the power of the inward light. The inward light had given him difficult words to speak before Friends in the meeting, but he "endeavoured to be faithful." Through struggle and the perseverance of that light that pushed him forward, Nixon "endeavoured to arouse the meeting, both by precept and example: that we might endeavour to find some place in our friends' minds, to pour forth our concern for each others preservation." Nixon's speech indicated that true friendship was a friendship that preserved others from sin, and that the meeting Nixon was attending had an obligation to inspect the lives of their fellow Quakers for shortcomings. If any were found, they should carefully correct the offending party because "surely brotherly freedom ought to be used among friends. It is a badge of discipleship, and where freedom cannot be used, there is a state of bondage."⁸⁸ For

⁸⁸Barnaby Nixon, *Extracts from the Manuscript Writing of Barnaby Nixon, Deceased*, (Richmond: 1814), 38

Nixon, Quakers would leave their fellow members in a state of bondage if they were left in sin. Freedom meant freedom from sin, and the only way to achieve freedom from sin was through careful inspection and correction.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, a growing anti-slavery movement within Quaker yearly meetings around the Atlantic pressured individual Quakers to give up the worldly pursuit of slavery, and this anti-slavery stance would put them at odds with many of their neighbors. As the third section of this chapter will indicate, Quakers' anti-slavery message in 1776 would develop out of their commitment to discipline and humility, but would also create tensions with their non-Quaker neighbors. By the middle of the eighteenth century, more and more Quakers were concerned that they could not be both humble servants of God and slaveowners. In order to purify their souls, reformers called Quakers to abandon slaveholding. Unlike the Quakers' stance on the Regulation movement, however, the Quakers' stance on slavery would anger colonial and state leaders in North Carolina. Indeed, even as the colony of North Carolina created laws designed to make it more difficult to set slaves free, Quakers were increasingly becoming anti-slavery. As Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary indicated in their study of slavery in late colonial North Carolina, North Carolina was increasingly becoming a slave society as the colony approached the Revolutionary War. In other words, slavery was becoming more economically vital for the colony, prominent slaveowners were increasingly in control of political office, and legislation was designed to protect slavery.⁸⁹

⁸⁹Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748-1775*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999) and Ira Berlin, *Many*

As indicated by Quakers' journals, faith was a very personal matter for many Quakers. Belief for Quakers, after all, was a matter between individuals and God. The journal kept by George Walton describes the variety of folks who called themselves Quakers. Walton had been a wealthy merchant in eastern North Carolina, but as a young adult felt convicted about what he perceived as his own worldliness. Through a series of dreams, Walton became convinced that only the Quakers were following the narrow path that led to God, and he therefore became a "convinced Friend." In other words, he converted to Quakerism. After becoming a Quaker, Walton indicated that some Quakers could be strict disciplinarians but not everyone was as dedicated to the cause. In one of his dreams, Walton thought he had a vision of the kinds of people who were called Quakers. In his dream, Walton saw that some were good, "Some Luke Warm, and Some quite Green and without the knowledge of the Blessed Truth tho' they profess it."⁹⁰ Significant differences existed between Quakers. Some remained faithfully obedient. Others likely accepted some tenets but not others, and still others probably rejected most of the Quaker belief system taught them by their parents.

Even devout Quakers could share much in common but disagree about key issues. Rather than viewing conversion as an moment of divine inspiration, Barnaby Nixon described religious conversion as a continual process in which one walked ever more

Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁹⁰George Walton, "A Dream or Night Vision 17th 12th Mo 1772," *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden*, 34.

mindfully in the light of Christ. As Nixon described it, the "path of the just, shineth brighter and brighter as they diligently walk in the light. And in every act of obedience, men grow stronger to encounter trials." Thus, more acts of faithful obedience prepared one to act more faithfully at future times as well. Conversely, sinning was a bit of a slippery slope. Failing to live faithfully "leaves us more in Satan's power." Thus, Quakers could either develop holy habits of obedience or could fall ever deeper into sinfulness if they behaved badly. The more closely one followed after the ways of God, the more strongly one will "feel the mind secretly breathing after" the ways of the Lord.⁹¹ Conversion was thus more often described as a gradual process in which the convert became ever more obedient as he or she developed holier habits. Conversion rarely looked like Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus.

This is not to say, however, that Quakers did not have visions of the divine or that some Quakers' sense of their own sinful misery led them to make a decision to abandon their sinful ways and to follow the Lord. During one of his dreams, George Walton became convinced that he needed to join with the Quakers and abandon his worldly ways. Due to this dream, Walton became convinced that he was following the ways of the world because "my looking for a Meeting house [in his dream] Signifys my thinking or expecting to find truth amongst Gaity and Pleasures of this life."⁹² The impact of these dreams would have great consequence on Walton's life. He had been on the road to becoming a wealthy merchant, but these dreams led him to the conclusion that he was

⁹¹Nixon, 17.

⁹²Walton, "A Dream or Night Vision 17th 12th Mo. 1772," *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden*, 32.

following after the ways of the world rather than the ways of the Lord. Convicted of his sinfulness, Walton resolved to leave behind his worldly ways and follow after the ways of the Lord.

Despite these differences, there were some ideas that seemed to have been shared by most Quakers living in eighteenth-century North Carolina. In particular, the Quakers' doctrine of the inward light shaped both their egalitarianism and their sense of humility. North Carolina's Quaker communities had their origins in the late seventeenth century. William Edmundson and George Fox witnessed to residents along the Albemarle Sound and convinced some of them to become Friends. When Fox visited North Carolina, he encountered a doctor who denied that the light of the Holy Spirit was in "everyone; and affirmed that it was not in the Indians." Fox therefore performed an experiment and asked a local Indian "whether when he lied, or did wrong to any one, there was not something in him that reproved him for it."⁹³ When the Indian responded in the affirmative, Fox claimed that he had proven that the inward light lived within all people and not just an elect few. Fox's encounter with the North Carolina Indian demonstrates the egalitarian implications of the inward light. God had opened the Holy Spirit to every individual. Even the Native Americans had the Holy Spirit living within them and could hear that inward light whenever they sinned.⁹⁴

⁹³Fox, 526.

⁹⁴Robert Barclay whose apology for Quakerism has become one of the sect's foundational works similarly indicated that Jesus Christ's sacrifice opened the Holy Spirit to everyone on the planet. According to Barclay, God "hath given to every Man, whether Jew or Gentile, Turk or Scythian, Indian or Barbarian, of whatsoever Nation, Country or Place, a certain Day or Time of Visitation, during which Day or Time, it is possible for them to be saved, and to partake of the Fruit of Christ's Death." Thus, within every individual, there was a light or a seed that communicated what was right and wrong to

Quakers also shared a conviction that men and women could not serve two masters: they could not both lust after treasures here on earth and seek a more heavenly reward. Despite their different conversion experiences, both Walton and Nixon shared a conviction that the things of this world need to be left behind. In an interpretation of another dream, Walton describes a trunk that he was carrying up a hill. For Walton, this trunk represented his worldly desires. "[M]y taking my trunk with me shews me desirous to hold the truth and the World together." As he progressed up the mountain, however, he found it more and more difficult to both carry the trunk and walk up the mountain. As Walton interpreted this dream, "no one ever did or can Enjoy a true Meeting under Christs divine teaching, till all that Seem delightfull to them in this World is laid aside"⁹⁵ Dying with Christ, for Walton, meant "being bound and crucified from the Alurements and Pleasures of this World"⁹⁶

Barnaby Nixon also emphasized that Quakers had an obligation to focus their attention on heavenly matters and that they should avoid indulging their own worldly desires. When Barnaby Nixon traveled among the meetings of North Carolina and Virginia, he was troubled by what he perceived to be the growing tendency of the youth to think only about themselves when they chose to marry. Nixon remembered one couple that recounted their discussion about marriage, and they related to their monthly meeting

that individual. This "Light and Seed, invites, calls, exhorts, and strives with every Man, in order to save him." Thus the Holy Spirit was like an inner light within every individual, and it was Christ's death that placed the Holy Spirit within each individual. Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth, and Preached by the People, Called, in Scorn, Quakers* (London: 1678), 132.

⁹⁵Ibid., 32.

⁹⁶Walton, "George Walton to Francis Jones," 12th of the 8th mo. 1774, *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden*, 45.

that their first thought was on "divine love." During the conversation about whether or not they should be married, the couple indicated that it was not their will but rather the divine will that would be done. The couple indicated that "our spirits contrited to the divine will." Nixon noted, however, that most couples were not so focused upon the will of God. This couple's decision to marry was "not conducted with that levity, which is too often indulged on such occasions."⁹⁷ For Nixon as well as many other Quakers, their entire lives should be submitted to God. Even in selecting marriage partners, Quakers were expected to submit themselves to the divine will rather than their own wills.⁹⁸

If the doctrine of the inward light meant that North Carolina's Quakers saw a little bit of Christ in everybody, it also meant that they expected everybody to humble him or herself to the light that lived within them. In particular, Quakers worried that the cares and treasures of the world would choke out the call of the inward light. Born in Perquimans Monthly Meeting in 1715, Thomas Nicholson gained the respect of his fellow Quakers. In 1746, he was asked by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting to join a committee of Quakers to look into the irregular proceedings of monthly meetings to the south of the Albemarle. In 1749, Nicholson felt led to become an itinerant in England,

⁹⁷Nixon, 9. Nixon described the wedding of Sarah Hunicutt that took place in Prince George County, Virginia 1778.

⁹⁸Other historians have similarly noted that Quakers were not supposed to think of their own desires when they thought about marriage. J. William Frost described Quakers as a people who thought that "[m]arriage was, to use Milton's phrase, not only 'a prescribed satisfaction for irrational heat' whose main function was the species; it was also a blessed state entered into so that husband and wife might fulfill each other intellectually, spiritually, and physically." Frost, 150. For Frost as well as many others, Quakers around the Atlantic world shared common concepts of their world. In part, this was due to the influence of the various yearly meetings in controlling Quaker theology.

and his monthly meeting confirmed this leading by granting him a certificate.⁹⁹ In his journal and in his letters to his acquaintances, Nicholson was often concerned that the ways of the world would prevent individual Quakers from listening to the inward light. While traveling in England, for example, Nicholson attended many meetings in which he felt that the spirit was weakly felt. Nicholson worried about the “pure seed” because “many Meetings were brought to by friends casting off the yoke of Christ, and running into the World and worldly mindedness.”¹⁰⁰ Thus, according to Nicholson Quakers had equal access to the Holy Spirit that lived within all of them. At the same time, however, this reality required a humbling of oneself. Nicholson condemned other Quakers who appeared to have allowed the ways of the world and worldly concerns to choke out the seed that lived within them.

Other Quakers in North Carolina similarly expressed a desire to deny the self-will in order to follow better the directions of the inward light or seed that God had planted within each individual. William Hunt had been born in Pennsylvania in 1733, but while still a child his parents moved from Pennsylvania to North Carolina. Quakers had long lived on the coast, and in the mid-eighteenth century regarded the piedmont as a wild frontier. It was not until eastern Quakers started receiving letters from Quakers in the piedmont that they had any idea that Quakers were living there and wanted to be joined with North Carolina Yearly Meeting. When he became a grown man, William Hunt—like Thomas Nicholson—became a respected leader within his community. New Garden granted him a certificate in 1755 and 1761 to visit distant Friends in North America, and

⁹⁹Weeks, 141.

¹⁰⁰Nicholson, “Journal of Thomas Nicholson,” 13.

in 1770 he felt led to visit friends in England.¹⁰¹ As had Nicholson, William Hunt expressed a desire to suppress his self-will in order to allow the Holy Spirit to speak through him. Hunt rejoiced that his constant companions “poverty, weakness, distress, nakedness, the wormwood and the gall” daily humbled him. These trials enabled him to be “deeply humbled, being mostly led in a close, plain way.”¹⁰² Being so humbled put Hunt in a right place before his God.

Thus, the doctrine of the inward light was a doctrine indicating Quakers' belief that God spoke directly to individuals, but despite this individualistic doctrine there were core beliefs that were widely shared by Quakers. Quakers could have different stories about their conversion. For Walton, conversion came as a result of a dream. For Nixon, conversion was a gradual process. For both men, however, a converted Quaker was someone who was supposed to put the cares of the world behind him or her. A common theme in Quaker journals is the fear that the cares of this world will choke out the seed of Christ planted within each individual. For many, it seemed as though the cares of the world could creep up on Quakers through little compromises. Little by little Quakers could eventually fall away and be consumed by the cares of the world. Thus, Quakers believed that careful vigilance was necessary if Quakers were to remain in the light. Though Quakers' were centered on the belief that individuals could communicate with God directly, a broader community of friends was necessary if Quakers hoped to protect themselves from worldly temptations.

¹⁰¹Weeks, 137.

¹⁰²"William Hunt to Eleazar Hunt," 25th of the 4th mo. 1771, *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt Taken Chiefly from Their Journals and Letters* (Philadelphia: 1858), 98.

Thomas Nicholson reflected upon the dangers of things that may appear trifling at first, but under closer scrutiny would lead otherwise faithful Quakers down the road toward sinfulness. Even the "wrong use of Lawful things" could be a "great snare the Enemy makes use of." The great danger was in the fact that, at first, this practice appeared harmless but temptations could grow "insensibly upon them." Nicholson felt that this was the great problem with honor and prestige in this world. That in order "to entertain their friends with decency" Friends are bit-by-bit lead further and further away from the will of the Lord. There was nothing wrong with such desires unless the focus was on the world rather than God. If the focus was on the world, then even such seemingly harmless desires like trying to entertain one's friends could eventually get one "so far entangled in the cares of this world that we are not qualified to use them aright."¹⁰³ Thus, unless great care was taken and a careful eye watched over their everyday lives, the great danger was that some worldly interest would start to lead Quakers away from the directions of the inward light that all shared.

In some respects, Quaker worship was an individualistic affair, but the general Quaker emphasis placed upon personal holiness led to the creation of more coercive institutions. The journals of Quakers like Barnaby Nixon indicate that this world offered many temptations, and individual Quakers would need the help of a broader network of Friends if they were going to be able to successfully resist these temptations. Thus--despite the claims of their seventeenth and eighteenth-century foes--the Quakers were hardly an anarchic society. Rather they were a tightly disciplined group of people who shared a common belief the God had come to teach His people Himself. The monthly

¹⁰³Nicholson, "Journal of Thomas Nicholson," 33.

meeting functioned within communities to ensure that individual Quakers continued upon the straight and narrow path. Disciplinary hearings and disownments ensured both that Quakers would continue to walk on the straight and narrow path and that Quakers behaved and spoke in remarkably similar ways whether they lived in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, or England.

North Carolina's monthly meetings labored to correct and discipline even the most mundane activities. As Thomas Nicholson indicated, even small activities could lead an otherwise faithful Quaker away from God. In order to save the souls of individual Quakers, little remained outside of the observation and correction of individual meetings. Even Quakers' apparel was subject to inspection and approval from their local meetings. North Carolina's Yearly Meeting was a bit ambiguous about whether Quakers were banned from wearing periwigs, and this provided each Monthly Meeting with a bit of independence to determine for themselves whether such apparel was sinful or not. At Piney Woods Monthly Meeting in Perquimans County, Quakers desiring to wear periwigs had to submit their desire before the monthly meeting. Jacob Wilson, for example, requested that his monthly meeting allow him to wear such a wig. He was granted permission "after good reasons given." James Elliott similarly requested permission "to wear a Wigg" and the monthly meeting allowed him to do so "provided he gets a plain one."¹⁰⁴

On the surface, the issue of wigs may seem a bit absurd, but the issue of wigs reveals quite a lot about Quakers' dedication to plainness and—as Nicholson phrased it—

¹⁰⁴Piney Woods Men's Monthly Meeting, 1st of the 10th mo. 1777 and 17th of the 1st mo. 1778, Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

the hope of Quakers that individuals would allow God to break their hearts so that He might be more fully expressed. We might conclude from the monthly meeting minutes that Quakers at Piney Woods Monthly Meetings were adopting worldly ways. On the other hand, the fact that Quakers had to request permission from their monthly meetings before they wore such wigs indicates that in fact Quakers inspected all aspects of one's life in order to insure that everyone walked humbly before their God. What ought to strike us as remarkable is that Quakers were even thinking about the spiritual consequences of wearing wigs. Even the choice of headwear was seen as something that could lead one astray.

Within their meetings, Quakers reviewed themselves and each other in order to catch the first signs that they were moving away from God, and plainness in life indicated that individuals were putting their faith in heavenly rather than worldly treasures. Core Sound Monthly Meeting expressed a similar commitment to inspect and correct even the most mundane aspects of individual Quakers' lives. In 1761 the Monthly Meeting reviewed the behavior of individual members and declared, "that many amongst us are not strictly careful to walk agreeable to our Holy profession but suffer themselves to be carried away in...vain and transitory things which the testimony of Truth is against."¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Symons Creek Monthly Meeting disowned an entire family because their "light, loose, Vain & Libertine Spirit and altogether Distanced from the Manner & Simplicity of the truth."¹⁰⁶ As the North Carolina Yearly Meeting advised, "all our

¹⁰⁵Core Sound Men's Monthly Meeting, 11th mo 1761, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹⁰⁶Symon's Creek Men's Monthly Meeting, 2nd day of the 7th mo. 1737, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

members may keep themselves and their children in minority, to moderation, and plainness of Gesture, Speech, Apparel, and Furniture of houses.”¹⁰⁷

What one chose to wear or put in one’s house might indicate whether an individual Quaker was listening to the world or the light within. An individual's business relations similarly reflected one's spiritual condition. In 1738, a Quaker in Symon’s Creek Monthly Meeting complained that Joseph Robinson was not being completely truthful about the estate over which he had been executor. Robinson had claimed that there were “More in Debts than he had of the Said Estate in his hands.” Friends in Symon's Creek Monthly Meeting therefore “Do Order the said Robinson to pay the Said Symons the Sums of Money Demanded by him as informed which accordingly the Said Robinson Complyd with.” In Perquimans Monthly Meeting in 1775, Thomas Newby complained that Mary Moore had not paid a debt of fifty pounds owed to him. The Monthly Meeting therefore formed a committee to look into the matter and to determine whether Mary Moore should be ordered to pay Thomas Newby. The committee “Unanimously gave it as their Judgement that Mary Moore pay Thomas Newby the sum of fifty pounds.” Mary Moore, however, was a bit more obstinate than Joseph Robinson. She continued to refuse to pay Newby this sum and she was disowned.¹⁰⁸ Such

¹⁰⁷North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, *The Discipline of Friends* (Raleigh, NC: 1809), 24.

¹⁰⁸Symon's Creek Men's Monthly Meeting 2nd of the 1st mo. 1737/8 and Piney Woods Men's Monthly Meeting 6th of the 9th mo 1775, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

disownments reflected the value that Quakers placed in living “within the bounds of their circumstances.”¹⁰⁹

Thomas Nicholson indicated that a lack of plainness was dangerous because it could indicate that the individual Quaker sought after the ways of the world first. Indeed, perhaps fancy clothing and periwigs could lead one to treat these items as idols more fit for worship than the one true God. According to Nicholson, good Quakers “in great Humiliation” sought after “true Patience, Resignation and Plainness, as became such who professed themselves to be Seekers of that City which hath Foundations.” A consuming “Love of this World, and the present Enjoyments thereof” could “cause us to become careless in our Minds.” In other words, an interest in the things of this world could lead one down a slippery slope toward a lukewarm faith and ultimately to rebellion against the Lord.¹¹⁰

As John Woolman, an itinerant Quaker from New Jersey and prominent reformer encouraging Quakers to stop participating in slavery, also described Quakers’ devotion to plainness. Quakers believed that they were called to ignore worldly desires in order to pursue higher callings. Since Quakers had no paid ministry, everyone was occupied in some worldly pursuit. At the same time, Woolman believed that searching after worldly treasures could so consume one’s time that little time would remain for doing the work of God. As such, Woolman suggested that the “importing [of] Necessaries be not greater

¹⁰⁹*The Discipline of Friends*, 25.

¹¹⁰Thomas Nicholson, *An Epistle to Friends in Great Britain, to Whom Is the Salutation of My Love, in the Unchangeable Truth* (New Bern, NC: 1762), 3.

than is consistent with pure wisdom.”¹¹¹ If an individual were not careful then the ways of the world could prove distracting, and the desire to live above one’s place in life could consume one’s time so that little time remained to serve the Lord.

In North Carolina’s Yearly Meeting, there was quite a bit of local initiative in determining offenses that warranted disownment, but authority over discipline became more centralized over the course of the eighteenth century. In the example of periwigs, for example, individual monthly meetings had the authority to determine what was too worldly and what was acceptably plain. Over the course of the eighteenth century, however, North Carolina Yearly Meeting—as did other yearly meetings around the Atlantic—developed a stronger role in determining what was sinful at the local level. In 1755, North Carolina Yearly Meeting developed a list of Queries that were to be read and answered at local monthly meetings. The answers to these Queries were then reported to Quarterly and Yearly meetings. The Queries covered wide areas of Quakers’ lives. From their finances, to their marriages, to their speech, to child rearing, and “unnecessary” use of alcohol, Quakers expected to inspect and be inspected by their peers.¹¹²

One of the ways that Quakers demonstrated their humility was by submitting themselves to the will of their monthly meetings. In North Carolina’s monthly meetings—as in monthly meetings among Quakers around the Atlantic—overseers inspected into the lives of individual Quakers to see if they were humbling themselves before their God. The absence of humility manifested itself in disobedience to God’s

¹¹¹John Woolman, "Serious Considerations on Trade," in *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Amelia Mott Gummere (New York: Macmillan company, 1922), 398.

¹¹²*The Discipline of Friends*, 24.

commands. Indeed, if an individual were truly humbled before God, then there would be no resistance to the leadings of the inner light. According to Barnaby Nixon, "The Most High, by his Holy Spirit, reveals his will to all men" and also requires "obedience to it." Monthly meetings therefore had an obligation to search out sinful behavior and help the sinner from acting against the will of God in the future. As Nixon indicated, "there can be no hiding from his view; for he searcheth out all the hidden works of men, which are done in darkness; and he never approbates sin, in any one; because he calls for only what he has revealed as the duty of man, and given him ability to perform."¹¹³ A humble person would not resist the attempts of his or fellow Quakers to correct misbehavior so that he or she could develop a more humble spirit. In Core Sound monthly meeting, for example, the overseers were charged with advising ministers, elders, "or any other members that they may see amis or give way to any weakness and also at time to visit the families and times in the love and meekness of Truth."¹¹⁴ In Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, Daniel Chancy was disowned after "growing refractory utterly Refusing to hear & Comply with Friends."¹¹⁵

The monthly meeting was thus not only a tool to prevent individual Quakers from falling into sin. Obedience to the monthly meeting was itself seen as an indication that Quakers were rightly focused. When an individual Quaker appeared too defiant of his or her monthly meeting, this was interpreted in itself as an indication that this Quaker was

¹¹³Nixon, 17.

¹¹⁴Core Sound Men's Monthly Meeting, 7th mo. 1753, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹¹⁵Symon's Creek Men's Monthly Meeting, 1st day, 3rd mo. 1735, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

not walking humbly before his or her God. Indeed, the will of the community as a whole was often expressed as a reflection of the mind of God. Thus, individual Quakers who were too independently minded were cause for concern. Quakers maintained their own private property, but they were intensely focused on the importance of the community. For them, individualism was itself a sign of disobedience, and a peaceful and supportive community was an indication that Quakers were following after the ways of God.

As Job Scott, an itinerant Quaker reformer, described in his treatise on church discipline, the early church had expected believers to humble themselves by submitting to the rules of their churches. These primitive Christians “practised order and government in the Church: that some did appoint and order certain things, condemn and approve certain practices, as well as doctrines, by the Spirit of God.” Indeed, those who were not “wilfully blind and obstinate” recognized that “there lay an obligation in point of duty, upon others, to obey and submit: that this was no encroachment nor imposition upon their Christian liberty.”¹¹⁶ A willingness to obey and submit was in itself a sign that an individual Quaker was seeking after heavenly rather than worldly treasures.

Thus, an unwillingness to listen to the good advice of Friends was a sign of a rebellious spirit. On one of his journeys, Barnaby Nixon encountered an overseer that he thought demonstrated his pride by refusing to submit his will to Friends. After this

¹¹⁶Job Scott, *A Treatise on Church Discipline Taken Principally from the Writings of Robert Barclay, William Penn, and Isaac Pennington* (New Bedford, MA: 1805), 9. Indeed, discipline formed the centerpiece of the men and women Quakers trying to reform Quakerism in the mid-eighteenth century, and self-denial is a common theme among these itinerant Quakers. Catherine Phillips, for example, claimed that as one drew closer to God the “will become gradually resigned to that of God, and the imagination in its natural working silenced.” Catherine Phillips, *Memoirs of the Life of Catherine Phillips: To Which Are Added Some of Her Epistles* (London: 1797), 15.

overseer's family went to bed for the night, Nixon "felt engaged to query with him, respecting his conduct, and was drawn to point out his sorrowful state,--falling from the life, and from usefulness, in the society." Understandably, the overseer in question did not particularly like being spoken to like this, and Nixon discovered that "he could not bear to be treated in so plain a manner, and several times, cried out, in a passion of resentment." The more that his associate resisted, however, the harder Nixon pushed. If anything, his passionate resistance to Nixon's offered assistance was merely evidence of his need for assistance. This overseer's "passionate behaviour" therefore never drove Nixon "from my concern, but he found it drew me closer to his feet."¹¹⁷ In another family, Nixon was just as blunt, but he "found a more ready openness" to express his concerns. In this other family, Nixon believed that he "saw things clearly." He "was enabled to point out the man's earthly minded state; and to tell him plainly, that if he did not get more loose, from the love of this world, be more spiritually minded, and bring forth Heavenly fruits, it did appear to me, that his days *would be shortened*." Nixon also encouraged the man's wife "to draw him out of the cumbers, and to be more devoted to attend week-day meetings; for unless there were a reformation, she might expect to lose her husband, and be left a widow." Instead of resistance, however, Nixon encountered a family willing to listen to rebuke. This worldly-minded man and his family "poured forth many tears. I have often found truth's way of leading and working, was *marvelous* to me."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷Nixon, 30.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 30-31.

For Quakers, a Quaker unwilling to submit him or herself to the collective mind of the monthly meeting was worldly because Quakers believed that the agreed upon path determined by the general fellowship of Quakers was the best reflection of the mind of God. Thus for a religious group that had been founded upon the principle that Christ had come to teach His people Himself, North Carolina's monthly meetings made significant claims upon the lives of individual Quakers. For Quakers, God had opened up a direct line of communication between Himself and individual believers, but the collective will of the meeting also best represented the will of God. Individual Quakers, after all, were subject to temptations and error. It was thus far better to depend upon the sense of the community as a whole than on any single individual within it. This was why Quakers like Barnaby Nixon could so easily equate resistance to the correction of Quakers to resistance to God.

In their everyday lives, Quakers thus lived out their belief that they belonged to a heavenly family. As in earthly families, this heavenly family required obedience to the heavenly Father. Unlike the Anglicans, however, the Quakers believed that there was a heavenly Father and all other Quakers were obedient children of this heavenly Father. William Hunt wrote back to his relations in North Carolina that he rejoiced in the fellowship that “everywhere brings the whole family of obedient children into one spirit and communion of life.”¹¹⁹ In this Quaker cosmology, there was a heavenly Father and all were called to be obedient to that Father. As spiritual family, Quakers thus treated

¹¹⁹“William Hunt to his relations,” 18th of the 8th mo. 1772, *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt Taken Chiefly from Their Journals and Letters*, 91-92.

each other as loving brothers and sisters. They cared for those in need, and they encouraged each other to be more faithful servants of their common, heavenly Father.

Quakers often referred to each other as brothers and sisters, and sometimes indicated that this spiritual family might be of more value than their more earthly, biological families. When Nicholson felt led in 1749 to visit Friends in England he was concerned about his family. They were not extremely wealthy, and he was unsure how they would survive without him. Nicholson “laboured under for several years, before I could be freely given up, To leave my outward and beloved connections, as wife and Children etc. and cross the Seas to Visit my friends in England.”¹²⁰ Nicholson had left behind his worldly concerns--his biological family--in order to follow the leadings of the inward light, and he expected other Quakers to have a similar focus on the Lord and not on the world. On another occasion, Nicholson felt led to preach to a gathering of ministers but was concerned that this leading came not from the Holy Spirit but from his own will. Nicholson therefore prayed for guidance and prayed that he would show “much Reverence to God; and brokenness of Heart before Him, and Blessed be His holy name forever—who was graciously pleased to break in on my heart, by the comfort of His Divine spirit.”¹²¹ The doctrine of the inward light meant that the Holy Spirit was available to everyone, but Quakers expected that individuals would have to submit their

¹²⁰Nicholson, "Journal of Thomas Nicholson," 2.

¹²¹Ibid., 16.

rebellious souls to the will of this inner light. Perhaps they would even have to ignore the welfare of their biological families for the sake of their heavenly Father.¹²²

On the other hand, Quakers expected the broader fellowship of Quakers to act like a family by caring for those in need as if they were brothers and sisters. While in England, Thomas Nicholson worried that his family was not being cared for. He felt comforted when he saw the family of an English itinerant Quaker that managed to live quite nicely without their father and husband. Nicholson therefore hoped “the Lord in His Mercy, will sustain and support her, and be more than Ten Husbands unto her, under this trying Circumstances.”¹²³ If God and the monthly meeting could serve as a replacement husband, Nicholson also recognized that Quakers around the Atlantic were like spiritual brothers and sisters. Returning to America, Nicholson encountered many friends in Philadelphia and rejoiced at their meeting. Their reunion was evidence of “the Eternal Spirit, that we were Children of one Eternal Heavenly Father—altho living in distant parts of the World. Oh the wonderful Mercy and Goodness, of God, in making

¹²²Many Quakers around the Atlantic mirrored Nicholson’s story. Sophia Hume, for example, of South Carolina described the errors of her youth when she lived with others who were of ill repute. This bad company led her to ignore the Spirit that lived within her. God had sown the seed “in my Heart” but “the Cares of this Life, and the Deceitfulness of Riches, enter’d in, and choak’d the seed, and it thereby became unfruitful.” For Hume, as for many other Quakers, there was no clear separation between worldly and heavenly matters. Everything in this world could potentially choke the seed that God had planted within each individual. At one point, she addressed those who claimed “Christians ought to walk agreeable to the Dictates of the Spirit of Christ; but the Quakers make the Guidance and Directions of the Spirit necessary in trivial and indifferent Matters.” To this criticism, she answered that she considered “no Action indifferent; every Thing of this Nature must tend to some Purpose, good or evil.” Sophia Hume, *An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of the Province of South Carolina, to Bring Their Deeds to the Light of Christ, in Their Own Consciences* (Philadelphia: 1748), 14, 15.

¹²³Nicholson, “Journal of Thomas Nicholson,” 18-9

those that truly love him one the whole World over, and making his people as Fathers and Mothers, Brothers, and Sisters to each other.”¹²⁴ Nicholson's descriptions of the spiritual family were altogether appropriate for a group of people who claimed that all earthly relationships paled in their importance to the one that connected the heavenly Father to His children.

Others, however, viewed the demands made by the Quakers' spiritual family as a sign of the Quakers' corruption. Some of the people disowned by Quakers in the eighteenth century agreed that Quakers' devotion to inspection and discipline was evidence of their corruption. Herman Husband—leader of the Regulation movement in North Carolina and one-time Quaker—thought that the Quakers' focus upon all these minute aspects of individuals' lives was a bit absurd and tyrannical. Such inspection and the powers of the overseers to correct misbehavior “infers great Latitude, and leaves this select Number [with the power] to usurp a Right to define what is such Sin and Immorality.” Who were these overseers and elders to claim such authority? Was not grace equally available to every believer? Husband argued that such powers of inspection “will at length infer universal Dominion, as may be seen and felt in Popish Countries, —where the Clergy is indeed great, but the People ignorant and immoral.”¹²⁵ Such a focus upon obedience to the dictates of the elders was dangerous in that “Civil Liberties and private Properties are always in the End overthrown by it; for the Thoughts of contending against an Authority, which is said to descend from Heaven, and that

¹²⁴Ibid., 16.

¹²⁵Hermon Husband, *The Second Part of the Naked Truth; or, Historical Account of the Actual Transactions of Quakers in Their Meetings of Business* (North Carolina: 1768), 6-7.

which we are educated to believe descends from there, forces Men to hide their Sentiments, to disown their real Belief.”¹²⁶

It is not hard to see how Quakers’ focus upon disciplining individual members could be seen as tyrannical. Using discipline to create a more humble spirit could be quite humiliating for individual members. Those who stood condemned by their meeting for having sinned were expected to “make acknowledgment of their offences.” As Husband complained, members might be expected to forfeit their private property if called upon by the collective mind of the monthly meeting. In order to publicly acknowledge their guilt and plead for forgiveness, they were expected to “prepare...in writing and therein particularize the matter or matters charged upon them, and shew it to the Overseers, or Committee appointed in their case; and if the purport is judged to be suitable to the occasion, the party may present it to the Monthly Meeting.”¹²⁷ If anyone condemned for sinning did not condemn their sins publicly, then they would remain publicly disowned by the monthly meeting.

As a result, Quakers were expected to present many embarrassing situations before their fellow Quakers and beg their forgiveness. As Thomas Nicholson reflected in a letter to a former associate who was consumed with sin, “Open Rebuke is better than secret love.”¹²⁸ In Piney Woods, for example, Anne Griffen was accused and condemned of having given birth to a child out of wedlock. At a future meeting, however, she “gave

¹²⁶Ibid., 7.

¹²⁷*The Discipline of Friends*, 28.

¹²⁸“Thomas Nicholson to B.H.” 11th mo. of 1779, Stephen Weeks Collection, Southern Historical Collection.

in a paper Condemning her misconduct having a Child born out of Wedlock and now requests to be taken in unity.” The women at this meeting reflected upon her case and they were “Careful to inspect into life and Conduct. Where it appears to be Sober and orderly and receives her into Membership again.”¹²⁹ In this case, not only did the women’s meeting insist that Anne Griffen humble herself by describing and condemning her misconduct but they then went on to discuss her life in order to determine whether she had led a sober and orderly life since her misconduct. Such scrutiny into the lives of individuals certainly took quite a bit of humility for the individual Quaker. The experience must have been quite humiliating even if the women inspected Anne Griffen’s life with loving tenderness as such committees were often instructed.

Some might even argue that the whole process encouraged the public support of gossip within Quaker communities. Overseers were expected to inspect into the lives of individual Quakers, but in these close knit communities gossip traveled quickly. On one occasion, a woman at Cane Creek Monthly Meeting was accused of unfair financial dealings with “a simple Dutchman (not of the Society).” At the monthly meeting there were “many more present [who related] her Conduct and Manner of Life.” Though she was acquitted of unfair dealings with this man, “in private they are still the same in Opinion.”¹³⁰ Such a description of a monthly meeting’s disciplinary hearing indicates how this meeting—though intending to raise each other up in more humble obedience—could be turned into a venue in which gossip was encouraged. In this case, the woman’s

¹²⁹Piney Woods Women’s Monthly Meeting, 5th of 9th mo. 1782, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹³⁰Husband, 73.

community continued to speculate on her conduct even though the case had been supposedly settled and the accused had been acquitted in the monthly meeting.

Herman Husband regarded the focus on obedience to the broader community as little more than a veil supporting the power of the most respected and powerful Quakers. A case of suspected rape at Cane Creek discussed by Husband reveals how tyrannical inspection could be in a believer's life. Husband described at length the case of one woman who stood accused of “keeping untimely and unseasonable Company with J----u S----t; and for Want of resisting, to the utmost of her Power” had sex outside of marriage. The case was particularly difficult, however, because the woman in question claimed that she had been raped. Some within Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, however, doubted the girl's story. Her mother had indicated to the meeting that what had hindered her from crying out had been that “her Daughter loved him to such a Degree that she was not able to resist.” The meeting apparently regarded this as proof that the sex had been consensual. The accused daughter, however, “excused her not crying out, because a strange Man lay in t’other Room.”¹³¹ Some in Cane Creek regarded the daughter's story as unbelievable, and some believed that her mother's story indicated that the girl had consensual sex and concocted the story of rape later in order to protect her reputation.

Many in the meeting wanted to tread lightly on the affair. The daughter in question was eventually condemned for her behavior and asked to sign a letter of confession in which she confessed having given “Way to youthful Pleasure, and a libertine Inclination, and was drawn out so far as to keep untimely and unseasonable Company... and he wickedly offering unclean and abusive usage to me, and for want of

¹³¹Ibid., 60.

steadily resisting him therein, was overcome and defiled by him.” When presented with this proposed paper that she was expected to read before the next monthly meeting she refused even though “her Mother endeavoured to force her by Threats.” Instead, she offered a paper of denial “Wherein she said, she condemned every Thing she had been guilty of, without naming any Thing.”¹³² Eventually, the meeting allowed her to submit the milder paper of denial in which she asked for forgiveness for unnamed sins rather than the more specific paper of denial in which the meeting explicitly outlined how she had sinned.

Husband was outraged by the development and was convinced that the daughter and her mother had been able to avoid a more humiliating paper of condemnation because of their status within the community. Her mother was apparently a well-respected minister in the community. A more sympathetic observer, however, could interpret the facts of this case quite differently. Was this a case of a woman getting off lightly for the sin fornication, as Husband insisted, or was this a raped woman who was suffering further humiliation because of her community’s gossip? Husband insisted that she wanted to avoid the more strongly worded paper of condemnation because of her pride. It could also be conjectured, however, that having to accept guilt when she perceived herself to be a victim would be quite difficult. Husband was confident that the girl was guilty, but a skeptical reader might feel more sympathy for the woman who stood accused of fornication.

For Husband, this was not just a case in which a woman got away with fornication without being sufficiently humbled. It was a case in which those with power got what

¹³²Ibid., 61-62.

they wanted, and Quakers let it pass them by without sufficiently humbling the offender. Husband believed that the lesson here was that exalted Quakers—clerks, overseers, and ministers—wanted “to scare us from meddling in Matters too high for us, or with those pretended to be more pure, and Gods annointed.” Husband asserted that these overly high minded Quakers thought that God “will suffer us to lie a little, to hide a little;—we have a Mantle of Love, and Zeal for Reputation of society, wherewith we cover and hide our sins.” In other words, Husband believed these Quakers felt that a little worldly status was fine, and that this status depended upon their ability to hide—just a little bit--their sins so that they could keep the good opinions of their peers. Husband wrote this story for North Carolina so that the world would know “that Quakers only pretend to be honest, and come at the Truth of Matters as they really are, and only pretend to make every Evil manifest.”¹³³

Husband was certainly right in his claim that Quakers' discipline could be used to support earthly hierarchies. Within monthly meetings, children were expected to obey their parents. North Carolina's Quakers disciplined children who disobeyed their parents by marrying contrary to the will of their parents. In 1748, for example, Core Sound Monthly Meeting indicated that one woman had married “against her father's mind.” Friends labored with Sarah to try and reclaim her, and their efforts bore fruit. Three months later Sarah condemned her marriage out of the society. She admitted to the monthly meeting that she had “transgrest the good order of Friends...and against my father's comfort.” She hoped that Friends would “pass it by hoping for the time to come by the Lord's assistance to be more careful to walk in the way of Truth.” In 1753,

¹³³Ibid., 75, 71.

Benjamin Small married out of society even while “under the teaching of parents.” In 1762, Joseph Jessop “married against the consent of his Father...contrary to the Rules and good order enjoined by our society.” The order of denial issued against Jessop complained that he had not regarded “the counsel of his parent nor the Divine command which says Honour thy Father, etc.”¹³⁴ As the Discipline of Friends indicated, marriages were a matter of grave consideration and reflection. Prospective couples were encouraged to “early acquaint their Parents, or Guardians with their intentions, and wait for their consent.” Members were also encouraged to respect the rights of masters by not cavorting with “bond servants or apprentices, without leave of their masters or mistresses.” Thus, Quakers hoped to preserve Quakers from “the dangerous bias of forward and uncertain affections.”¹³⁵ The Yearly Meeting also reminded Quakers that it took a village to raise children. Parents should be consulted early, but all Quakers should “tenderly and carefully watch over on another; and extend seasonable caution and admonitions.”¹³⁶

Quakers’ letters similarly indicated that they cared deeply about their children’s welfare, but they also indicate that Quakers were particularly concerned about their children’s obedience. While William Hunt was called away as an itinerant minister, he wrote home to his children hoping “that you may be a comfort to your tender mother.” In 1772, he wrote home hoping that his children would “carefully...attend to the advice of

¹³⁴Core Sound Men's Monthly Meeting, 4th and 7th mo. 1748. 7th mo. 1753, and 3rd and 4th mo. of 1762, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹³⁵*The Discipline of Friends*, 14.

¹³⁶*The Old Discipline: Nineteenth-Century Friends’ Disciplines in America* (Glenside PA: Quaker Heritage Press, 1999), 418

your affectionate mother in things both civil and religious, as her experience is much more than yours.” Perhaps hearing otherwise, Hunt again wrote declaring that he desired that they listened to and obeyed “the repeated counsel and admonition of your affectionate mother.”¹³⁷ That an itinerant minister would write home to his children in the hopes that they would be more obedient and more disciplined is perhaps unsurprising, but Hunt’s letters demonstrate that he expected his children to obey their natural parents. Thus as in the disciplinary cases involving disobedient children, Hunt supported parent and age hierarchies in his letters home.

Some Quakers could even see how servitude might better prepare an individual to walk humbly before his or her God. William Williams had been born in Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in 1763, moved to Center Monthly Meeting in 1785, and eventually moved to Tennessee and then Indiana.¹³⁸ William Williams remembered that as a young man he had lived in rebellion against God. Like Quaker apologists, however, Williams recognized that his soul needed to be more fully humbled before the inward light within him. Once he finally recognized his terrible condition as a sinner, Williams sacrificed “all to his holy will.” Indeed, there was no aspect of his life that he did not submit to the will of the Lord. Once he had been fully humbled, the Lord appeared again to him “with his everlasting arm of strength, in such a manner, that the whole man was made to bow

¹³⁷“William Hunt to His Children,” 1st of the 8th mo 1772, and “William Hunt to His Children,” 17th of the 8th mo 1772, *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt Taken Chiefly from Their Journals and Letters*, 110, 112.

¹³⁸William Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Bros., 1936-), 416-7

before him in awful solemn silence, and in this state, in quietly waiting to know his will, I felt the word of command, and strength again given to supplicate in a few words.”¹³⁹

In Williams’ story of conversion, submitting himself to the Lord’s will is what ultimately brought joy to his life, and Williams indicated that humbling himself before his worldly master helped him to find the strength to deny himself before his heavenly master. Williams recalled that as a young man he had been a vain child. He sought worldly amusements, and he was unwilling to be corrected by his mother. His life, however, began to change when he was nineteen years old. In that year, he was “bound an apprentice to a friend, a member of Center Monthly Meeting; which proved a great blessing to me, being a means of breaking me off from my old companions in vanity.” Having to submit himself to the will of his master, according to Williams, may have been the best thing for him. His master encouraged him to lead a more godly life, and over time he learned to listen to the Spirit of God that lived within him. In this instance, therefore, being bound to a master helped him to find the obedience necessary to be more fully bound to a more heavenly master as well.¹⁴⁰

The Quaker discipline could be used in ways that humbled individuals, but on the other hand Quaker discipline could be used to humble those who claimed to be masters of their households in order to protect dependents within those households. In submitting themselves to their monthly meetings, Quakers lost a great deal of personal independence. They were no longer masters over their own bodies, but instead they were

¹³⁹William Williams, *Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours, of William Williams, Dec. A Minister of the Society of Friends. Late of White-Water, Indiana.* (Cincinnati: 1828), 13, 15-16.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 10.

expected to submit themselves to the mind of God as represented by the mind of the broader community of Quakers. This loss of mastery for some, however, could also serve as an important protection for others. Husbands and fathers, for example, lost independence but the dependents within their households were better able to hold heads of household accountable with the assistance of the broader community.

Quakers' handling of marriage disputes indicates the protections that women were able to carve out for themselves within Quaker meetings. In 1750, Elener Bryant approached women Friends in Core Sound Monthly Meeting and indicated the troubles that she had experienced in her marriage. The women's meeting then let the men's meeting know about the troubles between Elener and her husband. At the men's meeting, it was related, "that she can't live with her husband." Desiring to preserve the marriage if at all possible, Friends conferred with Elener's husband and convinced him to try and reconcile himself with his wife. The men's meeting indicated that "he is willing to make further tryal and has made fair and generous offers." Indeed, her husband offered that if "upon further tryal it be that they can't agree better for the future that she may take apartment by her self and he will provide for her there with a reasonable maintainance as Friends shall judge."¹⁴¹ In 1795, Cane Creek disowned Jesse Comer for "drinking spiritous liquor to excess," "using bad language," and also "for abusing his wife in her life time both in words and otherwise."¹⁴² What is so remarkable here is not that Friends wanted to prevent a divorce or spousal abuse. What is remarkable is the degree to which

¹⁴¹Core Sound Men's Monthly Meeting, 9th mo 1750, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹⁴²Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting, 5th of the 12th mo 1795, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

Friends felt it was their role to get involved in their members' households. They even inspected the couple's finances and got the husband to agree that if the marriage proved irreconcilable then he would support her independence. If women could be humbled before a monthly meeting, so could their husbands.

Herman Husband convincingly shows why people—especially the well-respected members of a community—would like to avoid the humility that came with religious discipline, but despite Husband's claims the contrary, what is particularly striking about Quaker discipline is how little Quakers were willing to remain hidden. As Hiram Hilty described colonial Quakers, what is striking to those who read the monthly meeting minutes of colonial Quakers is not what they let slide but rather how regularly discipline was enforced. According to Hilty, discipline was “strict, and rare was the monthly meeting session during the first century in which some backslider was not called to account for his conduct.”¹⁴³ Perhaps the women described by Husband got off with light treatment, but the majority of people living within these meetings faced rigorous inspection and discipline. The cases of discipline increased fairly consistently as the eighteenth century wore on and as mid-century reformers encouraged yearly meetings up and down the coast to more strenuously discipline wayward members in order to prevent the development of a lukewarm and ritualistic performance of religion.

As historians of North Carolina's Quakers have noted, the extent of their disciplinary activities indicates that they were not shy about disciplining those who violated their rules. In particular, Quakers were not afraid to make fornicators publicly

¹⁴³Hiram Hilty, *New Garden Friends Meeting: The Christian People Called Quakers* (Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1983), 18.

acknowledge their wrongdoing. The most common cause of disownment was "marriage out of unity." Marriage out of unity was a phrase that could indicate several different sins: marrying a non-Quaker, ignoring the marriage customs of Quakers by hiring a minister, marrying close kin, marrying too soon after a spouse had died. Between 1700-1789, 348 men and 308 women were disowned for marriage out of unity. The next most common cause of disownment was fornication. Between 1700-1789 125 men and 104 women were disowned for having committed fornication. Combined these two causes for disownment made up over 60% of the cases of disownment between 1700-1789. Marriage out of unity constituted 47.8% of the cases of disownment and fornication constituted 16.7% of all the cases of disownment.¹⁴⁴

Herman Husband claimed that the Quakers were perhaps more willing to let sin be passed by without comment if the sinner was a powerful individual, but the Quakers' growing crusade against slavery in the eighteenth century revealed a community that was willing to inspect and correct the behavior of even the most powerful North Carolinians. As has been noted, slaveowning was not officially discouraged within North Carolina Yearly Meeting for most of the eighteenth century, but by mid-century many Friends believed that slavery should be included as one of the worldly concerns that could prevent Quakers from listening to the leadings of the inward light. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Quakers around the Atlantic were moving away from supporting servitude. Indeed, many could continue to see the benefit in accepting one's humble status, but Quakers grew increasingly concerned about the effect that servitude had upon

¹⁴⁴Seth Beeson Hinshaw, "Friends' Culture in Colonial North Carolina (1672-1789)" (M.A. Thesis, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1991), 133.

masters. According to these reformers, slaves might learn to be humble. Masters, however, would only become proud.

Samuel Fothergill, for example, visited Friends along the Albemarle Sound in 1754 and believed that slavery encouraged a lukewarm spirit among Friends there. Fothergill observed that there were “some truly valuable Friends” but they had a tendency to live highly and thus many offered “a sacrifice which costs them nothing.” They had been a lively and faithful meeting, “but negro purchasing comes more and more in use among them.”¹⁴⁵ John Woolman warned Friends at New Garden in 1757 that that when Quakers bought and sold slaves “numerous difficulties attend it.” In particular, “people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying wrong methods to get a living.”¹⁴⁶ Slavery became increasingly seen as one of those activities that would lead individual Quakers down the road toward worldliness.

By the end of the 1750s, such warnings about slavery began to bear fruit in North Carolina. In 1758, the Yearly Meeting created a new Query that asked Friends to encourage slaveowning Friends “to use [the slaves] well and Encourage them to Come to meetings.” In 1768, North Carolina Yearly Meeting tried to clear up confusion about purchasing slaves and made clear that the “Queries Relating thereto ought to be understood as a prohibition of Buying Negroes to trade” and since slaveowning “is become a Burthen to Such as are in Posession of them it might be well for the meeting to advise all friends to be careful not to buy or Sell in any Case that can be Reasonably

¹⁴⁵Samuel Fothergill is quoted in *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁴⁶Hilty, 26.

avoided.” By the 1770s, many Quakers grew concerned that Friends would soon prohibit slaveowning altogether and therefore tried to sell their slaves as quickly as possible before slaveowning became a disownable offense. Because of this, controversies developed in several monthly meetings, and these meetings presented the issue to the yearly meeting for consideration. In 1776, the yearly meeting reacted by indicating that all members should free their slaves “as soon as they possibly can.”¹⁴⁷

In a letter to the vain and worldly son of a family of respectable Quakers, Thomas Nicholson indicated that greed and desire for gain were the root causes of slavery. Nicholson had heard that when this son had been “passing by [Nicholson’s] Plantation thou said, that it made thy heart glad to see so many young Negros.” Nicholson was convinced that this comment had risen out of a heart that hoped to eventually gain possession of those slaves. According to Nicholson this desire and lust “arose from an expectation of a further Prey to thy greedy, if not Bloody Hands, and if thou expects to get thy Living by free booting, and the gain of appression, it is time, to turn thy View some other way.” Nicholson was unwilling to hold any verbal punches because this man’s soul was at stake. He therefore pleaded with this prodigal son “to Vomit up again the portion of the gain of apprehension, which thou hath—greedily Swallowed, otherwise I much Question, whether thou ever dies in peace of mind”¹⁴⁸

What was it about slavery that Quakers increasingly believed prevented slaveowners from following God? John Woolman—who presented his abolitionist

¹⁴⁷Hinshaw, "Friends' Culture in Colonial North Carolina (1672-1789)," (M.A. Thesis), 66, 84, 86.

¹⁴⁸"Thomas Nicholson to B.H." 11th mo. 1779, Stephen Weeks Collection, Southern Historical Collection.

arguments to North Carolina Friends—argued that slavery was antithetical to Quakers' principles concerning plain living. In an epistle written against slavery, Woolman noted that slavery encouraged those possessed of slaves to see themselves as “lifted up above their Brethren, not considering themselves as faithful Stewards, none who judge impartially can suppose them free from Ingratitude.”¹⁴⁹ Human beings should not consider themselves as living within a hierarchy, but rather should more properly see themselves as all debtors to a much higher father. Woolman thus believed that anti-slavery and humble living encouraged Quakers to “consider Mankind as Brethren.” Though they may live in different places and have varying resources, all people ought to be “treated as becometh the Sons of one Father, agreeable to the Doctrine of Christ Jesus.”¹⁵⁰ Thus, according to Woolman, Quakers should follow the golden rule and treat each other as they would be treated. Woolman, however, thought that they should do so because of the equal humility that humanity ought to exhibit before the one heavenly Father. Humility to God thus inclined Quakers like Woolman to encourage their peers to treat others as they would be treated.

Whereas North Carolina's Anglicans had a tendency to perceive God as a father like earthly fathers, Quakers like Woolman regarded such a perception to be a corrupt interpretation of the relationship between God and His people. Indeed, Woolman noted that slaveowning tended to encourage earthly masters to regard themselves as higher than their earthly brethren. Perhaps a perfect individual could be trusted with the power that a master held of his or her slave, “but so long as Men are biassed by narrow Self-love, so

¹⁴⁹Woolman, "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," 337.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 340.

long an absolute Power over other Men is unfit for them.” Such masters may intend in good faith to “govern reasonably, and to make their Subjects more happy than they would be otherwise; but, as absolute Command belongs only to him who is perfect.”¹⁵¹ Only God could have the kind of power over individuals that slaveowners were claiming over their slaves. When earthly masters claimed the kind of authority that only God had, then they became corrupted by their power.

Following reasoning similar to that employed by Woolman, George Walton described slaveowners as modern Egyptians who were too worldly minded. Like the Egyptians, many slaveowners thought "they would rather Suffer the Judgements of God, tho' they were often warn'd, yet the love of Worldly Interest kept them from yeilding to the Commands of God tho' they knew his Anger was kindled at their hard heartedness and Rebellion."¹⁵² For Walton, human beings were created to earn their livings from the sweat of their own brows, and "every man was free for himself and to get his Bread by the Sweat of his Brow." Thus, Walton expressed his concern for the plight of the slave condemned to a life of servitude, but he also expressed concern for the souls of the slaveowners who held them in bondage. It was the typical slaveowner "who had not the fear of God in him" that was "Greedy of worldly Gain." Thus, Walton encouraged his fellow Quakers "who have the fear of God in our hearts" not to "join in this unchristian Action" of slaveowning.¹⁵³ Walton was thus concerned about the slaves whose labor was

¹⁵¹Ibid., 363.

¹⁵²Walton, "George Walton to Thomas Newby," 11th of the 8th mo 1774, *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden*, 41.

¹⁵³Ibid., 42.

being exploited, but he was also concerned for the immortal souls of the slaveowners. It was proper for Christians to earn their living by the sweat of their own brows; owning slave laborers indicated that the slaveowner was more concerned with the fleeting pleasures of this world and not the dangers of the hereafter.

Thomas Nicholson was one slaveowning Quaker who had been convinced that slavery was one worldly activity that threatened to choke out the seed that had been planted within him, and his advice indicates that he may have been more concerned about the immortal souls of Quakers than the plight of slaves.¹⁵⁴ In a document entitled "Considerations on Slavery," Nicholson reflected that the golden rule trumped any human law that supported slavery. Nicholson became convinced that in "all things whosoever ye would that Men should to you, do you even so to them." Since he would not want himself or his posterity bound in servitude neither should he bind others in servitude. At the same time, Nicholson and other Quakers recognized that North Carolina's laws made emancipating slaves difficult. In 1741, North Carolina's assembly forbade North Carolinians from emancipating their slaves without the approval of the assembly. The state legislature passed a similar law in 1777. These laws indicated that slaves who had been illegally emancipated were subject to seizure by the state and sale at public auction. Some Quakers therefore worried that injudiciously freeing slaves "might

¹⁵⁴This is a conclusion reached in Jean Soderlund's work on Quakers and slavery. In her book, Soderlund concludes that many Quaker reformers viewed "slavery as a social evil, not simply as a sin." Thus these Quakers "were concerned about its effects on the enslaved blacks as well as on the Quakers who held them." Other reformers, however, "like Samuel Fothergill and John and George Churchman," tended to condemn slavery in ways indicating that their "interest in blacks was secondary to their desire to purify the Society." Jean Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 175, 176-7.

open a door for a more crucial Bondage, to be Intailed upon them, by their being sold into the hands of others.” Nicholson, however, asked rhetorically “will not the burden and sin, lie on the heads of those, that are the cause thereof?”¹⁵⁵ Indeed, it would be better that Quakers were free from this burden than to worry about the future fates of the “liberated” slaves. Thus, Nicholson managed to make emancipation sound selfish. The slaves may be separated from their families and may suffer under a crueller master, but at least Quakers will remain a godly people.

Walton noted that the temptations of slaveowning were strong, and once one became a slaveowner it was hard to part with this worldly indulgence. In 1776, Walton was appointed by the North Carolina Yearly meeting to join with other Quakers in visiting those Quakers who still owned slaves. The Yearly Meeting in 1776 officially came down against slavery, and created this committee to labor with slaveowning Quakers in order to convince them to set their slaves free. The committee was also tasked with helping slaveowning Quakers write manumission papers. Many of these families, however, were less than enthusiastic about setting their slaves free. Walton remembered visiting several families south of the Albemarle Sound and remembered in his journal that "it was a Time of hard Labour & Travail." Many at the meeting they were visiting "were much Blinded by the gain of Oppression and very unwilling to do as they would be done by."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵Thomas Nicholson, “Considerations on Slavery,” Stephen B. Weeks Collection, Southern Historical Collection, 31-2.

¹⁵⁶George Walton, "The Journal from 25 October 1776 to 29 March 1777," *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden* 58-9.

It was one thing to labor with fellow Quakers concerning worldliness, but Quakers' efforts to prevent their fellow Quakers from holding slaves would also impact their relationships with non-Quakers. When Quakers disciplined their fellow Quakers for marrying outside of the Society of Friends, only other Quakers were affected. When Quakers decided to abolish slavery within their midst, non-Quakers felt that Quaker discipline impacted their hierarchies as well. Thus, the monthly meeting and the yearly meeting worked as tools to create uniformity and discipline among Friends, and its activities rarely raised eyebrows outside of North Carolina's Quaker community. Soon after declaring themselves opposed to slavery, a standing committee of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting wrote the legislature of North Carolina "on the alarming distresses of many friends on account of sundry Negroes being taken by Virtue of an act of the house of Assembly."¹⁵⁷ In 1795, non-Quaker residents in Perquimans County declared "that the Country is reduced to a situation of great peril & Danger in Consequence of the proceedings of the Society of people called Quakers."¹⁵⁸ Quakers' abolitionism was directed only at their own members. Calling on Quakers to abandon the practice of slaveholding was intended to preserve Quakers from worldliness, but this call to abandon the practice of slaveholding would put many Quakers at odds with their non-Quaker neighbors. Unlike Quaker testimonies against oath taking or plain speaking, the Quaker testimony against slaveholding was seen as threatening to all slaveowners even though Quakers only called upon their own members to abandon the practice.

¹⁵⁷North Carolina Yearly Meeting Standing Committee, Friends Historical Collection, 30-1.

¹⁵⁸"Presentment of Grand Jury Charging the Quakers with exciting the Slaves to seek freedom," 1795 Box 4 CRX, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Thus, we might be better able to understand why William Tryon and others in Britain thought that the Quakers were people that could make North Carolina a more governable province. In a colony in which obedience was in short supply, the Quakers were people who labored to make themselves more obedient servants of the Lord. It may have also helped that the Quakers were pacifists who disowned any members who participated in the Regulation Movement. This quest for humility among the Quakers manifested itself in many ways that we might consider hierarchal. Children were expected to obey their parents. Servants could learn the benefits of humble submission by submitting to their masters. Individual believers may have had direct access to God without the assistance of a paid minister, but Quaker communities expected a truly devoted Quaker to act humbly in all aspects of their lives. A humble walk in this world manifested a correct focus on the hereafter.

The humbled world that the Quakers worked to create, however, was not the same world found in North Carolina's Anglican churches. Men and women Friends met in monthly meetings separated by a partition—usually shutters—down the center of the building. Meeting separately from the men as they answered the Queries required women to reflect upon the most intimate aspects of their lives, and they did so independent from the hearing of their husbands and fathers. Indeed, the way in which Quakers handled marriage disputes indicates the level of autonomy that women were able to claim within Quaker fellowship. Women may have been expected to perform many of the traditional gender roles expected of other white women in eighteenth-century North America, and an unwillingness to do so could be seen as prideful and thus could be

construed as a sin. On the other hand, the autonomy that women gained from their biological families provided them with a safe environment in which they could discuss problems that they experienced in their nuclear households.

Reformers like Walton and Woolman described Quakers as plain people who could not remain faithful Quakers if they remained slaveowners. This dedication to anti-slavery would put Quakers at odds with slaveowners around them. As chapters 3 and 4 will expand upon, North Carolina became an increasingly foreign place to Quakers. Until Quakers around the Atlantic declared their opposition to slavery in mid to late eighteenth century, Quakers in North Carolina had been relatively accepted by colonial authorities. Indeed, governors like Tryon expressed a more than grudging acceptance of Quakers. They had, in fact, proved loyal Britons in the Regulation crisis. By the nineteenth century, however, many Quakers felt unwelcome, and many believed that if they were going to be able to raise up godly children they would have to leave North Carolina.

Chapter 3 A House Divided Cannot Stand: Secularism and Disownment in the Age of Revolution

In 1783, Francis Asbury—an itinerant Methodist exhorter and future bishop of the American Methodist Episcopal Church—worried about the effect that American independence would have on the future of the Christianity in North America. From Asbury’s perspective, American independence could have very negative consequences for the future of Christianity in North America. Asbury worried that independence could mean “our preachers will be far more likely to wettle in the world.” Asbury also worried about the growing spirit of materialism that seemed to be dominating North America, and he was very concerned that independence from Britain would only make worldliness worse. He worried that recent converts “by getting into trade, and acquiring wealth, may drink into its spirit.”¹⁵⁹

What is perhaps most striking about Asbury’s comments is not that he thought the new United States too secular. Most historians of religion would agree that the Revolutionary Era was a time in which most sects in America struggled.¹⁶⁰ What is most striking is just how Asbury’s comments could easily be mistaken for those of an Anglican

¹⁵⁹Francis Asbury, *Francis Asbury in North Carolina: The North Carolina Portions of the Journal of Francis Asbury, vols I and II of Clark ed.*, ed. Grady L. E. Carroll, (Nashville: Pantheon Press, 1965), 57.

¹⁶⁰In an article comparing the relationship between politics and religion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, John Murrin concludes that many in the seventeenth century had been concerned about the corrupting influence that politics could have upon religion, but those who wrote the constitution were probably more concerned about the corrupting influence that religion could have upon politics. Many thus hoped to keep the new political order secular. John Murrin, " Religion and Politics in America from the First Settlements to the Civil War," ed. Mark A Noll and Luke E. Harlow, *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the Present*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 23-46.

minister. Certainly an Anglican minister would not have been so concerned about wealth and trade, but both Asbury and his Anglican peers could agree that the Revolutionary Era was a dangerous time for religion in America. Indeed, this chapter will—among other things—highlight the career of one Anglican minister who remained in North Carolina, complained about backsliding, and remained good friends with Asbury until the Methodists split with the Anglicans in December of 1784. After 1784, this Anglican minister felt betrayed by his former friends, but until that time he and Asbury found enough in common with each other to write encouraging letters back and forth. Both agreed the Revolution had the potential to encourage secularization.

This chapter will be divided into three sections. Each section of the chapter will focus on religious movement and its members' perceptions of post-Revolutionary North Carolina. As indicated in Francis Asbury's comments about religion in the post-war period, most religious leaders agreed that religious devotion was waning. The first section will show that Anglicans saw the Revolutionary War as a crisis. For them, the decline of regular worship within the walls of the Anglican churches built in the colonial era indicated the declining importance of community for North Carolinians. For these Anglicans--as well as the colonial Anglicans who came before them--Anglican worship was the glue that held communities together.

The second section will show that Quakers also believed that worldliness seemed to be overtaking their communities. Both comments from individual Quakers and Quaker disciplinary hearings confirmed that it was harder to keep Quakers obedient to the collective mind of the community. Many Quakers agreed that the spirit of the times encouraged North Carolinians to drink in the spirit of the world. They attributed the

growing rebelliousness of the young people to the same spirit that troubled Asbury in 1783. It appeared that the temptations of the world were becoming stronger. More and more, the younger generation failed to live up to the expectations of Quaker reformers like Walton or Nixon. From the middle of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, rates of disownment among Quakers steadily rose. Many historians have viewed Anglicans complaints about unruliness in the Revolutionary as more of a reflection of Anglicans' hierarchal vision than as perceptive comments about the state of religion in Revolutionary North Carolina. Many others like Methodist itinerants and Quakers agreed that the Revolutionary Era posed a threat to all Christian observance. The kind of society developing in Revolutionary North Carolina was not only perceived as threatening to the Anglican communities that had only just started to mature but also to the communities that Quakers had built across North Carolina.

The third section will highlight Baptist and Methodist perceptions of post-war North Carolina. This section will indicate that the Baptists and Methodists were far less united than either the Quakers or the Anglicans, but many of them were similarly concerned about the state of religion in North Carolina. Some were concerned about the temptations of worldliness in North Carolina. Others seemed more content with the world they found around them. At times, evangelicals expressed their concerns about worldliness in ways that looked similar to Quakers: they could be strict disciplinarians. Sometimes, individual itinerants expressed both a concern about worldliness and displayed a willingness to conform to the ways of the world. Still others displayed little concern whatsoever about worldliness.

The most glaring evidence of the dearth of religious devotion in North Carolina in the Revolutionary Era was the visible decline of North Carolina's colonial Anglican churches. Charles Jansen--who had come from England to America in order to see this new republic--noted the declining appearance of several former Anglican churches. Jansen noted that the "church-yard at Edenton is open to the carnivorous beasts which prowl about that country; and when cattle have grazed, and hogs rooted in it, they retire to rest in the neglected church."¹⁶¹ As Francis Asbury traveled through North Carolina, he not only similarly noted the decline of local Anglican churches, but like the above diarist he also lamented the loss of Anglican churches. In 1783, Asbury preached to a large congregation in Hillsborough, North Carolina. After praying with several of the people who attended, Asbury "walked to the church; it was once an elegant building, and still makes a good appearance at a distance, but within it is in ruins."¹⁶² For Asbury, the decline of their local church was symptomatic of the suffering of the people of North Carolina during its war against Britain. It was thus not a tone of triumph that Asbury adopted when he walked into the dilapidated Anglican Church. For Asbury, the decline of Anglicanism did not mean success for Methodists. Instead, the declining status of the Anglican Church in North Carolina was part of a broader decline in religion.

Both this traveler and Asbury could agree as well that it seemed that North Carolinians were generally without religion. If anything, the religious condition of North Carolinians had become worse in the years surrounding the Revolutionary War. For Charles Jansen, the decline of the church was but a physical manifestation of the moral

¹⁶¹Charles Jansen, *The Stranger In America, 1793-1806*, intro. and ed. Carl S. Driver, (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1935), 104.

¹⁶²Asbury, *Francis Asbury in North Carolina*, 55-56.

decline that seemed to characterize the region. Jansen declared that the people of Edenton were not simply ignoring their inherited Anglican church but that they were “far lost to the sense of religion.” Indeed, the colonial Anglican church in Edenton was “the only place of worship in the town” and it had been allowed to decay. For this traveler—who admittedly was no friend of the Revolution—the decline of the Anglican church building in Edenton was a sign of the broader decline of the culture that the church was supposed to encourage. According to this traveler, the church used to thrive in the days “when benevolent and spirited merchants gave a rank and consequence to the town, when hospitality and unanimity spread their benign influence.” Those days, however, were gone and with it the good morals and culture that the Anglican parish church was supposed to encourage. For this traveler, the decline of this local church was emblematic of the southern states more generally. In the “southern states, there is a total neglect, not only of religious, but often of moral duties.”¹⁶³

Indeed, Jansen's complaints reflect the failure of the colonial governors in their attempts to create a stronger Anglican establishment in order to create a more peaceable domain. Like Tryon, Jansen believed that worship at Anglican churches was not just about celebrating the divine. Well-attended Anglican churches also brought the community together. When a community had a strong Anglican church--Jansen assumed--the well-to-do in the community would adopt their proper roles as fathers over the general community. Without a well-attended Anglican church--Jansen assumed--not only would the worship of God decline but so too would a sense of moral duties that community members ought to have toward one another. Tryon would have agreed with

¹⁶³Jansen, 104.

Jansen's description of Anglican churches, but Tryon would certainly have been dismayed by Jansen's descriptions. All of Tryon's hard bargaining had accomplished nothing. Even in where the coastal communities where Anglicanism had been well-established by the end of the colonial period, Anglican worship and values had collapsed.

The remaining parson at Edenton, Charles Pettigrew, agreed with Jansen's assessment of Anglicanism in North Carolina in the years following the Revolutionary War. As Pettigrew described the religious possibilities in North Carolina, it seemed that more and more members were being seduced away. In one of his sermons in 1806, for example, the reverend Charles Pettigrew asserted that Jesus “preached in the Temple and Synagogues of his nation.” Jesus therefore preached “when there were buildings erected and set apart as sacred to the Worship of God.” Jesus did not “creep into private houses” as many itinerants in the early nineteenth century did.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, Pettigrew asserted that those itinerants who preached wherever their feet landed rather than in the proper, consecrated houses of worship were “seducers...with insidious purposes, such as ‘The leading away of silly women—captive, laden with Sins.’”¹⁶⁵ Associating religious figures that violated the privacy of households with seduction was fairly common for Pettigrew. In a letter to a friend, Pettigrew lamented that the weakness of the Episcopal Church in the early nineteenth century encouraged others to “seduce her Members to their different Communions.”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴Charles Pettigrew, “On the Apostolic Mission”, 1806, Pettigrew Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, 8.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶“Charles Pettigrew to Leo. Cutting,” 9 November 1789, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 75.

For Pettigrew, as for Jansen, the physical building was an important part of Anglican worship. For Jansen, the decline of the church building in Edenton was a broader symptom of a declining Anglican culture. For Pettigrew, the church building itself was the proper site for community creation. He was therefore dismayed to see so many of those who had formerly attended the local church "seduced" away. Whereas others were satisfied to worship in fields and in private homes, Pettigrew claimed that proper worship could only take place in the Anglican building itself. Religion for Pettigrew was about the cementing of community members together into a hierarchal relationship of obedience and benevolence.

In his complaints about Thomas Paine, Pettigrew expressed his concerns about what this new republican order meant for Christianity in the new United States. Pettigrew was concerned that men like Paine were atheists and would have undue influence over the United States. For Pettigrew, religion was "the foundation of all civil government." If religion collapsed, then the government would fall as well. If this double catastrophe happened then "mankind will be prepared for that wished for patriarchal state when every man may do that which is right in his own eyes, without any controul from the fear of God or regard of man."¹⁶⁷ For Pettigrew as for Anglican ministers in the colonial period, Anglican worship was the glue that held society together. For Pettigrew, Anglican worship instilled in worshippers a sense of community and the responsibilities that community members had to each other.

¹⁶⁷"Charles Pettigrew to Nathaniel Blount, Washington County," 23 August 1803, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 323.

A scattering of remaining Anglican ministers and laymen tried to revive the Anglican Church in North Carolina by creating the North Carolina Episcopal Diocese, but their efforts did little to bring regular worship back to the Anglican churches that dotted North Carolina. Indeed, this group of concerned Anglicans elected Charles Pettigrew as the new bishop over the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina. Pettigrew, however, failed to ever make the journey to Philadelphia in order to meet with other bishops in North America and become ordained bishop over the newly established Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina. Pettigrew lacked the will and the health to make the difficult journey, but there was nobody else that the new diocese could find to fill the role in his stead. When Charles Pettigrew died in 1807, the diocese remained unsettled until Virginia's bishop agreed to look after the diocese in 1817. In 1823, the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina finally gained its own bishop.¹⁶⁸

In the colonial era, Quakers and Anglicans disagreed about much. After the Revolutionary War, however, members of both religious communities agreed that they were living in irreligious times. Anglicans like Pettigrew and Jansen tended to focus their anguish on the decline of the buildings and the decline of community spirit. Quakers were more concerned about disobedience and the decline of their communities. Quaker reformers complained that more and more Quakers were unable to follow the

¹⁶⁸In her biography of Charles Pettigrew, Sarah Lemmon asserted that Pettigrew was largely responsible for his failure to gain ordination and thereby place the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina on a firmer foundation. Sarah Lemmon, *Parson Pettigrew of the "Old Church": 1744-1807*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1970). The following collection also indicates the particularly desperate state of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina following the Revolutionary War. *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, ed. Lawrence London and Sarah Lemmon.

strict rules of the society, and the disciplinary meetings confirmed that more and more Quakers were disowned for disobedience.

Quakers also thought that more and more of their members were being seduced away. From the perspective of many Quaker reformers, it seemed as though the formerly devout were being seduced by this new secular age. In 1764, the Quakers of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting felt forced to disown the son of John and Mary Jones for "absconding from his parents in years past as also inlisting himself into a ridgment." In what was becoming an increasingly common comment, the meeting noted that "labour been Extendid to him" but he did not appear to be willing to "make satisfaction" to the monthly meeting so he was disowned.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, individual Quakers who observed North Carolina's society during the Revolutionary Era described a younger generation that seemed to be increasingly defiant of the established order of Quakers.

Individual Quakers expressed dismay at what seemed to be the increasing temptations of worldly society. Barnaby Nixon was concerned about the apparent lack of religious devotion. Observing the lives of the younger generation, Nixon lamented "that so few are walking in the narrow way of self denial, that leads to life." It seemed as though this younger generation would never "submit to the strait leadings and judgings of divine wisdom." Instead, this younger generation lived lives of indulgence and "chose to gratify their carnal desires" rather than "be under the divine control."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3rd of the 3rd mo 1764, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹⁷⁰Nixon, 25.

For Nixon, falling into worldliness was a bit of a slippery slope. He remembered in particular the concerns of a close friend of his who had recently died. This friend had been concerned about the future of his children who seemed to be slipping away from the faith. Little by little the ways of the world invaded their lives. He was worried that his children would be drawn into the "changeable fashions of the world, and gaiety of dress; which many of our unguarded youth, by little and little, go into; and so, are gradually ensnared: having their minds drawn from the love and unity of friends." Once the minds of the youth had been drawn away, they became even more susceptible to temptations. Once drawn away, their new friends and acquaintances would entice "them into one evil, after another, until they become reprobates."¹⁷¹

Barnaby Nixon was not the only Quaker in Revolutionary North Carolina who described an increasingly tempting environment. When George Walton attended a Quarterly Meeting held in eastern North Carolina in 1775, he noted that there were many powerful truths spoken, and he also indicated that the "Meetings for Worship were very large." At the same time, however, Walton was concerned that most of what had been said had fallen upon deaf ears. The Quarterly meeting had thus been a "humbling time to Some, tho there Seem'd to be many there that had a Spirit of lightness, & Airiness." This observation led Walton to conclude that religion was "at a low Ebb with nothing but outward Performances being left."¹⁷²

¹⁷¹Nixon, 28.

¹⁷²Walton, "The Journal from 17 June 1775 to 24 May 1776," *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden*, 55.

At many of the meetings that Walton visited in Virginia and North Carolina, he described the people as "airy." Visiting another meeting in Virginia in 1775, Walton described some of those attending as "light & Airy." Again in eastern North Carolina, Walton attended another monthly meeting in eastern North Carolina that he found inspiring "tho' there were many light & airy ones that seem'd to be dry & Barren." At another meeting in 1777, Walton described yet another meeting in eastern North Carolina that had shrunk in size because "there are much gone back again into the World and but a Small Remnant left."¹⁷³

The comments represented more than the grumpy complaints of a few stuffy Quakers. The Yearly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina also noted that younger Quakers were increasingly rebellious. In 1778, the Yearly Meeting reviewed with concern the Queries that came to them from the monthly meetings. It was "impressed with a concern to discourage Every thing that may tend to Disqualification or loss of such who may give cause of those complaints." In order to prevent such misbehavior in the future, the Yearly Meeting proposed that "the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings...visit and Labour with all" their disobedient members.¹⁷⁴ Later the same year, the Quarterly meeting indicated that their minds had also "been sorrowfully affected by accounts Received that Divers of our Religious Society have so far deviated as to act contrary to the wholesome Rules and advices" which had caused "pain and sorrow on many minds." As the Yearly Meeting had before them, the western Quarterly meeting recommended

¹⁷³Walton, "The Journal from 20 May to 10 October 1777," *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden*, 62.

¹⁷⁴Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 4th of the 4th of 1778, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

"friends speedily labor with such in the Spirit of Love and meekness in order that they may be restored."¹⁷⁵

Efforts to visit individual Quakers who disobeyed the wholesome rules of the Society of Friends, however, appear to have born little fruit. Again in 1780, the Yearly Meeting reflected upon the various deficiencies evident from the queries submitted by the monthly meetings and concluded that from those reports that "many weaknesses...prevail" in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. In 1785, the Yearly Meeting once again noted the rising trend toward disobedience, and it therefore advised the monthly meetings to "weightily take into consideration the many Deficiencies that abound amongst their members and use such steps for an amendment as they in the wisdom of truth may think most likely to see Effectual for removing the causes whereby those deficiencies have arrisen." Similar statements were made in 1788 and 1790 as well about the number of deficiencies that abounded in North Carolina Yearly Meeting.¹⁷⁶

For their part, Cane Creek Monthly Meeting tried to follow through on the advice handed down from the Yearly Meeting. In 1785, the monthly meeting sent out groups of Quakers to observe and labor with the families that constituted the monthly meeting. In 1785, they reported that they "have made some progress therein to a good degree of satisfaction," and later in the year they again reported that they had continued to make progress with the Quakers of their monthly meeting. Despite such declarations, however, the monthly meeting continued to feel the need to send out "weighty friends" to labor

¹⁷⁵Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 12th day of the 9th mo 1778, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹⁷⁶Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 5th of the 1st mo 1780, 10 month 1785 to the 31st of the same month, 2nd of the 2nd mo 1788, 4th of the 12th mo 1790, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

individually with Quaker families. In 1793, for example, Joseph Cloud declared to the monthly meeting that "a concern hath rested on his mind to visit such as have been members in society but have been Disowned within the limits of this meeting." Like those who went to visit friends in the 1780s, Cloud at first reported some success with those disowned Quakers. By August of 1794, however, Joseph Cloud felt that he could make no further progress with the rest of the disowned Quakers. He reported to the monthly meeting that he and his committee "made no further progress and that they do not see their way clear for any further at present."¹⁷⁷ The committee empowered to visit disorderly Quakers was therefore laid down for the time being.

In general, the Yearly and Quarterly meetings believed that visiting families and individuals was the best way to solve the issue of increasing disobedience, but they were unclear as to the root cause of this increasing worldliness. As indicated in Chapter 2, Quakers believed that slaveholding had a tendency to draw Quakers into the ways of the world. After Quakers decided that their members could no longer hold slaves, they continued to look for ways to separate Quakers from the world. In 1795, the Yearly Meeting advised members to not allow "any books or pamphlets that may have a tendency to lay waste the holy scriptures" to be in their homes. In 1797, the Yearly Meeting advised Quakers to avoid "Acting in offices under government, as We believe those Stations will have a tendency to draw the mind from the Simplicity of truth." In 1800, the yearly Meeting thought that perhaps if weighty members could be encouraged

¹⁷⁷Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7th of the 12th mo 1793 and 2nd of the 8th mo 1794, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

to be particularly careful to behave themselves, then perhaps the causes of disobedience could be removed.¹⁷⁸

Yet despite their best efforts and their attempts to discover the root problem causing such disobedience, the problem of growing disobedience persisted among Quakers. Studies of individual monthly meetings have born out the conclusions of the Yearly Meeting. As one historian of a monthly meeting indicated, by the close of the eighteenth century it was rare to find a record of a monthly meeting in which a disownment did not occur.¹⁷⁹ Other historians of the North Carolina Yearly meeting have noted that as North Carolina's Quakers approached the nineteenth century more and more Friends were facing disownments.¹⁸⁰ The data inspected here from Cane Creek Monthly Meeting also confirms the rising trend of disobedience among Quakers.

A few comments should be made here about the way that the data for this analysis was organized. The data, which follows, counts each sinful act. Thus, if two young Quakers had "carnal knowledge" of each other outside of marriage, this study counts both the sin of the man and the woman involved in the offense. For example, on October 6,

¹⁷⁸Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 5th of the 12th mo 1795, 13th of the 2nd mo 1797, and 1st of the 11th mo 1800, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹⁷⁹In his study of Holly Spring monthly meeting, Seth Hinshaw noted that it was rare not find at least one person who was disowned in a given month. This was despite one itinerant Quaker's belief that the Quakers at Holly Spring were not thorough enough in their discipline. Evans thought that "if they were as good as there represented" then there could not be a holier meeting "on the continent as they was, but I had my fears it was not so." Seth Hinshaw, *Friends at Holly Spring: Meeting and Community*, (Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1982), 27.

¹⁸⁰Seth Beeson Hinshaw, "Friends Culture in Colonial North Carolina: 1672-1789," *The Southern Friend*.

1787 the women's meeting disowned Elizabeth Stuart for "having Carnal knowledge of him who is now her husband before marriage." Also on October 6, 1787 the men's meeting disowned John Stuart for "having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage."¹⁸¹ It seems very likely that John Stuart and Elizabeth Stuart were married and were both being disowned for having sex with each other before marriage. This study, however, counts Elizabeth Stuart and John Stuart as having each committed the sin of non-marital sex. It does so because it is not absolutely clear that the two were actually married even though it seems highly unlikely that John and Elizabeth Stuart were disowned on the same day for having sex with two other unnamed individuals whom they later married. Thus, if two Quakers were disowned for sinning with each other, each Quaker's sin is regarded as one sin even though they both acted together in committing the sin.

This data also counts the sins committed rather than the number of people who sinned. Quite often, Cane Creek disowned individuals for multiple offenses. In 1780, for example, Jonathan Barns was disowned for "selling negroes" and "also for taking strong drink."¹⁸² In Jonathan Barn's case, this study counted this single disownment as both an instance of disorderly conduct concerning slavery and consuming too much alcohol.

Thus, each sin was counted for this study rather than the number of sinners.

¹⁸¹Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 6th of the 10th mo 1787 and Cane Creek Women's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 6th of the 10th mo 1787, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

¹⁸²Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 5th of the 4th mo 1780, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

In order to make this data quantifiable, this study also simplified the range of sins committed by Quakers in the eighteenth century. The sins of many Quakers were quite easily categorized. The Quakers who sinned by having "carnal knowledge" of their spouses before marriage and those who accused of being fathers of bastard children were both classified as being disowned having sex outside of marriage. Other sins, however, were a bit more difficult to categorize. In 1754, for example, Thomas Wilkinson was disowned for "being guilty of lying a cheat and avarice of discord amongst his neighbors."¹⁸³ For one thing, it looks as though the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting is talking about two different sins. Wilkinson both lied and created discord among his neighbors. It is also possible, however, that the monthly meeting meant that by lying Wilkinson created discord among his neighbors. This study counted Wilkinson as having committed two different sins: using "bad language/lying" and causing "disorderliness." The other issue that makes Wilkinson's case difficult to categorize is the opaqueness of "avarice of discord." Did Wilkinson threaten to strike one of his neighbors? Should "avarice of discord" thus be understood to be synonymous with "hitting"? Was "avarice of discord" a euphemism for swearing? Did Wilkinson cause discord by swearing at his neighbors? Like Wilkinson's case, some of the accusations were less than clear but as much as possible this study has tried to do justice to the original intentions of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. In Wilkinson's case, this study classified Wilkinson as having committed two separate sins: using "bad language/lying" and "disorderliness." The appendix at the end of this dissertation lists all cases of disownment at Cane Creek between 1751--when Cane Creek Monthly Meeting was founded--and 1800.

¹⁸³Cane Creek Men's Monthly Meeting Minutes, 4th of the 5th mo 1754, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

Cane Creek's monthly meeting minutes reveal the extent of the problems faced by Quakers. Between 1751 and 1759, 19 people were disowned. Between 1760 and 1769, 85 people were disowned. Between 1770 and 1779, 123 people were disowned. Between 1780 and 1789, 202 people were disowned; and between 1790 and 1799, 192 people were disowned. Given these numbers, it's no surprise that the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina began to express its concern about disobedience in the late 1770s and continued to express dismay at the many deficiencies among the Quakers.

The yearly meeting tended to point to lack of plainness, slavery, government service, and unchristian literature as the primary concerns, but the records of Cane Creek monthly meeting indicate that most disowned Quakers had been disciplined for marriage out of unity with Friends and for non-marital sex. Perhaps the Yearly Meeting regarded individual Quakers' participation in slavery or worldly society as a gateway sin that led to eventual disownment for sexual misconduct. At least, George Walton tended to regard lack of plainness and other backslidings as a slippery slope that would eventually lead to marriage out of union and non-marital sex. In 1777, Walton encountered a woman who "had been brought up a Friend." Over time, however, she had fallen farther and farther away from the inward light through her "unwatchfulness." This eventually led to disownment and "to her last husband Married out."¹⁸⁴ In Cane Creek monthly meeting, for example, only 6 members were expelled between 1751 and 1800 for holding slaves, and only 5 Quakers in Cane Creek monthly meeting were disowned for lack of plainness in dress or speech.

¹⁸⁴Walton, "The Journal from 20 May to 10 October 1777," *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden*, 63.

Most Quakers were disowned for marrying contrary to discipline. Between 1751 and 1800, 276 Quakers in Cane Creek Monthly Meeting were expelled for "marriage out of unity" or marrying "outgoing in marriage." Marrying out of unity and outgoing in marriage appear to have referred to the same sins. Instead of indicating different sinful acts, the differences in language appear to have reflected the preferences of the clerk. Marriage out of unity or outgoing in marriage are a bit vague, but they generally meant that the disowned Quakers were marrying non-Quakers. Quakers took seriously the apostle Paul's injunction against being unequally yoked to unbelievers, and Quakers were particularly concerned about Quakers marrying non-Quakers because the children of such unions were more likely to be led astray.¹⁸⁵ "Marriage out of unity," however, did not always indicate that a Quaker had married a non-Quaker. A few monthly meeting minutes noted that the Quakers in question were disowned for an outgoing in marriage but had married members of the same society. An outgoing in marriage could also refer to a marriage in which the marriage ceremony had not been conducted according to Quaker rules, a ceremony led by a "hireling" minister, or that Quakers had partied too hard at the wedding celebration.

The second largest category of disownments was less opaque. 93 Quakers in Cane Creek Monthly Meeting were disowned for having a child too soon after marriage, having a child outside of marriage, or having sex outside of marriage. Another 21

¹⁸⁵ As Barry Levy has indicated, the Quaker belief that their children had the inner light within them greatly affected the structure of their communities. The goal of child rearing for Quakers was to encourage them to listen to that inward light and avoid sin. Marrying non-Quakers was thus seen by many Quakers as leading children away from obedience to that inward light. Thus, the "Quaker marriage discipline" was designed to avoid "disorder and family conflicts which often surrounded middling youth's or their parents' marriage choices." Levy, 74.

Quakers were disowned for marrying close kin, 9 for adultery, and 1 for rape. The Monthly minutes also reveal that Quakers in Cane Creek were increasingly likely to commit sexual sins. Between 1751 and 1759, no Quakers were disowned for sex outside of marriage, marrying close kin, adultery, or rape. Between 1780 and 1789, however, 38 Quakers were disowned for having sex outside of marriage, marrying close kin, adultery, or rape. Something was increasingly leading Quakers astray, and the Yearly Meeting addressed the problem by asking local meetings to form committees to visit with individual families. The frequency with which the yearly meeting continued to request the formation of these committees reveals the inadequacy of these committees to meet the challenges of their day. The records of the monthly meetings also reveal their ineffectiveness.

Figures 1 and 2 below indicate the relationship that existed between the rising incidence of non-marital sex, marriage out of unity, and total disownments at Cane Creek. As figure 1 indicates, more Quakers were disowned for marrying out of unity than were disowned for non-marital sex. The rising trend in both non-marital sex and marriage out of unity had a direct relationship to the total number of disownments between the 1760s and the 1780s. In total disownments, sex outside of marriage, and marriage out of unity, the rates of disownment plateau between the 1780s and 1800. Figure 2 reveals that little relationship existed between the rising numbers of Quakers disowned between 1760 and the 1780s and the number of people who were expelled for consuming too much alcohol, hitting/fighting, or gambling/visiting places of diversion. While the total number of Quakers disowned rose between 1760 and the 1780s, there was

little change in the number of people who were expelled for consuming too much alcohol, hitting/fighting, or gambling/visiting places of diversion.

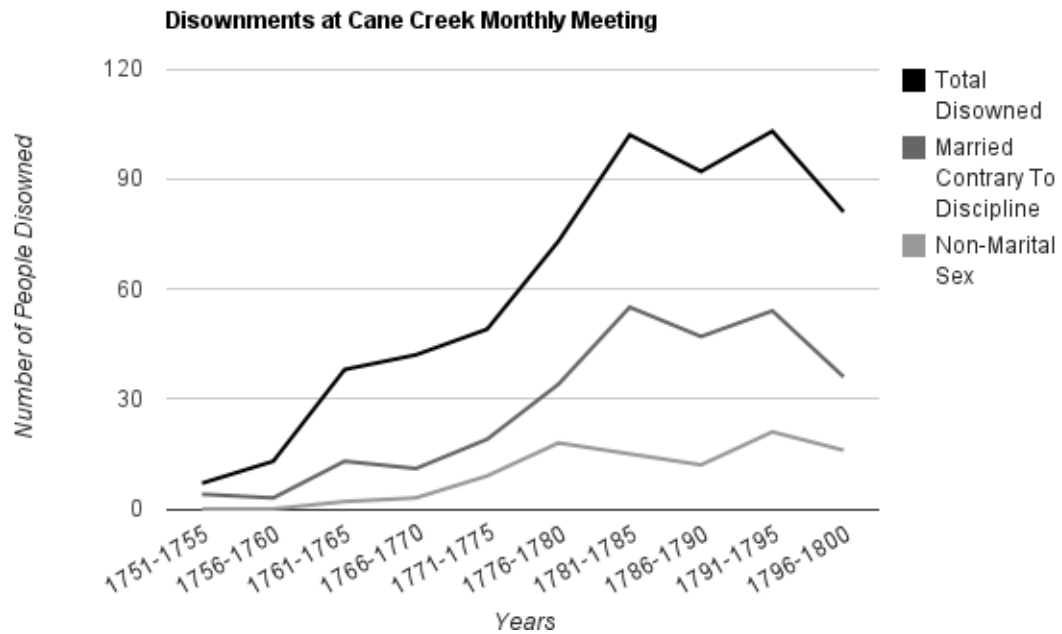


Figure 1: Disownments for Non-Marital Sex or Marriage out of Unity

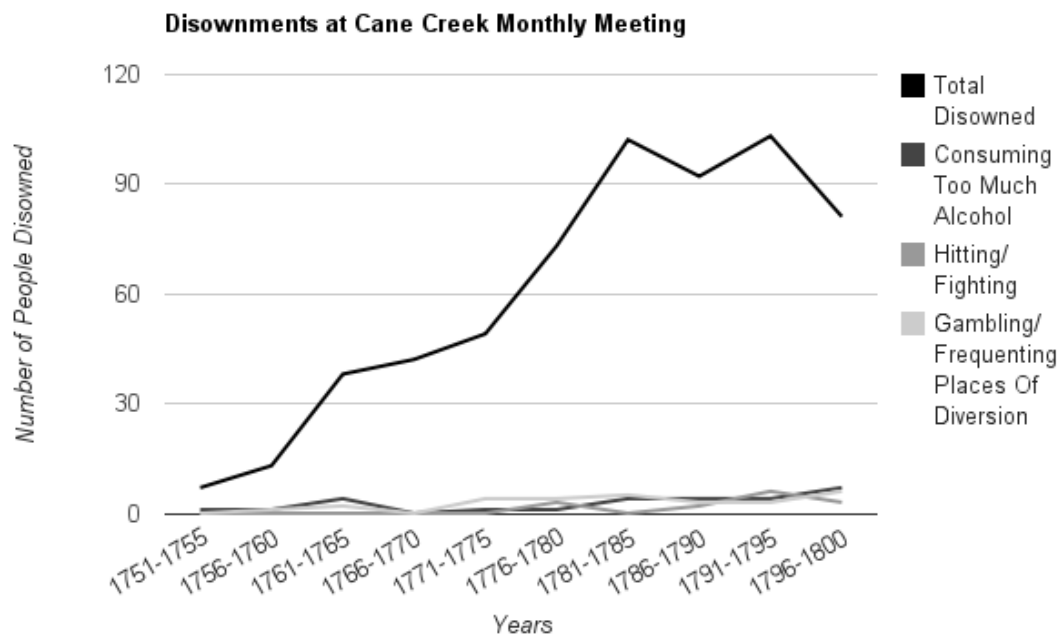


Figure 2: Other Disownments at Cane Creek Monthly Meeting

Walton's conversation with a former Quaker woman and her new non-Quaker husband revealed how difficult it was for many in the younger generation to follow the strict behavioral rules of Quakers even if they had a strong desire to do so. Both this woman and her husband confessed that they "beleived Friends were in the rightest way of any people but the Way seem'd so narrow." The pair seemed much affected by Walton's conversation with them. Walton recalled that during their conversation the woman especially seemed "much bewildered in her Mind" but in the end Walton did not have much hope of their eventual conversion to Quakerism. Walton noted that God gave "Wisdom to babes and Sucklings, & hides it from the Worldly Wise and prudent."¹⁸⁶ It's not absolutely clear from this concluding statement, but it appears that Walton intended

¹⁸⁶George Walton, "The Journal from 20 May to 10 October 1777," *The Having of Negroes is Become a Burden*, 63.

this biblical reference to reflect upon his conversation with this couple. Despite all their knowledge, they could not make that last step toward faith.

The recently arrived Baptists and Methodists had a similarly dismal outlook on North Carolina. Like the Quakers who had long lived in North Carolina, many Methodists and Baptists were similarly concerned that North Carolina was becoming more worldly. Francis Asbury was unimpressed with the religious devotion of the people that he encountered in North Carolina. In 1785, Asbury rode into Salisbury, North Carolina and had "but few hearers." Indeed, Asbury's audience fled as Asbury made increasing demands upon the lives of his listeners. Several listeners escaped "when I began to insist on the necessity of holiness--a subject this which the Antinomians do not like to hear pressed too closely."¹⁸⁷ Asbury could have easily sympathized with Walton's frustrations. Indeed, Asbury seemed to encounter a people who were unwilling to listen to anyone who demanded they follow the straight and narrow path.

As the crowd in Salisbury, North Carolina feared, early Methodists had rather high expectations of their potential converts. Like the Quakers who lived in North Carolina, Methodists had a rather lengthy list of activities that they believed would encourage sin. In their discipline of 1784, the Methodists expressed their concern about worldliness in general and all of its manifestations. The discipline for example, asked members to ensure that they remained temperate in all things. For instance members were expected to remain temperate "in Food." Like the Quakers, the Methodists provided a list of queries for local worship groups to ensure members maintained high standards for holiness. Were members careful to ensure that they only consumed that "which is

¹⁸⁷Asbury, *Francis Asbury in North Carolina*, 66-7.

best both for your Body and Soul?" The Methodists' discipline also warned Methodists against marrying the unconverted because such marriages have "had fatal Effects."¹⁸⁸

Neither should Methodists be too willing to wear worldly clothing. Ministers should not rest until members had left "off superfluous Ornaments" of apparel. Like the Quakers, the Methodists hoped to exclude all worldliness from their members' lives.¹⁸⁹

One of the most striking elements of itinerants' journals as they traveled through North Carolina in the Revolutionary Era is the extent to which most of the residents of North Carolina remained unconverted and generally unknowledgeable about Christianity. One of the few friends of religion that Asbury found in North Carolina was Charles Pettigrew. When Francis Asbury visited Edenton, North Carolina he described the people there as both a "gay, inattentive people" and "wild and wicked altogether." There was, however, one notable exception. Asbury thought that the former Anglican minister there could be of some valuable assistance in spreading religion. While visiting

¹⁸⁸*A Form of Discipline: For the Ministers, Preachers, and Members (now comprehending the principles and doctrines) of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America*, (Philadelphia: 1791), 19, 29, 33

¹⁸⁹In her article on Methodism in the eighteenth century, Cynthia Lyerly demonstrates the ways in which Methodism threatened the bonds that united biological families under a patriarch. According to Lyerly, the spiritual defiance of two Methodists demonstrated how their "defiance became immediately enmeshed in gender relations and in the power relations of families." Sometimes, they expected their believers to leave their biological families if those earthly families drew them away from their heavenly father. Thus, the early evangelical movement appears to have made significant claims upon the lives of believers. Indeed, one of the men studied by Lyerly indicated that he converted to Methodism in the 1780s "upon the grounds of their being more strict in their doctrines, and rules of holiness than others." Cynthia Lyerly, "A Tale of Two Patriarchs; or, How a Eunuch and a Wife Created a Family in the Church," *Journal of Family History* 28, no. 4, 2003, 492.

Edenton, Asbury was "much pleased with Mr. Pettigrew, I heard him preach, and received the Lord's supper at his hands."¹⁹⁰

Anglican ministers and itinerant upstarts are often portrayed as locked in battle against one another: Anglicans desperately holding on to the old order of life and the itinerants working hard to introduce a new order. Certainly there were incidents of conflict--as will be seen late in this chapter--but many Anglicans in North Carolina at least viewed itinerant Methodists as allies rather than enemies. They tended to feel rebuffed once the Methodists officially split from the Anglicans in 1784, but until that point there was a sense among many Anglicans that perhaps the Methodists might be allies in the common fight against irreligion in this unsettled and unholy land. Like Asbury, other Methodists encountered not a foe but an ally when they found Charles Pettigrew in Edenton, North Carolina. Another Methodist itinerant came to Edenton in 1784 to preach and afterwards he "rode home with the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew near Edenton, and spent the night with him."¹⁹¹

For his part, Charles Pettigrew regarded Methodist itinerants—at least before the Christmas Conference of 1784—as useful allies in the cause of religion, and other Anglican ministers hoped that the Methodists might prove useful allies in the common cause of spreading Christianity in North Carolina. In 1782, another Anglican minister expressed his pleasure at seeing Pettigrew at the latest Quarterly Meeting of Methodists. According to this Anglican, the Methodists were the "only People, that I know of, whose

¹⁹⁰Asbury, *Francis Asbury in North Carolina*, 60.

¹⁹¹Extract from Jesse Lee's journal quoted in W.L. Grissom, *History of Methodism in North Carolina: From 1772 to the Present Time*, (Nashville: 1905-), 103.

Labours are considerably blest to the Salvation of Souls.” This minister was thus pleased that “they have given the most striking & indubitable Testimonies of their Love & Adherence to that Church of which you & I have the Honour to be Ministers.”¹⁹²

Though often Anglican ministers are portrayed as stubbornly resisting the inroads of evangelical itinerants, Pettigrew not only invited Methodist itinerants to his home after preaching in Edenton but Pettigrew hoped to become more involved in the Methodist movement himself. In 1784, Pettigrew wrote Francis Asbury a warm letter expressing his desire, perhaps, for his own “small circuit some farther to the northward in quest of a more healthy situation.” Pettigrew had heard of Asbury’s travels and was quite impressed. It was with “unwearied zeal & patience” that Asbury had “completed so large a circuit,” and he hoped that Asbury’s labors “hath not been in vain to the Lord.”¹⁹³ At least, Pettigrew’s remarks about Methodists were glowing until the Methodists split from the Anglicans at the end of 1784.

After 1784, Pettigrew apparently felt betrayed by the Methodists. In 1790, another Anglican who remained in North Carolina wrote a reply to an earlier letter sent by Pettigrew. This correspondent noted that Pettigrew’s “observation upon the

¹⁹²"Devereux Jarratt to Charles Pettigrew," 13 August 1782, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 18.

¹⁹³"Charles Pettigrew to Francis Asbury," 1 May 1784, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 26. Indeed, Pettigrew was occasionally active in the Methodist movement. As Pettigrew's biographer indicated, "[b]oth Pettigrew and Blount became temporarily active with the Methodist movement. Blount attended at least one Quarterly Meeting, in 1784, as attested by Beverly Allen. However, when the Methodist movement separated from the Anglican communion, abandoning apostolic succession, both of the horrified clergymen dropped their participation in it, and became active in attempting to build an American church which would still remain a part of worldwide Anglicanism." Lemmon, *Parson Pettigrew of the "Old Church": 1744-1807*, 357.

Methodists is very just. Indeed who can hear of their Conduct, and think them unblameable, with respect to their present separation.”¹⁹⁴ In another letter to an Episcopal minister in Pennsylvania, Pettigrew blamed the “very low Ebb” of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina at least in part due to the labors of the Methodists and the Baptists who “seduce to their different Communion, those who would gladly continue in the Communion of the episcopal Church, had they preachers of that Denomination.”¹⁹⁵

Thus, relationships between itinerants and Anglicans in the Revolutionary Period could be quite complicated. Certainly some itinerants and Anglicans had rather tense relationships to say the least. As historians like Christine Heyrman have indicated, at least a few itinerants found themselves at the end of a horsewhip in several locations. As Pettigrew’s relationship with Francis Asbury indicates, however, relations between itinerants and Anglicans were not always so tense. At least prior to 1785, Pettigrew was willing to host Methodist itinerants and even went so far as to think about taking a Methodist circuit himself. Thus, the minister who would become the first elected bishop of the Episcopal diocese of North Carolina was almost a Methodist in 1784.

For Pettigrew at least, time rather than social position seems to be most important when trying to describe his opinions of itinerant ministers. Before the Christmas Conference of 1784, Pettigrew could be counted as one of the strongest allies of Methodism. After 1784, Pettigrew portrayed Methodists and Baptists alike as seducers of

¹⁹⁴“Nathaniel Blount to Charles Pettigrew,” 29 January 1790, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 80-81.

¹⁹⁵“Charles Pettigrew to the Rev. Dr. William White,” 12 March 1792, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol 1, 107.

the younger generation. In a sermon most likely preached in 1800, Pettigrew stated that the religion of the itinerants “was placed in their passions.” When “these are now cooled, & their religion is fled—The hobby Horse has ben riden to Death.—And alas! what is worse, their minds have been industriously prejudiced against rational & instructive preaching.”¹⁹⁶ In 1800, Pettigrew sounded more like a stereotypical Anglican who condemned evangelicals for their lack of reasoning. Earlier, however, Pettigrew had been willing to extend the hand of friendship.

For their part, many of the itinerants that Pettigrew encountered Revolutionary North Carolina played the parts that we would expect of them. In 1800, Pettigrew received an angry letter from a Baptist itinerant. The two apparently disagreed about how best to handle the lands and buildings that had formerly belonged to the established Anglican Church. This Baptist preacher thought that Pettigrew was trying to take the land for himself. Unlike Asbury, this Baptist minister indicated that Pettigrew had “never faverd me with much of your go[o]d will neither Do I Expect any from you nor no such a monarch.” This Baptist minister then went on to catalogue all of the crimes that the Episcopal Church had committed. He claimed that the Episcopal Church and its “gentlmen of the black gound [gown]” had committed many “bloody massacres.” Unlike gentlemen, however, this poor Baptist minister could not earn his living by putting “the yoke of Iron on the poor Ethiopens.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶“Charles Pettigrew to Mary Verner,” 26 May 1800, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 256.

¹⁹⁷“Amariah Biggs to Charles Pettigrew,” 15 June 1800, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 260-262.

In reply, Pettigrew called the Baptist minister and ignorant apostate. Pettigrew claimed that this Baptist's arguments showed "that your *impudence* keeps way with your ignorance, & your canting & hypocritical impiety keeps ahead of both." As far as this Baptist minister's claim about Pettigrew being a person of ridicule in the community, Pettigrew knew that this Baptist was incorrect unless he referred only to those people who followed the Baptists. Pettigrew knew that the "people are not so ungrateful, unless it may be such of your followers as may be under your particular influence."¹⁹⁸

Thus, it might be tempting to argue that the Methodists may have had complex relationships with the Anglicans until 1784 because of their unique history, but the Baptists can at least be pointed to as a group of people who were united in their condemnations of Anglicans. Here too, however, the picture is much more complicated than we might assume. Itinerants like the one above may seem to confirm our image of a world in which Anglicans battled with Baptists, and Baptists accused former Anglican ministers of being the agents of monarchy and tyranny. The charge of ignorance that Pettigrew leveled against this Baptist minister, however, was similar to those that Baptists had leveled against each other in the eighteenth century.

Prior to the Revolutionary Era, Baptists had maintained a presence in North Carolina, and they were diverse group of people. The Sandy Creek Baptist Association of North Carolina is now famous for having started the modern Baptist Church movement in 1755. Yet, prior to 1755 Baptists had lived in North Carolina and their perspective on religion was quite different from that of their fellow Baptists in the Sandy Creek Association. Early in its existence, Sandy Creek had only one ordained minister,

¹⁹⁸"Charles Pettigrew to Amariah Biggs," 3 July 1800, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 1, 264-265.

and this minister hoped to ordain other ministers to spread Baptist religion across the region. He felt hindered, however, because according to Baptist rules--as he understood them--two ministers were required to be present at ordination. The neighboring Baptists that were requested to help, however, refused to assist Sandy Creek. They accused the Sandy Creek association of behaving disorderly in that they allowed "women to pray in public," permitted "every ignorant man to preach that chose," and in general "encouraged noise and confusion in their meetings."¹⁹⁹

Such encounters between Baptists and Methodists make it difficult to establish the kind of world that they hoped to create, and any conclusions reached may depend upon which itinerants were consulted and when. Some were in fact bitterly opposed to the Anglican tradition in North Carolina. Others were perhaps more bitterly opposed to each other than to the former Anglican establishment. Indeed, the Baptists who refused to assist Sandy Creek Association in ordaining its minister had a tendency to sound more like the Anglican establishment than the Baptists who supposedly sought to create a more democratic social order.

Indeed, looking at the journals of Methodists reveals just how complex the religious landscape was in post-Revolutionary North Carolina. As an individual, Francis Asbury could be exceedingly complex and perhaps contradictory. Asbury knew how to behave like a proper gentleman. In 1780, Asbury was preaching when a general rode in and listened to Asbury's sermon. Asbury noted that this man was "a polite, well-

¹⁹⁹George Paschal, *History of North Carolina Baptists*, vol. 1, (Gallatin, TN: Church History Research & Archives, 1930), 275.

behaved, conversable gentlemen.” After the meeting the two “dined together.”²⁰⁰ In 1784, Asbury betrayed no sense of outrage when he dined at the house of Charles Pettigrew even though Pettigrew was a slaveowner. Indeed, Asbury’s behavior after religious meetings does not sound all that different from those of colonial Anglican laypeople who enjoyed dining together after the end of religious services. The very same year that Asbury dined with Pettigrew, the Methodist Episcopal Church—over which Asbury was a bishop—declared itself opposed to slavery. In his private and public writings Asbury expressed his uneasiness about slavery. At one point, he declared that he was “grieved to see slavery, and the manner of keeping these poor people.” Indeed, the “liberation of the slaves” was a pious design and Asbury feared that the Methodists must declare themselves against slavery or “the Lord will depart from them.”²⁰¹ Yet he had no qualms about dining with slaveowners like Charles Pettigrew.

Asbury could be similarly two-faced when talking about Anglicanism. In 1784, Asbury could write favorably about Charles Pettigrew. Only a year later, however, Asbury condemned the Anglican Church in his journal. In his travels through North Carolina, Asbury remembered baptizing several children. After baptizing a child one “poor mother held out a piece of gold to me.” Asbury was disgusted that some “priests” could expect to receive pay for such services. Reflecting upon the experience, Asbury

²⁰⁰Asbury, *Francis Asbury in North Carolina*, 44.

²⁰¹Francis Asbury, *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815*, vol. 1, (New York: 1821), 295, 214. While on the road in Northeastern North Carolina, Jeremiah Norman recalled meeting a man in the 1790s who declared that he “Preached all slave holders to Hell.” Jeremiah Norman, “The Journal of Jeremiah Norman,” Stephen B. Weeks Collection, Southern Historical Collection, 107.

prayed: “Lord, keep me from the love of honour, money, and ease.”²⁰² Such examples frustrate efforts to establish what Methodists thought of wealth and slavery. The leader of the Methodist Church in the United States provided contradictory evidence to future generations. On one day he might preach against slavery and the next dine at a slaveholder’s house. On one day he might preach against the injustice of Anglicanism. The next he might write warm letter of friendship to an Anglican.

In some instances, Methodists sound just as concerned about worldliness as their Quaker counterparts. There are other examples, however, of Methodists who sought refinement. One itinerant, Jeremiah Norman, for example was concerned that his fellow itinerants did not live up the refined expectations of North Carolina's gentlemen. In his own mind he had mastered the etiquette of the gentry, and he felt horrified when more boorish itinerants provided fuel for the claim that Methodists were ignorant rabble. In 1795 Norman noted, “there is a kind of humble politeness necessary for the accomplishment of a Preacher in this refined age.”²⁰³ He expected his fellow Methodist itinerants to live up to his refined expectations but was often sorely disappointed. On one occasion Norman and another itinerant enjoyed dinner at a gentleman’s house, but Norman was horrified to observe the table manners of his companion. His topics of conversation were uncouth, and Norman was relieved when the gentleman host corrected his unlettered guest. If he had not been corrected, Norman was unsure “to what a length he might have run.”²⁰⁴

²⁰²Asbury, *Francis Asbury in North Carolina*, 69.

²⁰³Norman, 106.

²⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 146.

Norman was concerned that his fellow Methodists did not know how to behave in a gentleman's house, but he was even more concerned that too many Methodist itinerants knew too little about Christian orthodoxy. Norman accused several of his fellow Methodists of improper doctrines at religious gatherings. Early Methodist itinerants were a diverse lot and Norman felt that some of them should be more properly labeled as practitioners of witchcraft than Christianity. On one Saturday prayer meeting, Norman "went to hear Preaching" and heard the "awkward gesturece of yt man together with his huming & kaughing (as if he was conjuring up spirits)." The scandalous tones of the unnamed itinerant's speech "was enough to make ye word of life to be loathed by ye unreconciled."²⁰⁵ Indeed, Norman was rather critical of many of his peers, and he felt that many of his fellow Methodists did not preach a gospel message that he could appreciate. Perhaps worst of all, Norman believed that most Methodists had abandoned rational rhetoric altogether and merely appealed to what he referred to as the "passions." At another meeting Norman "was led to examine both [another itinerant's] language & Doctrine...which [he] found both to be short of the truly genuine." What the itinerant had to say made little sense and in general he seemed to be a "confused...man only educated for and apears mostly to aim at the passions."²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵Ibid., 9.

²⁰⁶Ibid., 106. None other than Francis Asbury, bishop of the Methodist Church in the United States, mirrored similar feelings about some itinerants. Asbury felt that what some "people take for religion and spiritual life, is nothing but the power o f the natural passions." Individual experience needed the guiding presence of church leaders. Acting upon any "sensations without a strong disposition for holiness [was] but delusive." Asbury, *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury*, vol 1, 90.

What is most striking about Norman's complaints about some of his fellow itinerants is just how much they resembled the complaints that the Reverend Charles Pettigrew leveled against itinerants after 1784. Both Pettigrew and Norman, for example, could describe itinerants as corrupt for appealing to the "passions." Both could write about itinerants as unlettered and ignorant rabble. It is unknown if Pettigrew and Norman knew each other. Norman did in fact travel through Edenton, but did not have anything to say about Pettigrew. Ironically, the two would have likely regarded each other as enemies rather than allies since Norman was a Methodist itinerant traveling after 1784. Despite their different religious affiliations, the two shared quite a lot in common. At least, they could have dined across from each other in a gentleman's house and approved of each other's manners.

Unlike Asbury, Norman was less ambiguous about his support for slavery. At least, the life described in his journal supplies only examples of support for slavery, and support for the lifestyle of their owners. In 1796 Norman assisted his planter host in capturing a runaway slave. Norman and the planter "being informed of a supposed runaway Negro in a desolate house not far off" decided to give chase and catch him in this house. They were foiled in their plans, however, as when they arrived at the desolate house "the Negro had gone away."²⁰⁷ Thus, Norman went beyond simple moral support and tried to help a local slaveowner retrieve a runaway slave.

The life of William Glendinning similarly demonstrates the complexity and contradictions contained within the early Methodist movement. Here was an itinerant who was willing to call himself a Methodist but unwilling to submit to the authority of

²⁰⁷Norman, 171.

the broader denomination. At one point, Glendinning met with Francis Asbury, and Asbury let him know that “unless I took a particular station, their houses should be shut against me.” Asbury also, apparently, wanted “to lay me under some restrictions in speaking on my past exercises.” Glendinning refused to do either saying that the Lord had not made the way clear for him to do so. Glendinning then reacted with some surprise and indignation when the doors of the Methodists were closed to him.²⁰⁸ Eventually, Glendinning acquired considerable property and built his own church in Raleigh but continued to occupy a rather ambiguous place in the history of Methodism in North Carolina. He continued to invite Methodist speakers to his church, but eventually joined others in forming a Methodist denomination that was a rival to that led by Francis Asbury.²⁰⁹ Determining what the Methodists believed can be a rather tricky business. Indeed, some Methodists even referred to themselves as Methodists but may have been considered in rebellion against the Methodist church by other Methodists.

Anglicans, Quakers, and members of the relatively new sects having only arrived in North Carolina within the past generation could all agree that post-Revolutionary North Carolina was not a particularly religious state. Anglicans worried that the decline of Anglican worship indicated a similar decline in community cohesiveness. Quakers worried that the worldliness that surrounded them was drawing away the minds of more and more of their young people. Itinerants representing the Baptists and the Methodists

²⁰⁸William Glendinning, *The Life of William Glendinning, Preacher of the Gospel*, (Philadelphia: 1795), 50.

²⁰⁹Grissom, 66.

were relatively diverse in their opinions. Some sounded more like Anglicans in their desire for more refinement, and others sounded more like Quakers in their concern for excessive worldliness. Given their relatively recent arrival and the unsettled organizations to which many belonged, however, much diversity existed within these groups. The pro-slavery Jeremiah Norman and the anti-slavery Francis Asbury could agree, however, that North Carolina seemed to abound in irreligion.

As the next chapter will indicate, the religious environment only seemed to get worse for Quakers, but others learned to adapt to the conditions they found in North Carolina. Many Quakers chose to leave the state for the free territories and states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois rather than run the risk of their children falling into the ways of the world. Even as more North Carolinians attended church in the nineteenth century, they also increased the boundaries between their private households and their religious fellowships.

Chapter 4 Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: North Carolina's Antebellum Religious Culture

In the memoir of a Quaker recalling his life in North Carolina and Indiana, Levi Coffin asserted, "slavery and Quakerism could not prosper together." Levi Coffin's cousin--Addison Coffin--similarly argued that the departure of so many Quakers from North Carolina in the nineteenth century showed that Quakers were "voting against slavery with their feet."²¹⁰ It's not, however, immediately clear why this was the case. Quakers were opposed to slaveowning, but religious people have often lived side-by-side with those who remained unconverted. Levi Coffin and many in his family took an active role in helping slaves escape their masters, and thus incurred the ire of their slaveholding neighbors. Many other Quakers, however, did not try to free the slaves belonging to non-Quakers. Whereas Coffin and many in his family had to flee for their lives, many other Quakers who left North Carolina for Indiana and Ohio indicated that North Carolina was simply not a great place to raise a family. To preserve the humility of their children, many Quakers decided to strike out for a new frontier rather than live in an environment rife with worldly temptations. Thus, for Quakers the issue of worldliness in North Carolina remained an important factor in their decision to leave the state for other states where slavery had not been established.

²¹⁰Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad*, ed. Ben Richmond, (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1991), 47. and Addison Coffin was quoted in Hilty, 98. Hiram Hilty also attributed the departure of Quakers from North Carolina to slavery. Hilty argues that Quakers "respected the function of government and hoped in vain to be able to live under the law in good conscience. Unable to change the laws, they lived uneasily in a slaveholding society. Many emigrated to escape the tension, and other left the Society, but a remarkable core held fast to principle and remained." Hilty, 73.

For individual Quakers like the Levi and Addison Coffin, a hegemonic culture was growing in North Carolina, and this system of thought and action left most Quakers feeling unwelcome in North Carolina. In particular, this chapter will note the importance of privacy in shaping the religious culture that was coming to dominate North Carolina. In the colonial era, Quakers had actively inspected the households of their members in order to ensure that they were following God's laws. Efforts by Anglicans in the colonial era to inspect and correct their members' behavior paled by comparison, but many Anglicans asserted that the Anglican establishment needed to assert more authority over some of its most powerful parishioners. After the Revolutionary War, Quakers and other religious leaders found North Carolinians unwilling to accept discipline, and this chapter will show that the religious groups that grew in the nineteenth century learned to accept the limits placed upon religious correction by laypeople. Some Episcopalian ministers continued to support a hierarchal vision for society, but respected the privacy of fathers. There were notable exceptions to this rule of privacy in the antebellum Episcopal Church, but their tenures were kept short by laypeople within the diocese. These offenders of North Carolina's unwritten code of privacy--like the Quakers--found themselves unwelcome in North Carolina. Whereas eighteenth-century Quakers in North Carolina had been active inspectors of their neighbors' households, nineteenth-century Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians were decreasingly willing to interfere with the most intimate matters of their congregants' households.

Thus, this chapter reveals a remarkable transformation in North Carolina's religious culture between the colonial and antebellum periods. Colonial North Carolina had been home to remarkable array of religious groups. In chapters 1 and 2, this

dissertation indicated that the rituals of the Anglicans were far from hegemonic in North Carolina. Indeed, colonial Quakers developed communities different from their Anglican neighbors and were arguably more successful than colonial Anglicans in spreading their culture across North Carolina. There was room for great diversity in colonial North Carolina, but in the antebellum rules about privacy dominated the religious landscape. These rules often went unspoken as long as they remained respected, but when a religious group or individual crossed those boundaries those who spoke out against these violators revealed the importance of those boundaries. In the process, they also articulated the importance of such boundaries. In antebellum North Carolina, privacy provided men with a space for mastery.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Quakers were well known in North Carolina as a religious sect opposed to slavery, and it was not uncommon for slaves to seek the aid of Quakers. Levi Coffin remembered one slave in particular who traveled great distances to find Quakers in the piedmont. This slave, Jack, "had heard of a settlement of Quakers at New Garden, near Greensboro...who were opposed to slavery and friendly to colored people."²¹¹ Jack was seeking this aid because he believed that his master had posthumously liberated him, but Jack also believed that his former master's descendants intended to cheat him out of his freedom. Though from eastern North Carolina, Jack was well informed enough about the Quakers living several hundred miles away to know that they could provide him with the legal aid that he needed to protect his freedom.

²¹¹Levi Coffin, 13.

Of course, Quakers' white neighbors also knew that Quakers were opposed to slavery and some suspected Quakers of helping runaway slaves. Those suspicions were not always unfounded. Levi Coffin recounts in his memoir that he helped several slaves flee to the North. When Jack fled to the piedmont, the Coffins helped hide him until he could prove his case in court. While Jack was in hiding, another slaveowner suspected that the Quakers in the region were hiding a slave of his, Sam, who had run away. Eventually, this slaveowner discovered that several in Coffin's family had been aiding Sam in his escape, and these family members were forced to flee for their lives. Coffin's cousin Jesse, for example, was suspected of aiding Sam in his escape and was forced to flee immediately because the crime of "negro stealing...was punishable by death according to the laws of" North Carolina. Addison Coffin--Levi Coffin's cousin--also remembered that his brother's activities got him into trouble with the law. Addison Coffin's brother entered "the Underground Railroad service early in life and was one of the chief managers in North Carolina, from 1836 to 1852, when he had to flee for his life, being betrayed by one whom he least suspected, in aiding fugitive slaves to escape."²¹²

The Coffins were both Quakers and abolitionists, but the abolitionism of the Coffins was probably dissimilar from that of most other Quakers. Levi Coffin eventually moved to Indiana with his family, and there he continued to be an active abolitionist. While in Indiana, he joined an interdenominational abolitionist society, and this got Levi Coffin disowned from his monthly meeting. He was disowned not because of his anti-slavery views but because of his entangling connections with non-Quakers. Coffin,

²¹²Addison Coffin, *Life and Travels of Addison Coffin Written by Himself*, (Cleveland: 1897), 14.

however, interpreted his expulsion as an indication of the lukewarmness of most Quakers concerning slavery. He and other like-minded Quakers therefore started the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends.²¹³ Though an active Quaker while in North Carolina, his subsequent disownment and secession from the Indiana Yearly meeting indicate that his views concerning slavery may not have been representative of most Quakers in North Carolina. If they had, Levi Coffin would probably not have been disowned for his abolitionist activities.

The North Carolina Yearly Meeting noted with frustration how their stance on slaveowning made them a suspected people in North Carolina, and they emphasized they didn't want to abolish slavery among their non-Quaker neighbors. In one petition to the general assembly of North Carolina, the Yearly Meeting complained that the intentions and practices of the Quakers had been misrepresented. According to the Yearly Meeting, many people in Pasquotank County falsely claimed that "by Emancipating our Negroes [we] have rendered that species of Property of small value [and] the lives of the citizens unsafe." The Yearly Meeting reiterated that it was false to believe that Quakers were actively trying to liberate others' slaves. They would not participate in that peculiar institution. Many claimed that "the designs of the Negroes have been frequently...Encouraged" by the Quakers, but the Yearly Meeting emphasized that

²¹³For a full account of the beginning of the Anti-Slavery Friends and the complaints of their founding members concerning "orthodox" Friends in Indiana, see the founding documents of the society for 1843. Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, Friends Historical Library, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Quakers did not try to liberate others' slaves.²¹⁴ Unlike many in the Coffin family, the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina did not encourage the abolition of slavery everywhere. They only wanted to save their own members from the sin of slaveholding.

Even if they weren't trying to liberate their neighbors' slaves, Coffin's account indicates some of the reasons why Quakers who were not active in the Underground Railroad may have felt pressured to leave North Carolina. In his memoir, Levi Coffin recounted that the slaveowner who was looking for his runaway slave--Sam--eventually believed that he had discovered Sam's plan to flee North Carolina with a family of Quakers emigrating to Indiana. This slaveowner wanted to storm the camp without warning so Sam could not escape, but Coffin managed to convince this slaveowner that it would be best if he were allowed to enter the camp first as the "fright might prove an injury to the young lady, my cousin, who is with her father."²¹⁵ The family was not helping a runaway slave, but the fact that they were Quakers placed them under suspicion. Despite Coffin's attempts to make the encounter as peaceful as possible, the family was still greatly frightened by this gun wielding slaveowner. We have no record of what they thought in that moment--other than Coffin's recollections about their fright--but if we did we would probably see that they felt confirmed in the decision they had made to leave North Carolina. Given the complaints of the Yearly Meeting and the Coffin family, it would seem that Quakers were a suspect people in North Carolina whether they sought to liberate their neighbors' slaves or not.

²¹⁴"Letter to the General Assembly Meeting in Fayetteville," 7th of the 12th Month 1793, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Standing Committee, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 95.

²¹⁵Levi Coffin, 27.

The Yearly Meeting also complained about the ways that neighboring slaveholders asked Quakers to violate their various testimonies. The Yearly Meeting of North Carolina also complained to the legislature about the ways that Quakers were expected to violate their peace testimony because of slavery. The existence of slavery within their communities had a tendency to place pressures upon Quakers to violate their peace testimonies even if they did not own slaves themselves. In 1802, for example, the Standing Committee of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting petitioned the state legislature asking them to help relieve Quakers from serving in slave patrols. Indeed, the committee indicated that Quakers had "hitherto been exempt from" military service, but were now expected to bear arms in several counties in North Carolina.²¹⁶ Believing themselves bound by their faith not to participate in military matters, Quakers resented having to help their slaveholding neighbors use violence to retrieve their escaped slaves.

Thus, slavery seemed to create an environment that Quakers found unwholesome and unsafe even if they did not take an active role in trying to liberate their non-Quaker neighbors' slaves. Addison Coffin--like his cousin Levi Coffin--took an active role in the emancipation of slaves around North Carolina, but he also remembered that his behaviors as a Quaker made him feel awkward among his non-Quaker neighbors. In his memoir, Addison Coffin remembered that "my peculiarities sometimes made me unpopular with my lady associates and school mates; this was wounding to inner sensitiveness and caused me to shed many bitter tears, but above all and through all there was a conviction and o'ermastering impulse in my heart that always said, 'Go forward, fear not, I am with

²¹⁶North Carolina Yearly Meeting Standing Committee, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, 145.

thee."²¹⁷ The internal conflicts for a young man like Addison Coffin must have been very great. Raised by Quaker parents, the leanings of his heart told him to be strong in his convictions. Yet his peers put pressure on him to conform to the world around him. Addison Coffin is a bit vague about what exactly he means by "peculiarities" but it is clear that by following Quaker practices Addison Coffin felt as though he was isolating himself. The sense of isolation was an emotion shared by other Quakers in North Carolina as well.

Other Quakers as well reflected that the Quakers' anti-slavery stance reflected their general commitment to being in but not of the world. In the eighteenth century, many Quaker came to the conclusion that slavery was about worldliness. As John Woolman understood it, slavery was about trying to acquire more wealth than one needed. Nineteenth-century Friends continued the same line of reasoning. For them as for Quakers from the eighteenth century, slavery was a system that tended to encourage pride and worldliness. Their failure to support slavery made them feel as though they were living in a foreign land.

For many, the journey to the Old Northwest appeared daunting, but many were becoming convinced that the journey would be worth the risks involved. In the nineteenth century, part of the White family moved to Indiana and part of the family remained in Perquimans and Pasquotank counties in eastern North Carolina. They wrote each other extensively on a number of different topics including immigration to Indiana. For several of the White family members, the prospect of moving so far away to such an unfamiliar territory was a bit daunting and intimidating. Miles White wrote to family who

²¹⁷Addison Coffin, 8.

moved to Indiana indicating his fears about that new place. Several other acquaintances had given unfavorable accounts of Indiana "or rather their not being pleased with it" and this had "rather abated the desire of some to remove." Despite such accounts, however, Miles White remained convinced that moving to Indiana was the best option for himself and his family. Business interests in Indiana were on his mind, but he also hoped to move to a place "where there is good society."²¹⁸

One Quaker who did not sign her name wrote to Aaron White--her cousin living in Indiana--to tell him about how society was changing around Woodville, North Carolina. She told Aaron White she would "rather move to that country [Indiana] and have you for neighbors" even though they would have "to part with several advantages and conveniences" all for the "sake of good society." As things stood in North Carolina, she felt uneasy about bringing up "our children, in this place." Even though they had "neighbours a plenty," the Quakers were all leaving. One slaveowner had just bought nearby property. Her husband's sister had just married a man who owned 15 or 20 slaves. As things were developing, she felt increasingly like they "are like to be surrounded with slave holders. I wish William [her husband] viewed such things in the same light that I do, if he did I think we should not stay here."²¹⁹ If she had any hope of raising her children to follow the godly practices of her ancestors, this woman felt that she had little choice but to leave North Carolina where her children would be lured away from the

²¹⁸"Miles White Hertford Perquimans County to Zachariah Fletcher or Aaron White in Wayne County Indiana," 10th of the 10th mo. 1829, Box 1, White Family Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

²¹⁹"Anonymous Woodville, North Carolina to Aaron White Richmond Indiana," 1st mo 31st day 1831, Box 1, White Family Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

straight and narrow path. As things stood, it seemed as though her children would be consumed by worldly temptations.

Other Quaker women similarly worried about the future of their children in such a place as North Carolina. Mary Wilson echoed those concerns about the children and the neighborliness of the slaveowners who were increasingly dominating her community. She regretted that no Quakers would be nearby in case they got sick. If they did, they had "company a plenty every day," but instead of good Quakers who would help to take care of their fellow Quakers, "some of our fine relations or neighbours with 2 or 3 children, and servants" would come and "take more waiting on than their visit does good." She then went on to wonder "how shall we ever bring them [her children] up to be quakers in this land, when, the most of their relations and associates are slave holders or in that line, I have to shed many a tear on account of the little ones growing up around me."²²⁰ Mary Perkins hoped to move to "a better country where I could have A better prospect of raising my only and beloved child."²²¹

Caleb White was similarly concerned about raising children in North Carolina, and thought the financial repercussions of moving so far to such an unfamiliar place were worth it if there were some hope of raising his children to be good Quakers. As he framed it, he "had rather lay up treasures where moth & rust do not corrupt" than be concerned about his worldly wealth. Indeed, God had always provided for his needs even if it had never been in abundance, and moving would hopefully help the children to

²²⁰"Mary Wilson to Margaret White," 10th mo. 1st day, 1832, Box 1, White Family Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

²²¹"Mary Perkins of Camden, NC to Aaron White," 19th of 1st mo, 1836, Box 2, White Family Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

remain good Quakers. He recognized that the "enemy is there as well as here," but he hoped that "there is more examples & guards if not less temptations" in Indiana. As far as the status of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting was concerned, Caleb White lamented that "the future prospect of our society in this land ought to arouse every sensitive mind that has a young & growing family."²²² Caleb White thus echoed a concern common within his family. If Quakers were to have any hope of protecting their children from the temptations of the world, then it was increasingly clear that they could not be raised in North Carolina.

Caleb White indicated that he would put heavenly treasures first, and many Quakers believed that the problem with slaveholders was precisely that they put worldly treasures first and heavenly treasures second. William Jones wrote to relations in Indiana about the recent sale of a neighbor's slaves after his death. Jones was particularly shocked at how they treated slaves who had long worked for the family. The family of the deceased owner sold them for only a few dollars, and White interpreted this behavior as evidence of their selfish pursuit of indulgence. They even sold "their old nurse who acted in that capacity" for several generations for only "\$10.00 shame, shame, is my thoughts upon the avaricious disposition."²²³

²²²"Caleb White of Woodville, NC to Caleb Morris," 17th of 12th month 1834, Box 1, White Family Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. Such sentiments are also echoed in Seth Hinshaw's study of Quakerism in North Carolina. "As the years passed, the threat of secession and civil war began to grow. Friends knew that in the event of war they would face military conscription, hardly an inviting prospect. Perhaps more importantly, Friends saw the slave society as corrupt and corrupting, and they feared its corrosive influence on their way of life, and especially upon their children." Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience*, 138-9.

²²³"William Jones to Aaron White," 16th of the 1st mo 1836, Box 1, White Family Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

None of the above letters from the White family communicate a desire to liberate neighbors' slaves, but they all shared a common concern about raising children in such a worldly place. Raising godly children had been a concern of Quakers from the eighteenth century. Up and down the Atlantic coast, Quakers had treated their children perhaps better than their Anglican or Puritan neighbors. Their focus, however, had not been on the child's happiness but rather the child's salvation. The correspondence of the White family suggests that little had changed in the Quakers' perspective on the world. Eighteenth-century Quakers had tried to create utopias dedicated to the Lord. Quakers in the late eighteenth century looked on with despair as more and more of their children fell into worldliness. Nineteenth-century Quakers still hoped to dedicate their children to the Lord, but became increasingly convinced that it would be impossible to do so in North Carolina. In the minds of many Quakers, slavery was but the most glaring example of the worldliness of their non-Quaker neighbors. Indeed, Caleb White echoed the concerns of Quakers in the eighteenth century. Slavery encouraged vanity and excess in slaveowners, and if Quakers were not careful their children could become corrupted by the vanity that thrived around them.

The records of North Carolina's monthly meetings indicate the extent to which Quakers migrated northward in the nineteenth century. Certificates of removal allowed the recipient to quickly join another Quaker monthly meeting in another state. These certificates of removal indicated that they had been Quakers of good standing in North Carolina, and thus the holder of this certificate should be accepted as full members in Indiana or Ohio without waiting to see if their lives were upright enough for them to be accepted as full members. Seeking a certificate of removal also enabled the monthly

meeting to inspect the candidates' reasons for removing. Monthly Meetings wanted to ensure that they were moving because of divine calling rather than commercial interests.

Many nominal or lukewarm Quakers likely left the state without first seeking a certificate, but the applications for certificates of removal provide an opportunity for historians to get a sense of the scope of removal. Since Quakers could apply for certificates as either individuals or families even using the certificates for removal requires some estimation on the part of historians. Historian C.V. Smith estimated from these records that about 10,000 Quakers applied for certificates of removal between 1800 and 1860, and almost 9,000 of those individuals applied for certificates of removal before 1840. By 1860, there were only about 2,000 Quakers left in the state of North Carolina.²²⁴ For most Quakers, therefore, it would seem that the temptations of the world in North Carolina were simply too strong. The culture was moving in ways that made it impossible for Quakers to remain friendly neighbors with slaveholders. As Addison Coffin indicated, most Quakers appeared to have voted with their feet by moving to free states and territories.

²²⁴Cortland Victor Smith, "Church Organization as an Agency of Social Control: Church Discipline in North Carolina, 1800-1860," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1967), 301. Using the same removal certificate records, Stephen B. Weeks provides two tables showing removals from several monthly meetings associated with Virginia and North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Weeks does not provide any estimates of total emigration from North Carolina, but the scope of the removals is the same as that recorded by C.V. Smith in 1966. Weeks, 269-270. Seth Hinshaw's study of Carolina Quakers puts the number of Quakers who migrated to the Old Northwest at roughly the same number. "Just how many Quakers were living in North Carolina before the great westward migrations took their toll? No one knows precisely. Addison Coffin made the observation that in the 1800s there were more Quakers in North Carolina than in any other state, but this was merely an estimate on his part. If fifteen thousand should be a realistic guess, it would take a full century and a half to reach that number again." Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience*, 148.

Though the Episcopal Church is often framed as the biggest loser in the Revolutionary Era, the Episcopal Church in nineteenth-century North Carolina fared relatively well compared to the decline of Quakerism in the nineteenth century. In 1819, the annual convention reported that until very recently the Episcopal Church in North Carolina had been "almost extinct." Indeed, in 1819 only four congregations provided reports to the annual convention, and seven congregations provided money to the missionary fund. The four congregations that provided information concerning their congregations indicated that the diocese of North Carolina contained 250 communicants.²²⁵ By 1850 the missionaries and ministers of the diocese of North Carolina reported a total of 2033 communicants from a total of 43 different congregations and missionary stations.²²⁶ Indeed, missionaries and ministers reported from stations that had been considered all but lost to the Presbyterians when William Tryon had been governor in the late colonial period. The Episcopal Church still lagged far behind both the Baptists and Methodists in absolute numbers of converts, but the diocese still made impressive gains in the nineteenth century.²²⁷

Like their colonial forbearers, however, Episcopalians continued to occupy a complicated place in North Carolina's religious community. Many had adapted to the conditions that they found in post-Revolutionary North Carolina, and they allowed their

²²⁵ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*, (North Carolina: 1819), 9, 6-7.

²²⁶ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*, (North Carolina: 1850), 17-38.

²²⁷ See footnote 22 in the introduction. Episcopalians failed to keep pace with the growth of the Methodists and Baptists, but the survival and growth of the Episcopalians in the nineteenth century is still a story of success given the near extinction of the sect at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

churches to become decorated with the same kinds of refined furnishings that decorated the houses of its wealthiest members. After all, what but the most refined draperies would have sufficed for the greatest of all masters? As in the colonial period, however, there were other Episcopalians who believed that there were masters on earth even as there was a master in heaven, but they suspected that the men who claimed mastery here on earth left something to be desired. When Episcopalian ministers spoke out against what they perceived as rebellion against divine law, they often encountered the wrath of Episcopal laymen just as their colonial forbearers had. In the nineteenth century, however, these ministers and bishops had little choice but to recant and adopt the perspectives of the laymen or leave their denomination.

The hierarchal perspective of the Episcopal Church appears to have done little to hurt the denomination's growth; some may have even found the distinct doctrines of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina as a reason to choose this sect over others. The first installed bishop over the Diocese of North Carolina--John Stark Ravenscroft--inspired the ridicule and ire of other denominations by refusing to participate in efforts to distribute Bibles across North Carolina, but he remained a fondly remembered bishop by most in the diocese. Ravenscroft did not want the Episcopal Church to participate in this ecumenical effort for two reasons. First, he did not like the idea of working with denominations whose ministers did not accept the authority of Episcopal bishops. According to Ravenscroft, Episcopal Bishops gained their authority through apostolic succession. Second, he did not like the idea of letting individual seekers read the Bible without proper instruction from trained ministers. He did not like "the principles recognized and acted upon, by this and other Bible Societies, 'that the Scriptures are

exclusively sufficient for their own interpretation." Relying upon individual interpretation could be a dangerous principle. Was it possible, Ravenscroft asked rhetorically, "that the discordant and opposite views of Christian faith and practice which deform the gospel, have all alike the witness of the SPIRIT of GOD that they are the truths of God." Could God have founded saving religion on "so sandy a foundation?"²²⁸ Ravenscroft thought that it could not. Seekers needed the uniformity and guidance that only trained ministers could provide them.

Such hierarchal visions of religion appear to have not deterred the Episcopal faithful. The Diocese of North Carolina, after all, experienced significant growth during Ravenscroft's tenure. The correspondence of lay Episcopalians indicate that they sought the refinement of Episcopal worship, and these folks indicate that Episcopalians may have carved out a niche for themselves by appealing to those who sought more decorum within worship services and refinement in their buildings. A critic of Episcopalianism, for example, noted with disgust the attachment to refinement and display that laymen within the Episcopal Church exhibited at the annual convention of 1834. He wrote that there "was about 25 Carriages constantly parading the Streets." Those attending the conference would not go "200 Yards, but must have a Carriage." While those attending the convention listened to sermons and attended meetings "the Carriages were occupied in carrying Whites & Blacks a pleasuring round Town until sermon was over when they than waited at Church for the Nobility." This critic indicated that many attending the conference "paid attention to divine service, & and a good many did not, but

²²⁸John Stark Ravenscroft, *The Works of the Right Reverend John Stark Ravenscroft: Containing his Sermons, Charges, and Controversial Tracts; to which is Prefixed, a Memoir of his Life*, vol. 1, (New York: 1830), 170, 175.

appeared as if they came to a frolik of eating & drinking."²²⁹ This critic did not appreciate the refined airs of the Episcopal Church, but those attending the annual convention apparently thought refined display altogether appropriate for the annual convention.

Much like James Iredell in the colonial period, Ann Blount Pettigrew sought both status and religion at her Episcopal church. She was careful to have her children baptized when they were born, but she also liked to see churches decorated according to her rather high aesthetic standards. In 1829, she regretted missing the Christmas service at Christ Church in New Bern because of the illness of a friend. She regretted it because it was "the day for administering the sacrament." Of course, she also regretted it because "the dressing [of Christ Church] was more splendid that you can immagine." The church had "wreathes of evergreens festooned in the most beautiful manner, gilt letters on crimson appropriate to the occasion--also a dove made of wax."²³⁰ If the sacrament of communion had deep meaning for Ann Pettigrew, so too did the appearance of the church.

Indeed, women Episcopalians in North Carolina spent a considerable amount of time and effort on the appearances of their churches. In 1806, for example, several women in Edenton, North Carolina met together in order to discuss repairing, restoring, and improving St. Paul's Episcopal Church. They decided that their church did not meet

²²⁹"Thomas Trotter to Ebenezer Pettigrew," 17 May 1834, *The Pettigrew Papers*, ed. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, vol. 2, (Raleigh, NC: State Department of Archives and History, 1971), 234.

²³⁰"Ann Blount Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew," 1829, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 2, 128-9.

the standards of fashion for their day. They therefore agreed to provide the treasurer with funds for “the purpose of building a Spire to the Church in the Town of Edenton and purchasing a Clock for the same.”²³¹ In 1836, a philanthropic organization composed of St. Paul’s female congregants—the Mite Society—offered to contribute the money needed to make “such alterations in the Pews as may conduce to the comfort & convenience of the congregation.” They wanted to install more draperies and more cushions.²³² Another woman donated “beautiful Lamps” to illuminate and beautify St. Paul’s interior and to serve as a memorial to “her deceased mother.”²³³

A similar society of women formed in St James church in Wilmington. In 1820 the minister of the church reported to the annual convention that the congregation had formed several societies to raise money for charities and to encourage Bible study. By 1821, however, all of the societies for which the minister had such high hopes had failed to come to fruition except the Sunday School and the "spirit of active and Christian Benevolence has given birth to a female Association, who spend one half day in each week in manufacturing various articles, the nett proceeds of which are devoted to missionary and other charitable uses."²³⁴ In addition to providing funds to support

²³¹"St. Paul’s Restoration 1806-1809," St. Paul's Collection, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

²³²"Petition of 1835," St. Paul's Church, Josiah Collins Chapel Vestry Minutes, 1811-1949, Vol. II, 3, 4 Somerset Register, Slave, 1836-1865, North Carolina State Archives.

²³³May 9, 1832, St. Paul's Church, Josiah Collins Chapel Vestry Minutes, 1811-1949, Vol. II, 3, 4 Somerset Register, Slave, 1836-1865, North Carolina State Archives.

²³⁴*Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*, (North Carolina: 1822), 9.

missions and the poor overseas, the women of St. James also raised money for the beautification of their own church. In 1846, the minister of St. James reported, "the Ladies of the Parish have, by their own praiseworthy exertions, raised \$500 for enclosing the Church edifice with an iron railing."²³⁵

Such emphasis upon refined furnishings and carriage rides appear rather superficial--this was what the critic of the 1834 convention asserted--but the emphasis upon display indicated that the Episcopal Church's values remained in many ways much as they had been in the colonial period. By draping churchyards in the same refined materials that could have been found in the homes of North Carolina's wealthiest citizens, the Episcopal Church visually depicted God as if He were the greatest of the masters in North Carolina. Such visual displays reflected the ideas of George Micklejohn in his defense of Governor William Tryon's actions during the Regulator crisis. There was a Father in heaven, and that Father had entrusted His authority in earthly fathers. Even as we are called upon to obey our Father in heaven, so too are we expected to obey our earthly fathers as well. In many of North Carolina's antebellum Episcopal churches the house of the Lord looked much like the homes of North Carolina's wealthiest citizens.

As in the case of the female association of St. James, Episcopal women in the nineteenth century met together in order to improve their churches and the lives of others, but they were not meeting together with the explicit purpose of discussing the most intimate matters of their lives. When colonial Quaker women met together in their monthly meetings, they often discussed very intimate matters. These venues sometimes provided women with sympathetic ears if they suffered spousal abuse or an unhappy

²³⁵ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*, (North Carolina: 1846), 19.

marriage. Perhaps Episcopal women met together and discussed intimate matters as well, but the records of these meetings appear more superficial. They met together for the purpose of beautifying their churches. They met together to provide relief for children overseas, but they did not meet together with the explicit purpose of inspecting and discussing their own lives or the lives of their husbands.

The lives of some of North Carolina's most respected Episcopal ministers--like Adam Empie--indicate the importance of household privacy within Episcopal churches. Adam Empie found an agreeable audience in St. James Church, and their desire to keep him as their pastor is evident from the course of Empie's life and career. Adam Empie had been born in New York, but he integrated himself into the life and community of Wilmington, North Carolina. Adam Empie moved to Wilmington in 1811 in order to become rector of St. James. Empie worked diligently to restore St. James Church, and his efforts brought moderate success. In 1814, Empie put down roots in Wilmington. He married Ann Eliza Wright and became the owner of a slave through his marriage. Though the records are unclear, it seems that Empie was uncomfortable about owning slaves. He apparently treated his slaves well, and he eventually was able to grant his slaves their freedom.²³⁶ Though uncomfortable with slavery, in other ways Empie fit into Wilmington society. Indeed, he appears to have been well loved by his congregation. When Empie left to take a position as chaplain at West Point in 1814, St. James' trustees

²³⁶Susan Taylor Block, *Temple of Our Fathers: St. James Church (1729-2004)*, (Wilmington, NC: Artspeaks, 2004), 40.

had difficulty finding an adequate replacement. Empie returned in 1817 at the invitation of St. James vestrymen.²³⁷

When Bishop John Stark Ravenscroft visited St. James Church in 1826, he discovered how well liked Adam Empie was by his congregation. Since the Reverend Empie had not arrived, Ravenscroft spent his time with some of the leading gentlemen of the congregation instead. From his conversations with these congregants, Ravenscroft "ascertained the high regard they entertain for their pastor." Ravenscroft's conclusion was that Empie had done much to improve the place of Episcopalianism in Wilmington and had done much to convince Wilmingtonians "in favour of the distinctive principles of the church, and the vital doctrines of the Gospel."²³⁸

What exactly were the principles that the Reverend Empie was detailing before his congregation? Empie's sermons reveal a man who could expound upon the need for repentance. He also expounded upon the need of individuals to more closely follow the straight and narrow path that led to God. In one of his sermons, Empie lamented that men naturally work for worldly wealth but ignore their eternal souls. He rhetorically asked his congregation if they did not see that "in idolizing this world, and forgetting the next, you are taking a course...bad and profane?" Alas, men often placed their concerns in the things of this world. Their thoughts turned to their "desire of promotion, the love of applause, and many other such motives" but eternal matters "seem to be too remote to

²³⁷Ibid., 46-7.

²³⁸*Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*, (North Carolina:1826), 12.

influence our conduct." If men really had eternal matters first in their minds, they would "respect and reverence 'the rod' of chastisement, and Him who hath appointed it."²³⁹

These may seem like rather harsh words for a people who apparently saw little conflict between beautifying their churches and looking after their eternal souls, but upon closer inspection Empie's sermons reveal a man who was willing to avoid asking too many uncomfortable questions. Empie's sermon indicates that he would like to see his congregation more thoroughly inspect themselves. He may have spoken often about the benefits of "the rod of chastisement," but other sermons reveal a man who could speak about repentance but accept the lives of his congregants as they already were.

Unsurprisingly, Empie understood husbands as the heads of their households and therefore thought them responsible for the spiritual development of their families. By the "divine institution of marriage" and the "usual order of providence" it was obvious that the husband was the head of the household. As the head of his household, he "acts as ruler, lawgiver, and judge; and as long as they are directly under his care, he is responsible for the misconduct of his children, his household, and his servants."²⁴⁰ Even as God acts as the lawgiver and judge in heaven, so too fathers here on earth act as law givers over their own dependents, and those dependents not only included his own biological children but a wife and any slaves. This was not altogether different from missionaries in the colonial period who similarly described a world in which earthly fathers should be respected even as people loved and obeyed their heavenly Father. In his emphasis that earthly fathers ought to be respected even as they respected their

²³⁹Adam Empie, *Sermons on Various Subjects: Written and Preached at Different Places and Times During his Public Ministry of Forty-Four Years*, (New York: 1856), 36, 129, 81.

²⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 373.

heavenly Father, Empie was not all that different from colonial ministers that had come before him.

Unlike previous generations of Episcopal ministers and missionaries who came before him, however, Empie also indicated to his congregation that he would not actually hold fathers accountable. Empie may have expounded upon the rod of punishment from the pulpit, but that rod did not have a physical dimension. As Empie told his listeners, everything that entered public worship "is of a general nature." It was not the place of public worship services to explore the particulars of any individual lives but rather to describe only things that were applicable to the congregation as a whole. Every congregant knew "the plague of his own heart." Everyone knew his or her "peculiar wants, mercies, and grievances; peculiar temptations, trials, difficulties, and duties--many of them of a secret nature, known only to God and himself." Rather than seek the assistance of the minister or their fellow Episcopalians in leading better lives, however, Empie advised that these matters were more appropriate for private worship. According to Empie, "[t]hese things cannot be introduced into public worship, nor even into social worship." Instead, these matters were more appropriate for the "secret exercises of the closet."²⁴¹

In other sermons as well, Empie described the confessions and inspections that were appropriate for private, personal devotion rather than public worship. In another sermon, Empie indicated that "devout meditation, self-examination...a review of the past," and "confessions of sins...are all necessary parts of our secret devotions." Doesn't each person know best the peculiarities of "his own easy besetting sins?" Since each of

²⁴¹Ibid., 377.

these is best known to each individual would it not be appropriate that "if these are ever unfolded to the eye of mercy, it must be in the privacy of our hearts and our closets."²⁴²

Rather than a religious order in which the community played a significant role in ensuring that the believer dutifully obeyed the will of God, Empie emphasized that sins were matters best left between individual sinners and their God.

Like Empie, other Episcopal clergymen described the physical world as composed of natural hierarchies just like we have a spiritual hierarchy in which God is our father, lawgiver, and judge. In his defense of American slavery, George Freeman--Episcopal minister for Christ Church in Raleigh--indicated that we all have "a master in heaven." There are also "masters here on earth, and by Divine permission, possess uncontrolled authority over your servants." According to Freeman, slaves' biological parents were "themselves, as we have seen, but grown children, needing to be guided at every step." Slaves therefore needed masters to fill the void and act like parents to them. After all, "if you, their masters and mistresses are not under obligation to do this who is?"²⁴³ The key difference between Empie and Freeman would be the word "obligation." Like many colonial Anglicans, Freeman accepted what he identified as "natural" hierarchies, but he also expected local elites to behave like their heavenly Father. Unlike Empie, Freeman actually expected his congregation to behave in godly ways during their day-to-day lives.

²⁴²Ibid., 441-442.

²⁴³George Freeman, *The Rights and Duties of Slaveholders: Two Discourses Delivered on Sunday, November 27, 1836, in Christ Church, Raleigh, North Carolina*, (Raleigh: 1836), 38-9, 32.

If God had granted power to slaveowners by divine ordinance, Freeman also indicated that slaveowners had duties they were expected to perform. As metaphorical parents, they had the duty to care for and guide their slaves in the way of salvation. If providence had made slaves the servants whose duty was "to serve us faithful all their lives" then providence had also given special responsibilities and duties to masters. Masters were "their guardians; the conservators of their lives and happiness; their guides and counselors; their instructors, benefactors and friends."²⁴⁴ Indeed, Freeman indicated that slaves were lucky to no longer be confined in barbarous Africa where masters could be arbitrary and abusive. American slaves were lucky to live in the United States where "they serve for the most part, humane and enlightened masters, are secured the enjoyment of the necessities and most of the comforts of life, and may become partakers of the blessings of the Gospel of Salvation!"²⁴⁵

Having defended slavery, Freeman would seem to be an unlikely person to inspire the ire of the leading men in his congregation. Not only did he defend slavery, but he also did so in a way that portrayed slaveowners as fathers even as God was a Father in heaven. He also described slaves as morally, culturally, and intellectual inferior to their white masters. Indeed, they were like children before the caring minds of their masters. Yet, Freeman expected masters to actually act like caring masters. He expected them to actually be morally superior, but he found his congregation in Raleigh wanting in moral behavior.

²⁴⁴Ibid., 19-20.

²⁴⁵Ibid., 19.

Like Empie, George Freeman regarded earthly fathers as natural masters over their households. Unlike Empie, however, Freeman expected to be able to inspect the lives of those fathers in order to ensure that they really were worthy of the power bestowed upon them. In 1840, George Freeman was asked to resign as minister of Christ Church in Raleigh because the vestry felt that he made too many claims on their behavior. Freeman recalled that when he first became minister over Christ Church, dancing at balls, attending a theater, and attending places of "public amusement" had been unheard of. By 1840, however, Freeman felt that his congregation was too given to these sins and he would not stand for it. The vestrymen responded by asking for his resignation. The vestrymen wrote that Freeman incorrectly interpreted the gospel message. The laws of the Jews were intolerable and as Christians they had been "delivered...from that body of ceremonial observance which the Jews found intolerable, and give us some freedom of thought and action in regard to matters of mere expediency."²⁴⁶ One minister's worldliness was a group of vestrymen's mere expediency. A cynical observer might claim that the vestrymen of Christ Church were hoping to lay claim to the power granted to God's earthly representatives without having to abandon their service to the devil. At least, that's how Freeman interpreted the request for his resignation.

After the Revolutionary War, Charles Pettigrew worried that unless the Episcopal Church were revived there would be nobody to hold laymen accountable, but Pettigrew had it backwards. According to Pettigrew, without a stronger Episcopal Church men

²⁴⁶*The Churchman*, Sept. 19, 1840, quoted in: Michael Malone, "Levi Silliman Ives: Priest, Bishop, Tractarian, and Roman Catholic Convert," (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1970), 73.

would be left free to do whatever was right in their own eyes. Ironically, The Episcopal Church could not grow in North Carolina until it learned to make its peace with its parishioners' misbehavior. When Episcopal clergymen tried to hold their parishioners accountable to godly standards, then Episcopal clergymen found themselves fired. When they accepted the household privacy demanded by their parishioners, they became beloved. Thus, the Episcopal Church in North Carolina grew as ministers learned to preach obedience from the pulpit but allow their parishioners to do whatever was right in their own eyes once they left the walls of their churches. In the colonial period, Anglican missionaries often served as apologists gentlemen's authority, but they also often had high expectations for local gentlemen. In the antebellum period, successful Episcopal ministers acted as apologists for the status quo, and they asked no uncomfortable questions.

The lives of ministers like George Freeman reveal the extent to which power within the Episcopal Church in North Carolina had changed from the colonial period. In the colonial era, missionaries had an independent base of financial support from Britain. Thus, if they ran afoul of their vestry's they were often protected by imperial officials who often had little respect for the men in North Carolina who claimed genteel status. By the antebellum period, however, Episcopal clergymen were far more dependent upon the laymen within their communities than they had been in the colonial era. Laymen looked for clergymen who would support their claims to authority over their households but would not actually hold expect parishioners to live according to the standards outlined in regular sermons. Some Episcopal clergymen would violate laymen's expectations concerning privacy, but when they did so they found their tenures short

lived. Their biographies are thus interesting not because they reveal the diversity of opinion that existed within the Episcopal Diocese but instead are interesting because they acted in ways that made laymen articulate the often unspoken assumptions they had about the relationship between religious worship and their households.

The career of Levi Silliman Ives--bishop of North Carolina from 1831 to 1852--nicely illustrates the expectations of parishioners concerning the importance of their privacy. Like Freeman, Ives was an unlikely person to upset slaveowners in North Carolina. In 1846, he visited a church in eastern North Carolina where slaves and free people worshipped together. Ives noted that the masters and slaves worshipped together in the same chapel in perfect harmony. Ives reflected that if abolitionists in England could "but once witness what it is my happiness to witness, though in a too imperfect state, his manly heart would prompt him to ask instant pardon of the American Church, for his having spoken so harshly upon a subject which he so imperfectly understood." Instead, those naysayers should focus their attention upon "the cruel oppressions of the factory system in his own country."²⁴⁷ Ives was so pleased with George Freeman's sermon in support of slavery that he helped Freeman publish it.

Despite his glowing defense of slavery and his condemnation of free labor, Ives tended to get himself into trouble when he tried bringing the ideas of the Oxford reforms to North Carolina. Ives's mentor had been John Henry Hobart, and Ives even married Hobart's daughter. Like Hobart, Ives emphasized the reintroduction of certain Catholic

²⁴⁷ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*, (North Carolina: 1846), 14.

practices that he thought could prove beneficial.²⁴⁸ Ives was ambitious in his plans for the Diocese of North Carolina. He hoped to increase the number of Episcopal Churches in North Carolina, especially in the far western portions of North Carolina where Episcopalianism was weakest. He also hoped to improve training for ministers in North Carolina with the hope of satisfying the ever present need for more Episcopal clergy in North Carolina. Like Freeman, he was also concerned about possible backsliding among the faithful in the Episcopal Church. Ives feared that too many Episcopalians relied too much upon a "mere act of the mind, called *faith*." He worried that such a description of faith was little more than an "ever ready shield for the condemned sinner." When people read the Bible they too often interpreted such statements of Christ like "all that a man hath, must be forsaken" to only have some "figurative application, or one that restricts the awful saying to an earlier age of the Church."²⁴⁹ Ives wanted faith within the Episcopal Church to not only have supernatural or other worldly meanings. He expected faith to take on physical importance as well.

For Ives, the best physical embodiment of faith was obedience to God's laws. For Ives, as it was for so many other religious people that came before him, true liberty meant casting off sin. To be consumed by sin was to be enslaved by sin. Only by accepting the laws of God could one truly call oneself free. God called the sinful "to cut [themselves] off from sinful indulgence." Too often, however, the seeker refused to convert because they were too stiff necked. They were unwilling "to come under the restraints imposed

²⁴⁸As Michael Malone indicated, even though Ives "never served under Hobart at Trinity Parish, Levi Silliman Ives was to become his most attached protege and pupil, and he continued that Hobartian High Church tradition as a priest and bishop." Malone, 10.

²⁴⁹Levi Silliman Ives, *The Obedience of Faith: Seven Sermons Delivered on his Visitations to the Churches in his Diocese, During 1848-9*, (New York: 1849), 77.

by His law." True liberty came in obedience to God and His laws, but in this worldly place too often "your passions and habits demand a liberty quite different from that with which He would make you free."²⁵⁰ Ives admitted that it might be very hard for individual sinners to find the strength to cast off old sinful habits and adopt new holy ones, but where were they to turn to for help?

Ives thought that that reviving the old practice of confession of sins might help sinners to cast off the sinful nature and achieve freedom in obedience to God's laws. He asserted that greater obedience to the Lord would manifest itself in congregants' more frequent observance of the sacraments. In general, he felt that North Carolina's Episcopalians were lukewarm and that they had become lukewarm by abandoning the practices of earlier generations. According to Ives, most were inclined "to have a strict regard to the moral duties and to the general custom of attending Church on Sunday, and going to the blessed Sacrament now and then." These folks, however, were "distrustful of the efficacy of stricter rules or more frequent public services; because they have not hitherto been regarded by him as important." Ives hoped to show North Carolinians that their lukewarm practices were not good enough. In that line of reasoning, reviving the sacrament of confession would prove important in improving the devotion of North Carolinians. North Carolinians might perhaps "speak against confession, penance, fasting, frequent communions, and the like." Ives was convinced, however, that once they discovered the redeeming power of reviving these practices that "a horrible dread

²⁵⁰Ives, *The Obedience of Faith*, 122.

would come over us, for our own peril in decrying them, and for the peril, on the like account of ten thousands now quietly resting in a fatal sense of security!"²⁵¹

In particular, Ives offered that the old sacrament of confession might offer comfort and salvation to souls seeking relief from sin. Stuck as they were within their own sins, sinners would probably need a guide to help them out of their degraded conditions. Relying solely upon self-examination, it would be hard for the sinner "to extricate his mind from the entanglements of long-cherished wrong." What that sinner really needed was "some one who has authority and power to prove the conscience,--to unmask self-deceit." Far from a "Roman" practice, Ives asserted that confession to priests within the Anglican Church had been a long established practice that the "great body of the best Anglican divines, as well as the Anglican Church, hath ever taught." The command to the sinner "to seek a knowledge and pardon of his sins from Christ, through the Priesthood of the Church--is enforced by the authority of Latimer, and Cosin, and Hooker, and Usher, and Sparrow, and Wilson...."²⁵²

Ives was thus concerned about the sinners and lukewarm congregants within the parishes that had already been established, but what about those poor sinners who did not have access to an Episcopal church? Ives was especially concerned about the far west in North Carolina. Those poor people who lived in the mountainous west had no Episcopal ministers to help guide them to salvation, and Ives called on the diocese to help support a mission station in the western region of North Carolina. In 1845, he reported that contributions to the missionary fund had not been what he hoped they would be, but still

²⁵¹Ibid., 148,150-1.

²⁵²Ibid., 83, 85.

the mission in the west grew. It had been encouraged "by a few zealous individuals," and therefore construction and settlement had begun "to establish a Missionary family and school in 'Valle Crucis,' near the head of the Wataga River, Ashe County." Ives hoped that Valle Crucis would not be merely a missionary station in the west but also a site for training future clergymen in the diocese. Indeed, the diocese had difficulty attracting new ministers, and more trained ministers were always needed. The mission station could "educate a limited number of young persons, selected from the mountain region, on condition that, for a certain period after their education, they shall act, under our direction, as teachers and catechists in the most needy mountain settlements." The mission station could also serve as a school for the "poor children at and in the immediate neighborhood of the establishment."²⁵³

William French--whom Ives had placed in charge of the mission at Valle Crucis--remembered that he was instructed to revive the practice. He remembered Ives telling him about a conversation he had with other Bishops, and they thought that he was "going too far" concerning confession. Ives advised them to "consider the miserable state of the Church, owing entirely--as he said--to the want of discipline which Auricular Confession supplies to Clergy and Laity."²⁵⁴ Indeed, the absence of discipline among the laity and the clergy was a common theme in his sermons, and auricular confession could hold the laity accountable. French remembered that Ives instructed him to receive confessions from clergymen and laymen at Valle Crucis. In 1848, Ives authorized French to receive

²⁵³*Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*, (North Carolina: 1845), 16.

²⁵⁴William Glenney French, *History of the Order of the Holy Cross at Valle Crucis, NC* (1911), 123.

confessions, and French remembered that he heard his first confession in that year as well. At the time, he considered confession to be "of primitive origin, necessary for all, and of universal application to the wants of man."²⁵⁵

Both Ives's emphasis upon confession and the missionary station in the west raised the eyebrows of some parishioners. At the beginning of the Annual Convention of 1849, Ives hoped to quiet "some minds disturbed by unfounded rumors." He assured his diocese that at Valle Crucis "no doctrine will be taught or practice allowed which is not in accordance with the principles and usages of our branch of the Holy Catholic Church, contained in the Book of Common Prayer." At the same convention, the lay members voiced their concerns about the practice of confession and the mission at Valle Crucis. The Committee on the State of the Church deplored "the existence among its members of great agitation and alarm, arising from the impression that doctrines have been preached not in accordance with the Liturgy and Articles of this Church."²⁵⁶ William French recalled in his memoir that the "people [were] very much excited about the Bishop and Valle Crucis, and I don't know but [they'd] tar and feather me."²⁵⁷

What was so offensive about the missionary station in the west? What was it about a missionary station that could so inspire North Carolinians with anger that those at the missionary station believed that they were going to be tarred and feathered? In the minds of some very vocal parishioners, the missionary station in the mountains of North

²⁵⁵Ibid., 110.

²⁵⁶*Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina* (North Carolina: 1849), 10, 36.

²⁵⁷French, 124.

Carolina threatened the authority that fathers were claiming over their households. Ives and those serving at the missionary station described themselves as belonging to a spiritual family, and this spiritual family required its own sets of loyalty. Perhaps even this spiritual family was of more importance in the minds of people like Ives than the biological families to which parishioners belonged. The practice of confession at the missionary station certainly positioned Ives as a fatherly figure who guided the lives of those at Valle Crucis. Indeed, the complaints of Ives' critics reveal that these men were nervous that Ives' policy of auricular confession would draw out the dependents within their households. They were particularly concerned what their wives and daughters might say in confession. From their perspective, it would be better to let these sins be forgotten and thus unmentioned.

In part, people suspected that the missionary station was becoming more like a monastic convent than a missionary station, and like a monastic convent the missionaries at Valle Crucis were like a spiritual family. William French described some of the practices of the station in his memoir. Like Ives, French had been inspired by the Oxford Tracts to return the Episcopal Church back to its historic roots, and he was therefore excited about the prospect of working closely with Ives at Valle Crucis. In an interview with Ives in New York, French agreed to take charge of the missionary station. After the interview, he knelt on the floor "with one knee bent" and he "received the blessing of our Father...as General of the Order." French reflected on the impression that the ceremony had made upon him. He felt that this ceremony had called upon him to treat Ives as a father over the community at Valle Crucis. French recalled that Ives was both his bishop and a man whom he "learned to revere." Indeed, French felt Ives "to be

more of a father, and the relation was a real and sincere one from that time on, so long as I continued to serve him.”²⁵⁸

Reports from Valle Crucis tended to trouble the minds of many within the diocese. Roger Badger--a vestryman of Christ Church in Raleigh--was concerned about the "monastic" order established at Valle Crucis. Indeed, French recounted that the deacons and missionaries there had taken oaths of loyalty, and the permanent members of the mission had taken oaths of celibacy. Badger included this society in which "persons bound to [Ives] by a vow of celibacy, poverty, and obedience," among his list of complaints against the bishop.²⁵⁹ For Badger, these oaths of loyalty were unnatural and were not to be part of Episcopal worship.

It was not, however, the hierarchal relationship established at Valle Crucis that offended Badger's sensibilities but rather the ways in which Ives' new policies threatened to invade the privacy of laymen's private households. In his condemnation, Badger remembered with fondness the tenure of John Stark Ravenscroft. In his own time, Ravenscroft had caused quite a stir by refusing to help the Bible society in its work. His arguments against supporting that society indicated his disdain for most people's capacity for rational thought. As Ravenscroft indicated, men and women could not be left on their own in Biblical interpretation but rather needed the guiding hand of their bishop or local pastor. Ravenscroft's insistence that local ministers and the bishop should serve as God's representatives on this planet was not a cause for concern for Badger. If Badger

²⁵⁸Ibid., 30.

²⁵⁹George Edmund Badger, *An Examination of the Doctrine Declared and the Powers Claimed by the Right Reverend Bishop Ives: In a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese*, (Philadelphia: 1849), 68.

disapproved of such ideas, they were at least forgivable enough that Badger could praise the deceased former bishop. The kind of obedience to pastors and bishops demanded by Ives, however, went beyond anything suggested by Ravenscroft.

Even more than the "brotherhood" established at Valle Crucis, many within the diocese were upset about Ives's promotion of confession. Indeed, most of Badger's work was spent refuting the doctrine of auricular confession. Badger wrote that it was not appropriate to recall past sins. According to Badger, the best way to deal with sins of the past was "to forget them, not remembering them one by one, opposing a manly common sense to the reenactment of secret faults." For the mental welfare of the penitent sinner, according to Badger, it was far better to consign former sins to "the dark oblivion to which the repentant and horror-stricken sinner had sought to consign them." Ives, however, hoped to make these sins live again. Ives insisted that these sins should "be laid before a priest--be examined with searching eye--be exactly numbered, and curiously weighed!"²⁶⁰ For Badger it was far better to let these sins remain forgotten.

Badger thought it best to allow sinners to keep their sins private, and other men expressed concerns about their wives' attendance at confession. Francis Hawks worried about the effect that confession would have upon the wives of Episcopal laymen. Hawks indicated that the corruptions of Catholic confession were well known. Within the Catholic Church, the "questions propounded to females, whether married or single, are such as no virtuous woman can hear without a blush or mingled shame and indignation." Hawks reviewed some of these inappropriate subjects for readers. In the Catholic Church, the prospective confessor was asked to reflect upon whether they had

²⁶⁰Ibid., 32-3.

"committed adultery, fornication or incest" whether they had attended "Lascivious balls or revellings. Dishonest looks. Unchaste songs. Kissing or unchaste discourses. Took carnal pleasure, by touching myself or others of either sex." These were topics inappropriate for women to discuss, and these topics of conversation could have more sinister implications if the women involved were not of the highest moral character. For these women, confession was "suggestive of impurity, and provocatives to sin."²⁶¹ According to Hawks, one could only imagine that such discussions might lead to sex between priests and confessing women.

David Outlaw agreed that the matters that could be discussed between a woman and a priest during confession were matters that were best kept within the family. While serving in Congress as a Whig, Outlaw frequently wrote back home to his wife in North Carolina. He was quite taken aback concerning the controversy over confession within the Episcopal Church. He agreed with Hawks that matters discussed during confession were issues best kept within the family rather than discussed within the broader, religious community. Outlaw felt that the topics discussed in Catholic confession were "filthy abominations unfit even for the bawdy house." Within this system, questions were "put to young girls and married women, which no husband would think of putting to his wife, in relation to matters, which are never spoken of to third persons but are confined to a man and his wife."²⁶²

²⁶¹Francis Hawks, *A Letter to the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina: Occasioned by his Late Address to the Convention of his Diocese*, (Washington D.C.: 1846?), 42, 43-4.

²⁶²"David Outlaw to Emily Outlaw," 16 June 1850, David Outlaw Papers, 1847-1855, Southern Historical Collection.

Not only did Outlaw worry about the possibility that such topics of discussion might lead to sin, but he worried about the effect that auricular confession might have on the balance of power between laymen and clergymen. Outlaw asserted that confession tended "to the enslaving of the minds of the congregation."²⁶³ One Episcopal newspaper--reprinting an article from an English press--asserted that the "revival of Auricular Confession in the Church of England...instead of fostering that manly independence of character which, as we contend, the Church of England does foster among her members--an independence perfectly compatible with the deepest personal humility, with the deepest individual penitence--it tends rather to foster a sickly sentimentalism."²⁶⁴ In other words, men should remain unhumbled and independent. Once they submitted to correction they would lose their manliness. Thus, the controversy surrounding Ives' doctrine of auricular confession reveals that the ability to behave like a man should depended upon his ability to retain mastery over himself. By implication, he would also be able to reign over his household without oversight or accountability. This was what it meant to be a man.

Thus, complaints against auricular confession tended to flow from two interrelated complaints. First, men worried about the influence that ministers would have upon their wives. As was shown in the first part of this chapter, Episcopal women in antebellum North Carolina participated in exclusively female philanthropic organizations, but these organizations tended to be superficial. Auricular confession required much more intimate probing into the internal affairs of a family than most men appear to have

²⁶³Ibid.

²⁶⁴*Hartford (Connecticut) The Calendar*, 13 September 1851.

been comfortable with. Second, men complained that confession would threaten the manly independence that they had enjoyed within the church. Indeed, if ministers could probe men's wives and daughters about sexual matters, they might have talked about what was actually going on within their private households. As Outlaw indicated, such probing threatened the authority that men claimed over their households. Indeed, it's perhaps altogether appropriate that one of Ives's supporters was an Episcopal woman who noted "those who clamor most for liberty of conscience, are least willing to allow it to others." She lamented that her otherwise peaceful "Diocese has gone off on a wrong track." Indeed, she placed the blame not on Ives, but on those whom she thought did not possess "an humble spirit."²⁶⁵ Perhaps the debates surrounding confession were not simply about the freedom or bondage of laymen. Perhaps as the above woman claimed, the kind of freedom claimed by laymen came at the cost of others' freedom.

The whole affair left Ives humiliated and defeated. At the Annual Conference of 1851 Ives recanted his previous claims concerning confession. He also indicated that he had made such claims because of a fit in his mind. The representatives at the conference agreed--based upon the evidence from Ives's friends and doctors--that "the Bishop has for several years past been in a state of mental excitement, which has impaired his memory and rendered quite uncertain the determinations of his judgement." Not only was Ives declared mentally unfit during the previous few years, but several at the conference also called for his resignation. George Badger--the author of one of the works refuting Ives's doctrines--suggested to the convention of 1851 that Bishop Ives "has lost the confidence

²⁶⁵"Mary Curtis to Mss E.A. DeRossett," 6 November 1849, M.A. Curtis Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

of the people of his charge...and that his usefulness is thereby destroyed or greatly impaired." Badger therefore suggested that the Bishop ought to "resign his Episcopal jurisdiction over the Diocese." In the end, the conference did not ask Ives to resign, but they did something that was perhaps equally humiliating. They resolved that "in the opinion of this Convention an Assistant Bishop ought to be appointed."²⁶⁶ Such actions probably weighed heavily in Ives's mind when he traveled to Europe at the end of the year for reasons of his health.

In December of that year, he wrote to his diocese to inform them that he had officially converted to Catholicism, and his subsequent writing expressed his bitterness about his tenure as Bishop in North Carolina. In recanting his beliefs concerning auricular confession, Ives felt deeply troubled. He felt as though for the sake of peace within the diocese he had made "so many concessions, and cowardly ones too, *to the god of this world.*" In fact, Ives felt as though he had conceded everything to the laity within his diocese. For Ives, it was now clear that the laity were in complete control over Episcopal doctrine. Whereas Ives felt that the "successors of the Apostles" in the form of diocesan bishops ought to be in charge of church doctrine, experience had shown that in the American Episcopal Church a convention "made up of some half dozen presbyters, and a few more laymen" it was "the latter of whom...exercised a controlling influence." In particular, Ives resented that he had been--in effect--put on trial by his diocese, but there was no institutional process for disciplining laymen. Ives complained that the "clergy are subjected to strict and salutary discipline," but the laity "even while exercising

²⁶⁶*Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina* (North Carolina:1851), 48.

their functions in settling the faith and controlling the mission of the Church" were not "answerable to any tribunal for the foulest heresy or the most rampant schism!"²⁶⁷

Acquiescing to "the god of this world" was what was required of Episcopalianism if it were going to be successful in North Carolina. In many respects, the complaints of Ives and the eventual outcome of the contest between himself and several prominent laymen within the diocese reflected many of the problems and contests between laymen and clergymen in the colonial period as well as the antebellum period. In the colonial period, Anglican clergymen sought to protect their independence from the vestrymen of their parish. On the other hand, vestrymen were jealous of the power that they claimed over their parishes. They resented clergymen who called them out for their sinfulness, and--if possible--had offending clergymen removed. In the late 1840s, Ives discovered that the laymen of his diocese had successfully claimed control over Episcopal affairs in North Carolina. Neither were they any more willing to have their lives inspected than their colonial predecessors had been. Whereas the contest between clergymen and laymen within North Carolina's parishes remained unsettled in the colonial period, the contest had been settled well before Ives became bishop in North Carolina. The passions aroused during Ives' tenure resulted from Ives' violation of long held assumptions about the proper place of religion and the importance of the nuclear family. Ives' defeat and humiliation in 1851 were all but foregone conclusions given the development of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina after the Revolutionary War.

What is also striking is the similar language that Ives and many Quakers used to describe the strength of religious devotion in North Carolina. Both demanded a more

²⁶⁷Levi Silliman Ives, *The Trials of the Mind in its Progress to Catholicism: A Letter to his Old Friends*, (Boston: 1855), 230-1, 154, 155.

strict adherence to the laws of God, and both expected to scrutinize the lives of their fellow worshippers in order to ensure that all followed the laws of God. Quakers described North Carolina as a state dominated by pride. Similarly, Ives described lay people in North Carolina as too proud to accept proper discipline. Quakers were also concerned about discipline and hoped to encourage religious habits among their children. The temptations of the world in North Carolina, however, appeared too strong for Quaker children to avoid. In the end, the Quakers felt they had little choice but leave North Carolina for their frontier if they were going to have any hope of protecting their children from the temptations from the world. Similarly, Ives felt that he could not both hold true to his beliefs and stay in North Carolina. He too entered a self-imposed exile rather than conform to the ways of the world.

Neither does this emphasis upon keeping household affairs private appear to be a particularly Anglican or Episcopal peculiarity. The histories of other denominations also provide ample examples showing the boundaries that North Carolinians had drawn between their religious worship and their households. Historians who have explored discipline within Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches in North Carolina have similarly found that, in general, these groups tended to back away from serious claims upon the lives of their parishioners. This transition is especially apparent when comparing the activities inspected by colonial Quakers and antebellum Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Whereas colonial Quakers explored and discussed the most intimate affairs of their members' households, antebellum evangelicals--especially the Baptists--tended to focus most heavily upon alcohol. These studies even indicate that

Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians backed away from stronger stances these groups had made during the eighteenth century.

C.V. Smith's study of disciplinary matters, for example, highlights the disciplinary issues that Methodists backed away from between the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Perhaps Methodists are most famous for backing away from their early, strong stance against slavery, but they also backed away from other household matters as well. Much like the Quakers who disowned individuals who married out of Quaker society, C.V. Smith has indicated that the Methodists' book of discipline encouraged preachers "to enforce publicly the apostolic injunction against unequal marriage with unbelievers. They were openly to declare that any who did so marry would be expelled." In the discipline book of 1800, however, the definition of "'awakened person' was deleted and the threatened expulsion of a member was altered to an expression of a determination to discourage marriage to persons not in membership." By 1836, "the provision for expelling a person who married outside the society was deleted."²⁶⁸

Though it is difficult to draw comparisons between colonial Quaker discipline and antebellum Baptist discipline, those comparisons are still instructive of how religious groups' expectations of believers changed between the colonial and antebellum periods. First, Quakers and Baptists had different definitions of worldliness and sinfulness. Unlike Quakers, nineteenth-century Baptists did not, by and large, disown members for keeping or selling slaves. Neither did nineteenth-century Baptists tend to disown members for marrying non-Baptists. Baptists were also less uniform about discipline

²⁶⁸Smith, 85-6.

than the Quakers. In the Quaker system, the decisions of the Yearly Meeting were binding upon the inferior Quarterly and Monthly Meetings. Individual Baptist congregations were also members of larger organizations, but Baptist associations were not binding upon individual congregations. The Association was more of a place where Baptists met to discuss concerns and less of a final decision maker in points of doctrine. Thus, there appears to have been more diversity among the Baptist congregations and what they thought were punishable offenses.

The differences between the Quaker and the Baptist understanding of justification also make comparisons a bit difficult. Quakers, for example, were willing to allow for "birthright members." From the Quaker perspective, children who grew up in the households of Quakers were more likely to obey the rules of Quakers. Thus, children could be declared members even before they made that decision for themselves. For Baptists, however, membership was based upon conversion experience. Thus, the children of Baptist members were not members themselves until they too had been converted. One might therefore suspect that spiritually indifferent children might eventually become expelled adults within Quaker monthly meetings, but spiritually indifferent children would have probably never become members of Baptist churches. As indicated in the appendix, however, non-attendance at meeting was a rare reason for disownment among eighteenth-century Quakers.

Those eighteenth-century Quakers who desired to be restored to membership indicated that a sizable portion of those who were expelled from membership cared enough about being Quaker to humble themselves in order to have their membership restored. Between 1760 and 1769, there were 81 disownments at Cane Creek, and 25

people in the period offered to condemn their former misconduct. Thus, for every 3.24 Quakers who were disowned between 1760 and 1769 1 Quaker humbled him or herself before the monthly meeting and condemned his or her former misconduct. Between 1770 and 1779, 1 Quaker condemned his or her former misconduct for every 2.60 Quakers who were disowned. Between 1780 and 1789, 1 Quaker condemned his or her former misconduct for every 4.73 Quakers disowned. Between 1790 and 1799, 1 Quaker condemned his or her former misconduct for every 2.78 Quakers disowned. Between 1760 and 1800, about a quarter of the Quakers who were disowned cared enough about their membership to go through what must have been a very humbling experience in order to be reinstated.²⁶⁹ Not only did Quakers seeking reinstatement have to humble themselves before those present at the monthly meeting, but their self-condemnation was also then published for the broader community of Quakers. That a quarter of those disowned from Cane Creek monthly meeting went through this humiliating experience indicates that they valued their membership even though they did not always live up to the high standard of the Quakers.

What is most striking from comparisons between Baptist and Quaker discipline is just how common disownment for intoxication was within nineteenth-century Baptist congregations and how uncommon it was for Baptists to be disowned for fornication. In 7 of the 8 Baptist churches studied in Smith's work on discipline in antebellum North Carolina, the most common cause of disownment was intoxication. Since Baptist churches appear to have been less concerned about marrying non-Baptists, nobody was

²⁶⁹Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Men's and Women's Minutes, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

disowned for marrying outside of the Baptist church. Fornication was a cause for disownment in both Baptist and Quaker meetings, but fornication was much less common in the Baptist records than in Quaker records. For one Baptist congregation, fornication was the second most common cause of disownment. For most, however, fornication was a relatively uncommon complaint. In one congregation, 76 people were disowned for the sin of intoxication but only 4 were disowned for fornication. In another, 14 were disowned for intoxication but only 9 were disowned for fornication.²⁷⁰

The differences are even more striking when we examine the differences in the rates of disownment per year. At Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, in the 50 year period studied here 93 people were accused and disowned for having had sex outside of marriage. Thus, on average 1.86 people per year were disowned for having committed the sin of fornication. The rates of accusation and disownment were much lower for the Baptist churches in C. V. Smith's study. In the 58 years of records covered for Wheeley's Baptist Church in North Carolina, only 4 people were accused of having committed fornication. Thus, the rate of accusation for fornication at Wheeley's Baptist Church was .07 accusations of fornication per year. Jersey Baptist Church had one of the higher rates for disownment for fornication, and yet their rates of disownment for fornication were still much lower than Cane Creek's for the eighteenth century. For the 52 years covered in C.V. Smith's study, only 9 members were accused of having committed fornication. That means that on average .17 members per year were accused of having committed fornication. In contrast, the rates of intoxication in nineteenth-century Baptist churches and eighteenth-century Quaker meetings appear to have been fairly similar. In the 50

²⁷⁰Smith, 184, 189.

year period studied for Cane Creek, 27 people were accused and disowned for having consumed too much alcohol. Thus, about .54 people per year were accused and disowned for having been intoxicated at Cane Creek. At Wheeley's Baptist Church, 1.31 people per year were accused of having been intoxicated, and at Jersey Baptist Church .27 people per year were accused of having been intoxicated.²⁷¹ Thus, the rates of disownment for intoxication at Cane Creek appear rather unextraordinary when compared to rates of accusation for intoxication at nineteenth-century Baptist churches. The rates of accusation and disownment for fornication, however, are noticeably different.

Perhaps nineteenth-century Baptists were less inclined than late eighteenth-century Quakers to commit sexual sins, but the language that Baptist clerks employed in their disciplinary records indicate that perhaps Baptist churches preferred not to talk about sexual sins unless absolutely unavoidable. When the secretary of Fayetteville Baptist Church, for example, documented Elijah Powers' adultery he used the rather vague phrase "inexcusable crime." Similarly, Alfred Lawson was disowned for "participating in some of those things characteristic of the vicious, reckless and licentious (Hosea 5th Chap. 3 & 4 verses, Hebrews 13th. Chap. & 4 vs."²⁷² When it came to sexual sins, clerks remained vague and avoided clearly describing the sin in question. When Episcopal laymen condemned Levi Silliman Ives' policy of auricular confession, they too

²⁷¹The figures for Wheeley's Baptist Church and Jersey Baptist Church are taken from C.V. Smith's calculations. *Ibid.*, 184, 189, 319-328, 331-334. The disownments used to develop these figures are taken from the cases of disownment outlined in the appendix, and the original cases can be found in the records of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. Cane Creek Monthly Meeting Men's and Women's Minutes, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

²⁷²Smith, 13, 52.

were particularly worried about discussions of sexual misbehavior. They too claimed that sexual sins should remain unspoken. Both Baptists' and Episcopalians' unwillingness to discuss sins of a sexual nature imply that such topics of conversation were inappropriate for public worship. Episcopalians and Baptists generally preferred to keep such discussions within the private family.

William Davidson Blanks's study of discipline among Presbyterian churches in both Virginia and North Carolina for the nineteenth century similarly reveals a religious world in which Presbyterian churches were decreasingly likely to ask uncomfortable questions about sexual relationships within households. As Blanks concluded, "[c]ases of adultery and especially of fornication continued to come before the sessions and presbyteries throughout the period, though the frequency of cases was higher during the earlier years of the century."²⁷³ Similarly, the Presbyterian Church's enforcement of incest rules appears to have declined through the nineteenth century. In a rather infamous case, the Reverend Archibald McQueen--who was the pastor of Laurel Hill Presbyterian Church in Fayetteville, North Carolina--was denied the sealing ordinances of the Presbyterian Church because he had violated the incest rules of the synod by marrying his deceased wife's sister in 1847. The defrocking and disownment caused quite an uproar. McQueen was eventually reinstated, and the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina never again disowned a member for incest. In 1883, the Presbyterian synod lamented that churches were "not exercising discipline for such marriages," but rather than make

²⁷³William Davidson Blanks, "Ideal and Practice: A Study of the Conception of the Christian Life Prevailing in the Presbyterian Churches of the South During the Nineteenth Century," (Th.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1960), 66.

stronger demands on parishioners' marriages the synod decided to drop the rules regarding marrying the kin of spouses.²⁷⁴

In the nineteenth century, the churches that thrived in North Carolina made fewer and fewer claims upon the lives of their followers, and the changes in discipline were especially pronounced when churches involved themselves in matters that laypeople in North Carolina regarded as private, family matters. The career of Wesleyan missionary Daniel Worth in North Carolina illustrates the limits of religious inspection that North Carolina parishioners were willing to accept. Worth had been born in North Carolina but left the state in 1822, and moved to Indiana. In Indiana, Worth joined the Methodist Church in 1831, but broke with the church in 1842 because he was upset that the Methodists did not make a strong stand on slavery. He helped to form the Wesleyan Methodist Church—which took a strong stand against slavery—and became President of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1856. Falling out of favor with other ministers in the sect, Worth was asked to serve as a missionary to his native North Carolina, and he accepted the opportunity in 1858. His short tenure in North Carolina, however, would be even stormier than his tenure as President in Indiana.²⁷⁵

For about a year Worth preached an abolitionist gospel in North Carolina without incident, but in 1859 the religious press became more active in denouncing Worth's ministry. In North Carolina, Worth—according to his own account—preached “as strong

²⁷⁴Ibid., 43-48.

²⁷⁵Noble J. Tolbert, "Daniel Worth: Tar Heel Abolitionist," *North Carolina Historical Review* 39, no. 3, (1962), 284-290.

and direct against slavery as ever you heard me in the north.”²⁷⁶ Despite his abolitionist commitment, Worth was allowed to preach in the state, and he was even allowed to distribute abolitionist literature for a time. “It is probable that the recent outbreak in Virginia, the present inflamed state of the public mind, and the disclosure of his incendiary purposes, will induce him, if they have not already induced him, to change his quarters to a more congenial region. We sincerely hope that he has returned to the North.”²⁷⁷ The editor of the *North Carolina Presbyterian* was not averse to ministers from the North serving as missionaries in the South. He indicated that ministers who “preach Christ and Him Crucified...or to aid in any way in the conversion and sanctification of souls...will find no truer friend or supporter than ourselves.” North Carolinians would not—according to the editor—welcome “Tract Agents.”²⁷⁸ The same message had been expressed to Levi Silliman Ives ten years earlier. It was fine for ministers to discuss the fine points of doctrine and belief, but it was altogether different for ministers to make claims on their parishioners' economic and private lives.

In many respects, the controversy surrounding the Reverend Worth is not altogether surprising. Indeed, one would suspect that in the climate that divided North from South after John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry that an abolitionist leaning minister would be unwelcome in the state, and the denouncement of the *North Carolina Presbyterian* focused on Worth's role as an abolitionist tract agent. The writer for the

²⁷⁶Daniel Worth quoted in: Tolbert, 290.

²⁷⁷*Fayetteville (North Carolina) North Carolina Presbyterian*, 17 December 1859.

²⁷⁸*Fayetteville (North Carolina) North Carolina Presbyterian*, 26 November 1859.

North Carolina Presbyterian, however, also reveals the broader limitations placed upon ministers. Indeed, the author identifies a rather limited role for ministers. Their job is to convince the masses of their sinfulness and their need for salvation. According to the author, Worth overstepped his ministerial role when he labored to not only save the spirit but to save the flesh as well.

The limitations ministers in North Carolina were willing to accept is revealing of how religious culture had changed in North Carolina. Colonial Anglican missionaries had supported the fatherly authority of governors and gentlemen in North Carolina as an earthly manifestation of the spiritual relationship that existed between a heavenly Father and His earthly children. At the same time, Anglican missionaries were often unimpressed with the supposed gentlemen who claimed fatherly authority in North Carolina. Many tried to hold the gentlemen in their congregations accountable. They would support the earthly authority of North Carolina's metaphorical fathers, but they expected those gentlemen to act the part. Quakers had established communities in which inspection and discipline were central to religious practice. In the nineteenth century, religious people who tried to develop communities of strict oversight and discipline felt pressured to leave the state. The religious groups that remained learned to make their peace with household privacy.

In many respects, the ways in which James Iredell described his relationship with his fiancé manifested the colonial Anglican worldview. When Iredell thought of love, he also used words like "obedience" and "duty." When he thought about his future marriage, he thought about the community of people that would come with his future wife. For Iredell, marriage meant family connections with a broad network of potential

political allies and business associates. Indeed, Iredell believed that this love would ensure the felicity of his household.

Ebenezer Pettigrew--the only surviving son of the Reverend Charles Pettigrew--was similarly much like many other men of his generation. Like many other Episcopal men in North Carolina, Pettigrew considered himself an Episcopalian but remained rather aloof from the Episcopal denomination.²⁷⁹ When Levi Silliman Ives toured the eastern portion of the state, he was a welcome guest at the Pettigrew plantation. On the other hand, Pettigrew was less than willing to submit himself to the authority of his local minister. Pettigrew had little expectation that the local minister could actually make his slaves more obedient by his preaching, but he was still "willing to support a minister in scuppernong, or assist in supporting one." Pettigrew also indicated in his letter, however, that he sought to take "the best course (a distant one) to get along with the little officiate" at the nearby chapel because the minister there had made himself quite obnoxious. Pettigrew could not "bear long with a vain upstart, let his cloth be what it may." Pettigrew promised to remain coolly distant from the minister and thereby remain a cautious supporter as long as the minister did not make too many insulting gestures toward himself. Pettigrew promised to avoid confrontation unless "my honour shall be at

²⁷⁹In his study of the nineteenth-century Episcopal diocese of North Carolina, Richard Rankin found that far more women than men became full members. Table 1 of Chapter 2, for example, shows that in 1840 women outnumbered men as full communicants by a ratio of 4.7 to 1. Richard Rankin, *Ambivalent Churchmen and Evangelical Churchwomen: The Religion of the Episcopal Elite in North Carolina, 1800-1860*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 53.

hazard.”²⁸⁰ As revealed in the debates surrounding confession, independence and privacy were seen as integral parts of manliness by many Episcopal laymen.

Like many of his peers, Pettigrew tried to maintain a safe distance from his Episcopal minister, but Pettigrew's letters concerning his wife reveal a man who thought that the bonds of the nuclear family should remain intimate. When she died in 1830, Pettigrew declared that he was "undone forever." Pettigrew declared that he had been so emotionally attached to his wife that he did not know how he would be able to continue on without her. He was so distraught "that nothing is so desirable to me as death." At least in death he could be reunited with his beloved. Rather than try to commit suicide, however, Pettigrew did the next best thing to remain near to his beloved wife. He had her buried near his home so that whenever "I look out while at my prison" he would be able "to see the spot where all my heart is buried."²⁸¹ To ensure that he would remain haunted by the memory of his wife for the rest of his life, Pettigrew hoped to travel to New York where he planned to commission "the celebrated painter Mr. Ingham" to paint a "minature of my dearest Wife, which I have had set in gold and intend wearing the remainder of my days."²⁸²

Thus, through his letters to friends and family, Pettigrew reveals a man who was distant yet grudgingly supportive of Episcopalianism who was at the same time intensely

²⁸⁰"Ebenezer Pettigrew to James Cathart Johnston," 16 July 1838, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 2, 377.

²⁸¹"Ebenezer Pettigrew to Mary Williams Bryan," 24 August 1830, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 2, 145.

²⁸²"Ebenezer Pettigrew to Mary Williams Bryan," 23 September 1830, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 2, 146.

devoted to those within his immediate family. Pettigrew distanced himself from the religious community in which many colonial people found meaning and importance. Whereas colonial Quakers and Anglicans regarded their religious communities as akin to extended families, Ebenezer Pettigrew distanced himself from these community connections. When he thought of his wife, neither did he consider the broader connections that their marriage brought. Instead, it was the intense intimacy of their relationship that dominated his understanding of their marriage. So strong were these connections that he hoped to be haunted by the memory of his departed wife for the remainder of his days.

During her life, Ebenezer Pettigrew's wife confirmed that he was an affectionate and loving husband. When Mrs. Pettigrew heard of the illness of her friend's husband she was quite concerned. She advised her friend to take good care of her husband as "good husbands are very rarely to be found." Indeed, they were both "peculiarly fortunate indeed" because they had been blessed with good husbands.²⁸³ Mrs. Pettigrew's correspondence reveals a woman who appreciated the relationship that she had been lucky enough to acquire, but her letters also revealed that her life might not have typified the lot of many others. Thus, her correspondence both affirms the affections that she shared with her husband, but it also suggests that life may not have been so rosy for most women.

Though content with her marriage, Ann Blount Pettigrew recognized the danger women placed themselves in when they chose to marry. Upon hearing of her sister's intention to marry, she wrote her to advise her to think carefully about her choice. She

²⁸³"Ann Blount Pettigrew to Mary Williams Bryan," 7 October 1823, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 2, 38

advised her sister to behave herself as "our happiness or misery in a measure depends on ourselves." If her husband was displeased with her behavior, her sister would most likely lose the affection of her husband and without that "there is no happiness in married life." Indeed, none "but dupes" could behave badly and submit themselves to an inferior husband with whom "we could not be otherways than miserable." In another letter Ann Blount Pettigrew lamented the unfortunate situation of a former acquaintance that had made a bad marriage choice. Her marriage ought to deter others from "marrying incautiously."²⁸⁴ This woman's life reflected the dangers marriage could pose for women who chose poorly and found themselves dominated by an unscrupulous husband. It was a dreadful misfortune "to be left unprotected and without friends and advisers in this miserable world."²⁸⁵

Ann Blount Pettigrew had been lucky to marry well, but she also recognized that women who were less fortunate in their choice of husbands could be left quite miserable. The intimacy of the connections within her immediate family could lead to marital bliss, but those same intimacies could lead to a miserable life for a woman whose husband chose to act more tyrannical. They could be left unprotected in the privacy of their intimacy. If left isolated from friends, neighbors, and extended kin, women had few resources to draw upon should they find themselves in miserable marriages. Some women could be quite happy, but the isolation also provided men with a space for mastery.

²⁸⁴"Ann Blount Pettigrew to Mary William Shepard," 16 November 1824, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 2, 25.

²⁸⁵"Ann Blount Pettigrew to Mary Williams Bryan," 15 November 1824, *The Pettigrew Papers*, vol. 2, 49-50.

Ann Blount Pettigrew thus reflected upon the dangers faced by women in the privacy of households controlled by their husbands. Ann Blount Pettigrew reveals the dangers that privacy could pose for women, and Levi Silliman Ives reveals the passions that could be aroused if men within the community sensed that this privacy was violated. The careers of ministers like Levi Silliman Ives reveal that this privacy was a carefully guarded privilege among North Carolina's men. Levi Silliman Ives noted that there was little oversight of the men within the community, and Ann Blount Pettigrew reflected upon the dangers that this lack of oversight posed for women. Some may be lucky like herself and find themselves in happy marriages. If women found themselves in unhappy marriages there were few they could seek out for assistance.

As this chapter has indicated, the denominations that increasingly dominated North Carolina's religious landscape left the privacy that men like Ebenezer Pettigrew cherished intact. For them, religious leaders should not ask too many uncomfortable questions about matters that they considered private. Many Quakers and some Episcopalians interpreted this unwillingness to be humbled through inspection and discipline as a sign of corruption and pride in North Carolina. Perhaps more folks attended church than in an earlier period, but this was not the society that either eighteenth-century Quakers or Anglicans had intended to create. Anglican missionaries had hoped to create better oversight within their parishes. Many of these missionaries described the locals who attended Anglican worship as unrestrained individuals who claimed the power of gentlemen but acted more brutishly toward those under their care. Quakers agreed that pride increasingly dominated North Carolina. It was becoming

increasingly impossible for them to raise humble children given all the temptations that existed in North Carolina.

Thus this chapter has focused on two interrelated themes. First, this chapter has focused on the issue of worldliness. Groups like the eighteenth-century Quakers tried to root out worldliness. Toward that end, Quakers believed that it was important to inspect and correct the behavior of individual Quakers. In order to ensure that Quakers behaved like a holy group of people, they needed to be active inspectors and disciplinarians. Thus, the second theme about inspection and privacy was related to religious groups' efforts to prevent backsliding. In the nineteenth century, however, the Quakers found the religious landscape in North Carolina to be dangerous. Indeed, the religious groups that prospered in nineteenth-century North Carolina both refocused less on discipline and more on--as Levi Silliman Ives framed it--a "mere act of the mind, called *faith*."²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶Ives, *The Obedience of Faith*, 77.

Conclusion

At the end of the colonial era, the religious options available to North Carolinians were not restricted to the binaries that we have been tempted to confine them to. Whereas we have tended to assume that the options for colonial Southerners were confined to individualism and egalitarianism on the one hand and community centeredness and hierarchy on the other, the religious landscape of colonial North Carolina indicates that such models are too simple. Chapter 1 indicated that Anglicans did represent a culture that was both community focused and hierarchal, but their model of community was far from hegemonic. Chapter 2 indicated that Quakers had built communities across the colony that were markedly different from those of the Anglicans. Quakers expected individuals to humble themselves before their neighbors by allowing the broader community to inspect and correct behaviors within their households. At the same time, community consent--rather than a handful of God's representatives--to make major decisions for the community. Indeed, the Quakers rejection of slavery at the end of the colonial period indicates that Quakers expected even their wealthiest members to humble themselves to the will of God as expressed by the general community.

In her memoir describing her life as a slave in North Carolina, Harriet Jacobs confirms much of what this dissertation indicated about religion in North Carolina. Jacobs noted, for example, that many churchgoers were both interested in celebrating God and ritually affirming community relationships. At least, from Jacobs' perspective many were not all that concerned about worshipping God and more concerned about establishing their positions within their community. When Jacobs first heard that her master had become a communing member of the local Episcopal church she hoped that

this meant that he would no longer try to rape her. She encountered her master shortly after becoming a full member, and she was sorely disappointed. Jacobs asked her master how he could so easily talk about committing adultery when he had just become a member of the Episcopal Church, and he responded that it "was proper for me to do so." He was, after all, "getting in years, and my position in society requires it, and it puts an end to all the damned slang."²⁸⁷ From Jacobs' perspective, there was little genuine about her master's conversion. Instead, his conversion was about his status in the community.

Jacobs also described the importance of privacy within her community. In particular she remembered the pregnant daughter of a neighboring slaveowner. When the baby was born, the father discovered that his daughter had conceived the child with a slave on his own plantation. The daughter revealed the name of the father and, "half frantic with rage," this master "sought to revenge himself on the offending black man." His revenge was foiled, however, because his daughter had set the man free and scurried him out of the state. Jacobs reflected that this father was humiliated and his "head was bowed down in shame." In most cases, however, "the infant is smothered, or sent where it is never seen by any who know its history."²⁸⁸ In this case, the father failed to keep the story private as he would have liked, and this shamed him before the community. In most cases, fathers were more careful to keep such cases of sexual misconduct quiet. The family would deal with such misbehavior privately and thereby save the honor of the father.

²⁸⁷Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, INC., 2001), 65.

²⁸⁸Jacobs, 46.

Jacobs was particularly shocked that local churches in her community were willing to allow masters to keep such behaviors hidden. Reflecting upon religion in North Carolina, Jacobs rhetorically asked whether "doctors of divinity [are] blind, or are they hypocrites? I suppose some are the one, and some the other; but I think if they felt the interest in the poor and the lowly, that they ought to feel, they would not be so *easily* blinded."²⁸⁹ Instead of focusing on the sins that regularly occurred at home, churches focused on missionary work overseas. She was glad that they "send the Bible to heathen abroad," but in doing so they should not "overlook the dark corners at home." As this dissertation has indicated, ministers that became blinded to the lives of their parishioners made the lives of dependents within the households of husbands, fathers, and masters more dangerous. Without religious oversight, there was no one to hold masters accountable. Without religious oversight, household dependents found little support against tyrannical fathers, husbands, and masters. Freedom from inspection for masters gave masters the opportunity to make the lives of their dependents more miserable.

Nor was the Episcopal Church all that unique as far as Jacobs was concerned. She recognized that the Methodist church's "carpets and cushions were not so costly as those at the Episcopal church," but in other respects they were very similar. Jacobs condemned both the Methodists and the Episcopalians for failing to address the crimes that took place right under their noses. She accused one minister at the local Episcopal Church for seeing "wounded Samaritans" and passing "by on the other side." According to Jacobs, the Methodist church actually outdid the Episcopal Church in supporting those who caused misery. The class leader for the local Methodist church was none other than

²⁸⁹Jacobs, 64, 63.

the local constable "who bought and sold slaves, who whipped his brethren and sisters of the church at the public whipping post, in jail or out of jail."²⁹⁰

Exceptions to the rule did occasionally appear, but community pressures ensured that their tenures were short. Jacobs remembered one minister whose short tenure was in stark contrast to most of those who came to her town. Unlike the ministers who effortlessly turned to slavery's defense or directly contributed the misery most slaves suffered, Jacobs remembered that this minister of the local Episcopal church spoke with sincerity to the slaves. Of course, this proved quite maddening to the free whites in her town. They accused the minister of "preaching better sermons to the negroes than he did to them," and it wasn't long before "Dissensions arose in the parish." This minister, unlike Ives, was never forced from his position. His wife died shortly after many of his white congregants became agitated, and this minister therefore chose to leave. The local slaveowners and their supporters remembered that this minister and his wife "had made fools of their slaves, and that he preached like a fool to the negroes."²⁹¹

Nobody in Jacobs' account had accused this minister of being insane--instead he suffered under the milder rebuke of being a fool--but the similarities between Jacobs' story of religion in her town and the description of religion in North Carolina provided in chapter 4 are striking. In both, privacy was something of great value to North Carolina's churchgoers and they expected religious leaders to leave well-enough alone. Rather than search behind the closed doors of North Carolina's households, ministers were generally willing to remain "blinded" to borrow Jacobs' phrasing. In both the fourth chapter of this

²⁹⁰Jacobs, 60-1.

²⁹¹Jacobs, 62-3.

dissertation and in Jacobs' account of slavery there were exceptions to this general rule, but they found their positions short-lived. Quickly, North Carolina's communities used intimidation and humiliation to remove ministers who chose to ignore the accepted boundaries that had been constructed between religious worship and private families. For Jacobs, ministers' willingness to allow households to remain hidden from religious inspection provided the masters over those households with unchecked authority.

Jacobs was not alive to comment on the religious diversity that existed in North Carolina in the colonial period, but her comments about religion in her community illustrate the themes found in chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation. As Harriet Jacobs indicated, religion was not just about celebrating the divine. First, the rituals of worship were also about attempting to position oneself within the community. For Jacobs, the religious communities in her town turned effortlessly to the defense of slavery. They did so, in part, by respecting the privacy that masters demanded. Second, expectations of privacy shaped all religious communities whether they were Episcopalian or Methodist. There were some differences that divided the Methodists and Episcopalians during her life, but on the important issues that protected the authority that masters claimed over their households both Methodists and Baptists were in agreement. That is not to say there were no exceptions to the rule, but those who violated the typically unspoken assumptions about religious inspection found their tenures short lived. Those religious communities that refused to adapt to these antebellum expectations felt pressured to migrate away from North Carolina.

Appendix: Disciplinary Cases of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, 1751-1800

Men's Minutes Cane Creek Monthly Meeting

1st day 12th mo. 1751

"Cane Creek Preparative meeting Enters a complaint against James Vistal for accomplishing for accomplishing marriage to a woman not of Our society by the assistance of a Justice. Likewise for taking strong drink to excess."

7th day 3rd mo 1752

"Cane Creek Preparative meeting informs this that Jonathan Williams Hath been guilty of using bad language"

4th of the 5th mo 1754

"Cane Creek preparative meeting Enters a complaint against Thomas Wilkinson for being guilty of lying a cheat and avarice of discord amongst his neighbours. This meeting therefore agrees to testifie against him and his disorderly conduct."

7th of the 9th mo 1754

"The preparative meeting complains of John Lambert for accomplishing marriage out of unity to a woman which is not a member with us he being timely [unknown] This meeting agrees to ommit him no member of our Society untill he suitably condemns his out goings"

7th of the 9th mo 1754

"Also complains of David Moris in that he has been guilty of taking the office of a Lieutenant John Wright and Henry Mayner are appointed to Labour with him in order to convince his mind of the inconsistency of such proceedings and except they find him in a situation to condemn his so acting prepare a testimony against him and produce it to next meeting"

6th day of the 5th mo 1758

"Mordicai Moor complained of on the 10th mo 1756 and been laboured with month after month but to no purpose this meeting agrees to testifie against him"

3rd day of the 3rd mo 1759

"David Thornton being complained of in the 7th mo 1757 for Enlisting himself as a soldier and also for taking an oath who has been laboured with from month to month but to no good purpose this meet. agrees to testifie against him and his disorderly conduct"

2nd of the 5th mo 1759

"The friends appointed as usual in such cases have produced Testimony against Thomas Lomaly Jur. and Jeremiah Hadly for joining the free masons and Marrying out of unity which was signd."

6th of the 9th mo 1760

"John Taylor being complained of in the 4th month last for playing cards and other disorders and being laboured with from month to month but to no purpose this meeting therefore testifies against him"

3rd of the 1st mo 1761

"Also complains of John Stuart for spreading of scandalous reports on Several young women. Isaac Vernon and William Marshall are appointed to labour with him and report to next meeting"

2nd of the 3rd mo 1761

"The preparative meeting enters a complaint against William Nelson for accomplishing marriage in a very short time after the decease of his former wife to a woman whose husband was not certainly known to be dead. therefore for clearing of truth this meeting appoints John Jones and John Wright to prepare a testimony against him and produce it to next meeting"

3rd of the 4th mo 1762

"Thomas Wiley disowned for not discharging a just debt"

3rd of the 4th mo 1762

"James Taylor complained of for playing cards and keeping unsavorable company with a married woman for which he has been laboured with from time to time which appearing ineffectual this meeting disowns him"

3rd of the 4th mo 1762

"Robert Taylor complained of in the 5th month last for taking an oath who having been laboured with from month to month This meeting disowns him"

6th of the 11th mo 1762

"William Burney complained of for dancing and has been laboured with for several months [unknown] labour has appeared inafectual this meeting disowns him for the same"

5th of the 2nd mo 1763

"Jonathan Williams complained of for accusing some friends of matters which appeared groundless and still Vindicating the same after much labour with him on the occasion this meeting disowns him"

5th of the 2nd mo 1763

"Nathan Maddock complained of for Marrying out of Unity who has been much laboured with but no hope of his return the meeting disowns him"

7th of the 5th mo 1763

"The preparative meeting of Eno complains of Isaac Taylor for prophane Swearing and taking of Oaths before authority and is now absconded. Joseph Maddock and Jonathan Till are appointed to prepare a Testimony against him to next meeting"

3rd of the 12th mo 1763

"John Burney being complained of for accompanying his sister in her disorderly marriage as also for accompanying his Brother to steal a young woman from her parents and being laboured with from time to time to no purpose now this meeting disowns him"

7th of the 1st mo 1764

"Herman Husband being complained of for being guilty of Making remarks on the actions and transactions of this meeting as well as Elsewhere as his mind and publicly advertising the same, and after due labour with him in order to show him the Evil of so doing, This meeting agrees to disown him as also to publish the Testimony"

4th of the 2nd mo 1764

"John Matthews disowned for drinking strong drink to excess and using prophane language laying [unknown]"

3rd of the 3rd mo 1764

"Richard Jones son of John and Mary Jones complained of for absconding from his Parents in years past as also inlisting himself into a ridgment in order for the war, and at his return labour been Extended to him but he not appearing in a capacity to make satisfaction this meeting agrees to disown him"

5th of the 5th mo 1764

"Thomas Branson complained of for showing a public dislike to a friend in time of Prayer. And labour being extended to him from month to month in order to reclaim him which app at this time to be inafectual this meeting now disowns him"

2nd of the 2nd mo 1765

"Isaac Jackson Jun. complained of in the 5th mo 1763 for having Carnal Knowledge of her who is his wife before marriage and labour having been extended from time to time now this meeting disowns him and the testimony published"

2nd of the 3rd mo 1765

"Absolom Jackson complained of in the [?] mo 1764 and labour extended as usual And now testifie against him"

4th of the 5th mo 1765

"James Vestial complained of in the 3rd mo for using strong drink to excess and has been laboured with from then till now and no hopes of his return this meeting disowns him"

5th of the 10th mo 1765

"Jonathan [Frincher?] complained of in the 6th mo. last for outgoing in marriage and taking strong drink to excess who having been laboured with from time to time and no return appearing this meeting now disown him"

1st of the 2nd mo 1766

"Enoch Pugh complained of for outgoing in Marriage and labour extended to him as usual the meeting now disowns him"

3rd of the 6th mo 1766

"William Jackson complained of for Entering into an Engagement with two others to ensnare and debauch all the women they could, and has put the same in practice which after due labour labour with him this meeting disowns him"

5th of the 7th mo. 1766

"Evan Jones complained of for not paying his just debts and after continued labour with to no purpose this meeting disowns him"

6th of the 12th mo 1766

"Charles Davis complained of for charging the women's minuts of being mixed with an untruth and after Repeated labour with him to show the Inconsistency of his so rash an assertion but to no purpose. Now this meeting disowns him"

7th of the 2nd mo 1767

"William Cox, William Cox Junior, Isaac Vernon, Isaac Cox, Samuel Cox, Solomon Cox and Jacob Greg complained of in the 9th mo last for attending the disorderly marriage Emy Allin now Husbands and after repeated labour each of them this meeting now disowns each of them"

7th of the 11th mo 1767

"John Barker complained of for outgoing in marriage and after the customary Labour with him this meeting disowns him"

5th of the 12th mo 1767

"Jacob Greg complained of Several months past and after Repeated labour to him this meeting disowns him"

5th of the 12th mo 1767

"Thomas and Nathaniel Henderson, Abraham Thornton & Eli Branson complained of in the 8th month last and the necessary labour being extended to no purpose this meeting now disowns each of them"

7th of the 5th mo 1768

"Samuel Pike and Samuel Underwood both being under dealing for some months but no appearance of their return they are both disowned"

4th of the 6th mo 1768

"John Chamness complained of for having Karnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage and after the usual labour extended this meeting disowns him"

2nd of the 7th mo 1768

"Amos Vernon complained of for Marrying out of Unity and the usual Labour extended is now disowned"

5th of the 11th mo 1768

"Abraham Hammer and George Henry complained of for joining a number to withstand paying taxes until better Satisfied to know what such moneys were applied too. Also for making warlike preparation. due Labour being extended this meeting now disowns them"

5th of the 11th mo 1768

"John Lindby disowned for marrying out of unity"

1st of the 4th mo 1769

"Hermon Cox complained of in the 11th month last for Joining the Regulators so called Labour being extended from Month to month without any hopes of returning him this Meeting now disowns him"

1st of the 4th mo 1769

"Anthony Chamness Junr being complained of for the accusation of a young woman for being the father of her child and he not being able to clear himself from said charge And has married another woman for which this meeting disowns him"

3rd of the 6th mo 1769

"John Jones son of Richard Jones disowned when Minute for marrying out of Unity"

2nd of the 12th mo 1769

"Joseph Hodgins disowned for having Karnal knowledge of a young woman and went away and left her after making proposals of Marriage to her"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1770

"Robert Chirk complained of for taking an Oath and after continued labour from month to month this meeting now disowns him"

4th of the 5th mo 1771

"Samuel Stanfield disowned for marrying out of Unity and a young woman charges him with being the father of her Child"

1st of the 6th mo 1771

"This Meeting orders a paper of denial against Benjamin Underwood, Jones Underwood, Joshua Nixon, Isaac Cox, Samuel Cox, and two Sons Hermon and Samuel Jones, James Matthews, John Hinshaw, Benjamin Hinshaw, William Geaves, Nathan Farmer, John Pugh, William Tanzey, John and William Williams which was approved of and signed on behalf of this meeting"

7th of the 9th mo 1771

"Thomas Pugh disowned for joyning a company of armed men"

7th of the 9th mo 1771

"The Preparative meeting complains of Humphrey Williams for aiding a company who were some of them Contending with arms. also for declining attending meetings for worship the necessary labour being extended is now disowned"

1st of the 2nd mo 1772

"William Wiley disowned after the necessary labour for having karnal knowledge of his wife before marriage & accomplishing marriage out of unity"

2nd of the 1st mo 1773

"Townsend Virnon disowned after the necessary labour"

6th of the 2nd mo 1773

"Robert Burnside is complained of for having karnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage also accomplished his marriage out of unity after the necessary labour to him he is now disownd"

3rd of the 7th mo 1773

"John Wright disowned after the necessary care taken"

3rd of the 7th mo 1773

"Jesse Nixon disowned for having karnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage and accomplishing marriage out of unity"

6th of the 11th mo 1773

"Mavis Williams complained of in the 9th mo last for singing and dancing and the necessary labour extended is now disowned"

5th of the 11th mo 1774

"Jacob Branton complained of for using Strong drink to Excess also for Suffering fidling and dancing in his house and after labour being extendid to him this meeting now disowns him"

4th of the 3rd mo 1775

"William Harley disowned for attending a disorderly marriage"

4th of the 3rd mo 1775

"Jesse cox disowned"

3rd of the 6th mo 1775

"Isaac Pennington disowned for accomplishing marriage out of unity and for having karnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage."

3rd of the 6th mo 1775

"The friend appointed to publish the testimony given out of this meeting against Rachel Hosworth report he has complied with the appointment"

7th of the 10th mo 1775

"John Nixon complained of for being charged by the oath of Rachel Haworth of being the father of her child and after repeated labour with him this meeting now disowns him"

4th of the 11th mo 1775

"Jacob William disowned for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

6th of the 1st mo 1776

"Abraham Williams complained of in the 9th mo for prophane Swaring and Striking a man and labour extendid to him from month to month this meeting now disowns him"

6th of the 1st mo 1776

"Jeremiah Barns disowned"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1776

"Thomas Hadby disowned for taking an Oath"

2nd of the 3rd mo 1776

"Edward Williams disowned for fighting"

5th of the 6th mo 1776

"Thomas Dean disowned after the necessary labor for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

6th of the 7th mo 1776

"Samuel Brown complained of in the 5th month last for accompanying his brother in his outgoing in marriage and after the usual labor extended this meeting disowns him"

3rd of the 8th mo 1776

"William Broson complained of in the 5th month last for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage and after the usual labor extendid this meeting disowns him"

5th of the 10th mo 1776

"The preparative Enters a complaint against Nathan Freeman for being guilty of going to places of diversion and dancing and notwithstanding he was labored with by the overseers with desires for his return, but to little or no purpose and since has went from us and listed himself a soldier all which being contrary to our principles, this meeting therefore agrees to shew their disunity with him and his disorderly conduct and hereby minutes him no member of our Society untill he reforms and suitably condemns the same, and that he may is our desire and that the Clerk upon his application is to give him a copy of this minute"

5th of the 10th mo 1776

"Samuel Alan Complained of in the 8th month last for keeping unseasonable company with Mary Brown after he had kept Company with her that is now his in order for marriage and is also Charged by the said Mary Brown with being the father of her child and after the usual labor extendid this meeting disowns him"

5th of the 7th mo 1777

"John Cox jun. disowned for accomplishing his marriage out of unity"

1st of the 11th mo 1777

"William Dunn son of Joseph Dunn complained of in the 9 month for being guilty of appearing in a warlike manner and marrying out of unity and after the usual labor Extended this meeting now Disowns him"

6th of the 12th mo 1777

"Joshua Chamness Disowned after the usual labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her that is now his wife before marriage and accomplishing his marriage to the same out of unity of friends."

3rd of the 1st mo 1778

"Miles Chapman Disowned after the usual labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her that is now his wife before marriage and accomplishing his marriage to the same out of the unity of friends"

2nd of the 5th mo 1778

"George Martin Junr complained of in the 3rd month last for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife and also for accomplishing his marriage to the same out of unity and after Repeated the usual labor Extended this meeting Disowns him."

4th of 7th mo 1778

"Joseph Brown complained of in the 5th month last for accompanying a member in his outgoing in marriage also for accomplishing his marriage out of unity too [unknown] this meeting disowns him after the usual labor extendid"

4th of 7th mo 1778

"Peter Edwards disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of unity."

4th of 7th mo 1778

"Thomas Tyson Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

2nd day of the 1st mo 1779

"Joseph Dean Junr disowned after Repeated labor Extended for striking a man in anger"

6th of the 3rd mo 1779

"Thomas Chapman Complained of in the first month last for taking a Justices Commission under the present unsettled state of public affairs Contrary to the advice of friends, and continuing to act therein after the time he informed friends his Commission would be run out and that he would not accept of another or act anything of moment without acquainting friends therewith or to this import, but to the Charge of this has as himself acknowledges administered the ca[unknown] wrote tickets relating to drafting as it is Called. Signed or granted a warrant or press to take guns for a millitary purpose. This meeting therefore disowns after Repeated labor Extended"

6th of the 3rd mo 1779

"Thomas Ratcliff disowned after the usual labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage and accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of 4th mo 1779

"John Williams Disowned for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

1st of 5th mo 1779

"The preparative meeting enters a complaint against Joshua and Simon Hadley sons of Thomas Hadly in that they have Joined in the present comotion so far as to appear in a warlike manner which being contrary to friends principles, this meeting agrees to show their Disunity with them and their disorderly proceedings and hereby minutes them no members of our society untill they Reform and Suitably condemn the same, which is our desire they may The clerk is appointed to send them a copy of this minute and sign it on behalf of this meeting"

3rd of the 7th mo 1779

"John Alan complained of for being charged by a young woman of being the father of her child also for accomplishing his marriage to another out of the unity of friends, and after Reported labor with him this meeting disowns him"

4th of 9 mo 1779

"John Ratcliff disowned for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage as also accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends."

6th of 11th mo 1779

"Thomas Comer Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of Friends to a young woman not in unity"

4th of the 12th mo 1779

"Robert Hodgkin disowned after repeated labor Extended for Dancing and Singing and suffering his house to [Run?] for a wager"

4th of the 12th mo 1779

"Thomas Hadly son of Simon Hadly Disowned after appearing in a warlike manner and accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

5th of the 2nd mo 1780

"The preparative Enters a complaint agaisnt Solomon Cox for purchasing and Selling [torn] without consent of friends as also for taking an affirmation to the present unsettled state of public affairs in this meeting therefore agrees to [torn] our Disunity with him and his Disorderly proceedings and hereby minutes him no member of our Society untill he Suitably condemns the Same which is our Desire he may"

5th of the 4th mo 1780

"Jonathan Barns complained of for selling negroes also for taking strong drink to excess and after Repeated labor with him to no purpose this meeting Disowns him"

5th of the 4th mo 1780

"Richard Brown disowned after the usual labour Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage which said [torn] under the necessity of marrying out of the unity of friends"

7th of the 10th mo 1780

"Thomas Cox son of Isaac Cox Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of the Unity of friends"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1781

"Joseph Hays Disowned after repeated labor with him for taking strong drink to excess"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1781

"John Freeman Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of Unity as also for appearing in a warlike manner with armed men"

4th of the 4th mo 1781

"William & John Lacky Disowned for marrying contrary to discipline and taking up arms in order for war"

2nd of the 6th mo 1781

"Jacob Dean complained of in the third month last for taking strong drink to Excess also for profane swearing and repeatedly bearing arms and accompanying armed men in order to suppress Robbery for which misconduct this meeting disowns him after Repeated labor Extended"

2nd of the 6th mo 1781

"William Vestal son of James complained of in the 4th mo last for taking strong drink to Excess and using profane language and frequently bearing arms in company with armed men for which misconduct this meeting disowns him"

7th of the 7th mo 1781

"Jesse Ratcliff complained of for having carnal knowledge of a young woman and is also charged by her of being the father of her child for which misconduct this meeting disowns him"

1st of the 9th mo 1781

"Enoch Cox disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of the unity of friends"

1st of the 9th mo 1781

"Nicholas Cox disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of the unity of friends."

6th of the 10th mo 1781

"Edward Carter Disowned after necessary labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 11th mo 1781

"Joshua Cox Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 11th mo 1781

"Joshua Vistal Disowned after the necessary labor Extended for bearing arms in warlike manner"

5th of the 1st mo 1782

"Jacob Hinshaw Junr complained of in the 11th month for keeping unseasonable company with a young woman, and is charged by her of being the father of her child and after repeated labor with him this meeting disowns him"

6th of the 4th mo 1782

"This meeting disowns Silas Haily after the usual labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of his first cousin and is also charged by her of being the father of her child"

6th of the 4th mo 1782

"Andrew Moorman disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

[illegible] 2nd mo 1783

"Jonathan Edwards Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of unity"

1st of 3rd mo 1783

"John Martin Disowned for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 5th mo 1783

"[unknown] Thompson disowned after labor Extended for not complying with his contract, also for going to a place of diversion & dancing when there and also for accomplishing his marriage out of unity"

3rd of the 5th mo 1783

"This meeting disowns John & Benjamin Moorman for accomplishing their marriage out of unity with their near kindred"

7th of 6th mo 1783

"Abner Smith Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of unity"

7th of the 6th mo 1783

"This meeting disowns Randal Haily for taking an oath when called upon by authority"

4th of the 7th mo 1783

"This meeting Disowns Robert Stuart after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 9th mo 1783

"Thomas Vestal Junr disowned after repeated labor Extended for dancing & Drinking strong liquor to Excess"

6th of the 9th mo 1783

"Henry Brown Complained of for being charged by a young woman of being the father of her child and after the necessary labor Extended this meeting Disowns him"

6th of the 9th mo 1783

"This meeting disowns Abraham Hinshaw Junr for Slighting the repeated advice of his friends so far as to continue working on a piece of land in dispute"

7th of the 2nd mo 1784

"This meeting Disowns Samuel Freeman after the necessary labor Extended for having Carnal Knowledge of his brothers widow so far as to have a child by her and also accomplishing his marriage with said woman out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 3rd mo 1784

"This meeting disowns John Farmer for breaking his marriage covenant so far as to consent by an agreement to live seperate from his lawful wife"

3rd of the 4th mo 1784

"This meeting disowns William Cox son of Isaac for being charged by a young woman of being the father of her child"

3rd of the 7th mo 1784

"This meeting Disowns Richard Tyson after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 7th mo 1784

"likewise Disowns Samuel Dunn after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends."

3rd of the 7th mo 1784

"Also Disowns George Dixon after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 9th mo 1784

"This meeting Disowns William Moorman after the necessary labor Extended for having carnal knowledge of a woman in an unmarried state"

4th of the 9th mo 1784

"This meeting Disowns Soloman Dixon after the necessary labor extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 12th mo 1784

"This meeting disowns Jacob Youngblood after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

5th of the 2nd mo 1785

"This meeting disowns Enoch Cox son of Solomon Cox for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

7th of the 5th mo 1785

"This meeting disowns David Cox after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

5th of the 11th mo 1785

"This meeting disowns Samuel Dixon after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 2nd mo 1786

"This meeting disowns John Marshall Junr. after the necessary labor Extended for having carnal knowledge of a woman when husband is not known to be dead"

4th of the 3rd mo 1786

"This meeting Disowns Edward Bennbow after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends to his first cousin"

4th of the 3rd mo 1786

"This meeting Disowns John Noblett after the necessary labor extended for having taken property concealing & Defacing and Endeavoring to put it to his own use"

4th of the 3rd mo 1786

"Also disowns Benjamin Hadly after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 6th mo 1786

"This meeting Disowns Christopher Herssy after repeated labor Extended for taking strong drink to Excess and frequenting places of Diversion"

4th of the 11 mo 1786

"This meeting disowns William Jackson after necessary labor Extended for being guilty of gaming and Quarelling, also for deviating from that plainness of speech and apparel which we profess"

4th of the 11 mo 1786

"This meeting disowns John Cox after necessary labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 11 mo 1786

"Also disowns John Upton after the necessary labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 1st mo 1787

"This meeting disowns David Williams after the necessary labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1787

"This meeting Disowns Henry Cox after the necessary labor Extended for having Stolen property and not being able to make it appear how he came by it, also for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 3rd mo 1787

"This meeting Disowns Isaac Lee after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

5th of the 4th mo 1787

"This meeting disowns Jacob Jackson after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of the unity of friends"

5th of the 5th mo 1787

"This meeting disowns Richard Upton after repeated labor Extended for telling untruths and for being false to trust reposed in him"

5th of the 5th mo 1787

"also disowns Jesse Upton after repeated labor Extended for taking too much strong drink & using bad language"

1st of 9th mo 1787

"This meeting disowns Samuel Cyland after repeated labor Extended for taking too much strong drink & using profane language"

1st of the 9th mo 1787

"Also disowns Abraham Hammer after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 10th mo 1787

"This meeting disowns John Stuart after the needful labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage also for accomplishing marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 5th mo 1788

"This meeting disowns William Husband after necessary labor Extended for being guilty of fighting"

7th of the 6th mo 1788

"This meeting Disowns William McCracken after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of the unity of friends with his first cousin"

1st of the 6th mo 1788

"This meeting Disowns John Thompson after the usual labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of a member of society and accomplishing marriage to the same out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 9th mo 1788

"This meeting Disowns Powell Bennbow after necessary labor Extended for moving away and not settling his affairs & not manumitting his negroes"

4 of 10th mo 1788

"This meeting Disowns John Clark Junior after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of the unity of friends"

7th of the 2nd mo 1789

"This meeting disowns Aaron Lindly after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 2nd mo 1789

"also Disowns Henry Stuart after the necessary labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage also for accomplishing his marriage out of unity"

4th of the 7th mo 1789

"This meeting disowns John Stuart after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

5th of the 9th mo 1789

"This meeting Disowns Benjamin Atkinson after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

3rd of the 10th mo 1789

"This meeting Disowns David Cox for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 11th 1789

"This meeting Disowns Abner Cloud after repeated labor Extended for shooting for a prize and using bad language"

5th of the 12th mo 1789

"This meeting Disowns Ebenezer Brown after the usual labor extended for accomplishing his marriage out of unity"

5th of the 12th mo 1789

"This meeting Disowns William Cox after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity to his first cousin"

6th of the 3rd mo 1790

"This meeting Disowns Benjamin Marshall after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing his marriage out of unity"

1st of the 5th mo 1790

"This meeting disowns Solomon & Jesse Cox for accomplishing marriage out of unity with their first cousins"

4th of the 9th mo 1790

"This meeting Disowns Joseph Williams after the necessary labor Extended for warranting a member without consent of the monthly meeting"

4th of the 9th mo 1790

"This meeting Disowns George James after the usual labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage and accomplishing said marriage out of unity"

6th of the 11th mo 1790

"This meeting Disowns Seth Barns after repeated labor Extended for frequenting musters and taking an oath before authority and taking too much strong Drink"

6th of the 11th mo 1790

"This meeting Disowns Joseph Brown after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

5th of the 2nd mo 1791

"This meeting Disowns Jesse Wells after repeated labor Extended for dancing and fighting"

5th of the 2nd mo 1791

"Likewise Disowns Humphry Williams after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

5th of the 3rd mo 1791

"This meeting Disowns Samuel Nelson Junr. after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 5th mo 1791

"This meeting Disowns Peter Dicks after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

6th of the 8th mo 1791

"This meeting Disowns Jesse Hinshaw after the necessary labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage"

1st of the 10th mo 1791

"This meeting Disowns Samuel Underwood after repeated labor Extended for accompanying a member in his outgoing in marriage and taking too much strong drink and fighting"

5th of the 11th mo 1791

"This meeting Disowns William Zanzky for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 1st mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns Benjamin Gilbert after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity to a woman to a woman of too near kin"

3rd of the 3rd mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns Joseph Underwood after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity."

7th of the 4th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns John Saunders after repeated Labor Extended for being charged by a woman of being the father of her child in an unmarried state."

5th of the 5th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns John Marshall son Jacob after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

4th of 8th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns Benjamin Bunnside after the necessary labor Extended for fighting"

4th of 8th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns Joseph Clark after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity to a woman supposed to be another mans wife and having Carnal knowledge of her before marriage"

4th of 8th mo 1792

"Also Disowns Francis Clark after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity with a woman near of kin"

4th of 8th mo 1792

"Also Disowns William Diggs, Pleasant Diggs and Marshal Digs after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

6th of the 10th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns William Hobson Junior after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

6th of the 10th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns John Guaves after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

3rd of the 11th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns William Pike after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity & being charged by another woman of being the father of her child"

3rd of the 11th mo 1792

"Also Disowns Isaac Stout after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity & for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage"

1st of the 12th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns Adam Martin after repeated labor Extended for appearing in a warlike way amongst warriors"

1st of the 12th mo 1792

"Also Disowns Joel Brown after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

1st of the 12th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns Aaron Jones after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing accomplishing marriage out of unity"

5th of the 1st mo 1793

"This meting Disowns Thomas Lindly Junr after the necessary labor Extended for being charged by a woman of being the father of her child"

2nd of the 2nd mo 1793

"This meeting disowns John Cox after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity to his first cousin"

3rd of the 8th mo 1793

"This meeting disowns Enoch Cox after repeated labor Extended for drinking strong drink to Excess and for telling untruths in order to cover his bad conduct therein"

3rd of the 8th mo 1793

"This meeting disowns Christopher Herry after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 9th mo 1793

"This meeting disowns Alexander Williams after repeated labor Extended for fighting, mustering and using profane language"

7th of the 9th mo 1793

"This meeting disowns John Hinshaw after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 9th mo 1793

"This meeting disowns Silas Hobson for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

5th of the 10th mo 1793

"This meeting disowns Jonathan Dean after the usual labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife, also for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

2nd of the 11th mo 1793

"This meeting disowns William Jones after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 6th mo 1794

"Cane Creek preparative complains of Jesse Vestal for Dancing & accomplishing marriage out of unity to his cousin. Jacob Marshall is appointed to write to the monthly meeting of deep creek within whose limits he is removed requesting them to labor with him on behalf of this meeting & report his care when complied with"

[faded] of the 9th mo 1794

"This meeting disowns John Hobson after the usual labor Extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage also for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 2nd mo 1795

"This meeting disowns Jesse Nelson after repeated labor extended for using profane language, dancing & mustering"

7th of the 2nd mo 1795

"This meeting disowns Peter Stout son of Charles after the usual labor extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage and accomplishing it out of unity"

7th of the 2nd mo 1795

"Also disowns Charles Stout Junr after the usual labor extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity to one of too near kindred"

7th of the 2nd mo 1795

"Also disowns William Wills after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

7th of the 3rd mo 1795

"This meeting disowns Henry Underwood after the usual labor extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

2nd of the 5th mo 1795

"This meeting disowns Robert Carter after repeated labor extended for being charged by a young woman of being the father of her child and carrying in defence against being arrested by civil authority also for taking too much strong drink and using bad language"

2nd of the 5th mo 1795

"This meeting disowns John Vestal after the necessary labor extended for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage and accomplishing marriage out of unity, also for using bad language and offering to fight"

5th of the 9th mo 1795

"This meeting disowns Edward Upton after the usual labor extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

5th of the 9th mo 1795

"Also disowns Richard Upton for accomplishing marriage out of unity to his cousin"

5th of the 12th mo 1795

"This meeting Disowns Jesse Comer after the necessary labor Extended for drinking spiritous liquor to excess and using bad language at several times when so and also for abusing his wife in her life time both in words and otherwise"

5th of the 12th mo 1795

"This meeting disowns Jacob Cloud after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

2nd of the 1st mo 1796

"This meeting disowns Thomas Tyson after repeated labor extended for fighting and profane swearing"

6th of the 2nd mo 1796

"This meeting disowns William Brown after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity, also for striking a man in anger"

7th of the 5th mo 1796

"This meeting Disowns James Hadly after the usual labor extended for accomplishing marriage out of unity"

4th of the 10th mo 1797

"Cane Creek preparative complains of Joseph Wells Senior for taking too much strong drink, Nathan Dixon & Isaac Hobson are appointed to labour with him on the occasion & report their care therein to next meeting"

4th of the 10th mo 1797

"Also complains of John Wells for using bad language & telling Untruths, Samuel Nelson and Henry Jones are appointed to Visit and labour with him on the occasion, and report their minds & Care to next meeting"

5th of the 8th mo 1797

"Rocky River preparative Complains of Isaac Greaves for so accompanying with a young woman as to be charged by her of being the father of her child Edom Ratcliff & Nathan Dixon are appointed to labour with him on the Occasion to Shew him the evil of such Conduct & produce a testimony against him to next meeting"

2nd of the 9th mo 1797

"Cane Creek preparative complains of James Neale for taking too much strong drink & using unbecoming language this meeting therefore appoints Hugh Moffit Nathan Dixon John Carter to Visit & labour with him on the occasion and report their care therein to next meeting"

2nd of the 9th mo 1797

"Also complains of Nathan Wells for taking too much strong drink & using unbecoming language Jesse Johnson and Joshua Chamness are appointed to visit & labour with him on the Occasion and Report their care therein to next meeting"

3 of the 6th mo 1797

"Also complains of William Sidwell for accomplishing marriage out of unity. Jacob Marshill is therefore appointed to produce a testimony against him to next meeting"

1st of the 4th mo 1797

"The friends appointed to visit & prepare a testimony against John Long, have produced one which was approved of & signed, and Jacob Marshill is appointed to publish it at the close of a meeting for worship at Cane Creek & return the paper with an account of his care to next meeting"

6th of the 12th mo 1797

"The friends appointed to visit Levi Branson on account of his outgoing in marriage report they complied therewith, & have produced a testimony against him which was approved of & Signed, & Nathan Dixon is appointed to give or send him a copy & report his care to next meeting"

3rd of the 3rd mo 1798

"Rocky River preparative complains of Jonathan Cloud for going out in marriage, this meeting therefore thinks best to Send his Right of membership to lost Creek monthly meeting, David Vestal & Isaac Hobson are appointed to produce a certificate including the complaint to our next meeting"

3rd of the 3rd mo 1798

"Also complains of Samuel Hobson for moving away without settling his affairs, also for accomplishing marriage out of unity Jacob Marshill is appointed to write to the monthly meeting of Deep Creek where his Residence is informing them there of & to request them to deal with him on that account & report taken complied with"

2nd of the 6th mo 1798

"Rocky River preparative complains of Joseph Cloud [faded] for taking too much strong drink & using bad language Jacob [faded] & Hugh Moffit are appointed to visit & labour with him on the Occasion & report to next meeting"

7th of the 7th mo 1798

"Cane Creek preparative complains of Samuel Davison for having Carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage Also for accomplishing marriage out of Unity, David Vestal & John Davis are appointed to visit him on the occasion & endeavor to shew him the evil of such conduct & produce a testimony against next meeting"

4th of the 8th mo 1798

"Cane Creek preparative Complains of Charles Stout for using strong liquor to excess David Vestal & John Carter are appointed to visit & labour with him on the occasion & report to next meeting"

4th of the 8th mo 1798

"Rocky River preparative Complains of John Davison Junr. for having Carnal knowledge & accomplishing marriage with his Mothers half sister David Vestal & Jacob Marshall are appointed to visit & labour with him on the occasion in order to Shew him the evil of such a conduct & produce a testimony against him to next meeting"

4th of the 8th mo 1798

"Also Complains of David Vestal for accomplishing marriage out of unity Samuel Nelson is therefore appointed to produce a testimony against him to next meeting"

3rd of the 11th mo 1798

"Cane Creek preparative complains of John Haydock for keeping enclosed and Claiming some sheep belong to his neighbour and for Refusing to give them up from the testimony of his Neighbours Until proof was made according to law, Samuel Nelson, Hohn Greaves, Thomas Cox & Nathan Dixon are appointed to inspect the complaint more fully and report to next meeting"

3rd of the 11th mo 1798

"Also complains of Thomas Davies for accomplishing marriage out of Unity, Solomon Dunn appointed to prepare a testimony against him to next meeting"

5th of the 1st mo 1799

"Holly Spring preparative complains of Stephen Hessey Jun. for accomplishing marriage out of unity John Cox is appointed to produce a testimony against him to next meeting"

5th of the 1st mo 1799

"Also Complain of David Kenworthy for accompanying a member in his outgoing in marriage David Vestal and Francis Fraser are appointed to visit & labour with him on the occasion & Report to next meeting"

2nd of the 3rd mo 1799

"A complaint was produced to this meeting Against John and George Haley for accomplishing marriage out of unity Solomon Dixon is appointed to produce a testimony against each of them to next meeting"

4th of the 5th mo 1799

"Cane Creek preparative complains of Benjamin Hinshaw for Accomplishing marriage out of unity William Marshall Junr is appointed to produce a testimony against to next meeting"

1st of the 6th mo 1799

"Cane Creek preparative complains of Daniel William for taking strong drink to excess also for Vain swearing Jesse Johnson & Jacob Marshall are appointed to visit & labour with him on the occasion & Report to next meeting"

3rd of the 8th mo 1799

"Rocky River Preparative complains of Silas Vestal for dancing & accomplishing marriage out of unity, Solomon Dixon & Joshua Chamness are appointed to Visit & labour with him on the occasion and except he appears in a disposition to make satisfaction produce a testimony against him to next meeting"

5th of the 10th mo 1799

"Holly Spring preparative complains of Jesse Webb for Signing a paper in favour of a man who in company with others was active in houspiling & Murder, Also for speaking falsehood to excuse the act, Jacob Marshall, Nathan Dixon, & John Davies, are appointed to Visit & labour with him on the occasion in order to show him the evil of such conduct, and produce a testimony against to next meeting"

4th of the 1st mo 1800

"Cane Creek preparative Complains of William Ozburn for accomplishing Marriage out of unity & for dancing, William Hobson & Daniel Freeman are appointed to Visit & labour with him on the occasion & Report to next meeting"

4th of the 1st mo 1800

"Also complains of William Stout for the disorders abovesaid [marriage out of unity and dancing], John Pike & Joshua Piggot are appointed to visit & labour with him on the occasion & report to next meeting"

1st of the 3rd mo 1800

"Cane Creek preparative Complains of William Marshall for accomplishing marriage out of unity John Stout is appointed to produce a testimony against him to next meeting for approbation & signing"

5th of the 4th mo 1800

"Cane Creek preparative complains of Zachariah Wells for accomplishing marriage out of unity Wm Marshall is appointed to produce a testimony against him to meeting"

5th of the 4th mo 1800

"The Monthly meeting of Westfield hath sent a complaint against Joseph Swainey a member of their meeting but a Resident here for dancing & dressing out of plainness, desiring this meeting to treat with him on the occasion, Isaac Hobson & John Newlin are appointed for that service & to Report to next meeting"

3rd of the 5th mo 1800

"Cane Creek preparative complains of Ezra Hinshaw for fighting John Pike Henry Jones are appointed to visit & labour with him on the occasion & report to next meeting"

5th of the 7th mo 1800

"Rocky River preparative complains of John Greave for accomplishing Marriage out of unity Nathan Dixon is appointed to produce a testimony against him to next meeting"

5th of the 7th mo 1800

"Also complains of Isaac Johnson for having carnal knowledge of her who is now his wife before marriage John Carter & Isaac Hobson are appointed to visit & labour with him on the occasion & report to next meeting"

Women's Minutes Cane Creek Monthly Meeting

6th of the 10th mo 1754

"This meeting agrees to Disown Mary Lindly and Elizabeth Williams for going out in marriage"

2nd of the 4th mo 1757

"This meeting Disowns Mary Fischer formerly Latta after usual labour being extended"

7th of the 1st mo 1758

"This meeting disowns Rebekah Nelson for her outgoing in marriage"

7th of the 7th mo 1759

"This meeting Disowns Sarah Espy & Prudence Moor after the usual labour extended"

6th of the 12th mo 1760

"This meeting after Repeated labour Disowns Rachel Reynolds for taking strong drink to excess"

4th of the 4th mo 1761

"This meeting Disowns Hannah Howard for her outgoing in marriage"

4th of the 4th mo 1761

"This meeting after Repeated Labour Extended Disowns Charity Wright for having carnal knowledge of Jehu Stuart"

6th of the 9th mo 1761

"This meeting disowns ann Chaney for outgoing in marriage"

5th of the 12th mo 1761

"This meeting Disowns Sarah Thomson formerly Taylor for going out in marriage"

2nd of the 1st mo 1762

"This meeting Disowns Lydia Morris formerly Thornton for going out in marriage"

7th of the 5th mo 1763

"Mary Lambert formerly Hackney Disowned for her outgoing in marriage"

7th of the 5th mo 1763

"Susanna Woods formerly Taylor Disowned for her out going in marriage"

4th of the 6th mo 1763

"This meeting Disowns Elizabeth Sharp formerly Wyly for accomplishing her marriage out of unity with a man which has another wife"

2nd of the 7th mo 1763

"Catharine Nelson Complained of in the first month last for telling untruths for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her after Repeated Labour"

2nd of the 7th mo 1763

"Martha Carson formerly Tanzy Disowned after the usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

7th of the 1st mo 1764

"Jane Shikhard formerly Birny Disowned after usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 8th mo 1764

"Abigail Thomas formerly Moor Disowned after the usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

1st of the 6th mo 1765

Catharine Tanzy Disowned after the usual Labour Extended for her Disorderly proceedings"

6th of the 7th mo 1765

"This meeting Disowns Rebekah Hobson for taking strong drink to excess after Repeated Labour Extended"

3rd of the 8th mo 1765

Phebe Beck formerly Varnon Disowned after the usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends"

3rd of the 8th mo 1765

"This meeting disowns Elizabeth Hollingsworth for joining in Society with a people Different in persuasion from us after necessary labour Extended"

3rd of the 8th mo 1765

"Also Disowns Ruth Booket for joining with the same profession Labour Extended likewise"

5th of the 9th mo 1765

"This meeting Disowns Amy Husbands formerly Allen for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends"

4th of the 1st mo 1766

"The preparative meeting Enters a Complaint against a number of friends living on Deep River to wit Hannah Vernon, Judith Cox & Mary Moffitt in that they stand in open Complaint of all good order or Discipline as denying any obedience in a Subordinate manner to this meeting and for accompanying Amy Husbands to accomplish her marriage which was Consumated contrary to the good order of friends Also Complains of Phebe Cox in that she consented to her sd Daughters marriage and accompanying her thereto therefore Jane Maynor & Margaret Stout is appointed to pay them a Visit on the Occasion in order to Convince them of their mistake therein so that they may be Reclaimed, and Report to next meeting"

7th of the 6th mo 1766

"Mary Jackson wife of Thomas Jackson Disowned for committing adultery with William Jackson after Repeated labour "

2nd of the 8th mo 1766

"Abigail Thomas formerly Moore Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends usual labour Extended"

2nd of the 8th mo 1766

"Mary Harking formerly Stuart Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

2nd of the 1st mo 1768

"Ruth Biddle formerly Jackson Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends"

5th of the 8th mo 1769

"Grace Williams formerly Deane Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity Repeated Labour Extended"

2nd of the 9th mo 1769

"Ruth Mitchel formerly Jackson Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity also going away without making satisfaction"

2nd of the 9th mo 1769

"Deborah Little formerly Hadly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 11th mo 1769

"Rachel Henderson formerly Thornton Disowned after the usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

2nd of the 3rd mo 1771

"Mary Taylor formerly Weely Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of Unity also for leaving the parts without making Satisfaction"

7th of the 9th mo 1771

"Sarah Whitehead formerly Vestal Disowned for going out in marriage"

4th of the 1st mo 1772

"Rachel Few formerly Wily complained of in the 11th month last for accomplishing her marriage out of unity for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her after labour being Extended."

4th of the 1st mo 1772

"Ruth Wily Disowned for a Disorderly Life & conversation and frequenting Dancing Schools and leaving the parts without making satisfaction"

1st of the 2nd mo 1772

"Sarah Stoneman formerly Freeman Disowned after usual Labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity friends"

7th of the 3rd mo 1772

"Phebe Vestal formerly Thompson disowned after the usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 6th mo 1772

"Rebekah Branson Disowned after much Labour bestowed for absenting herself from friends meetings and joining with a separate meeting"

2nd of the 1st mo 1773

"Elizabeth Mcdaniel formerly Vestal Disowned after usual Labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of unity of friends"

6th of the 2nd mo 1773

"Martha Neal formerly Moony complained of in the 11th month 1771 for accomplishing her marriage out unity of friends with a man near of kin for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her after much Labour Extended"

1st of the 5th mo 1773

"Elizabeth Hinshaw Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity labour Extended"

1st of the 5th mo 1773

"Ann Miller, latterly Stubbs, formerly Mooney, Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity also leaving the parts without making satisfaction"

7th of the 8th mo 1773

"Ann Cloud formerly Mooney Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends Labour being Extended"

1st of the 1st mo 1774

"Sarah Pennington formerly Barns complained of in the 8th mo last for having carnal knowledge of him who is now her husband before Marriage also accomplished her marriage out unity for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her after Labour extended"

7th of the 5th mo 1774

"Mary Winter formerly Dixon complained of in the 4th month last for accomplishing her marriage out of unity, for which Disorder this meting Disowns her after Labour being Extended"

3rd of the 12th mo 1774

"Ann Farmer formerly Howel Disowned after usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

1st of the 4th mo 1775

"Sarah Bodsall formerly Brown Disowned for keeping Unseasonable so as to be with child before marriage"

6th of the 5th mo 1775

"Rachel Haysworth Disowned for having a child in an unmarried state"

2nd of the 9th mo 1775

"Elizabeth McMasters formerly Thompson Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 11th mo 1775

"Ruth Harvy complained of last month for having carnal knowledge of a married man for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her, labour Extended"

2nd of the 12th mo 1775

"Jane Man complained of in the 9th mo last for approving of fiddling & Dancing in her house and also Dancing herself for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her after necessary labour Extended"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1776

"Ann Henderson complained of in the 11th month last for keeping company with a man of a Reproachful Character and likewise for telling untruth to hid or cover the same from her Husband & friends, therefore this meeting Disowns her Labour being Extended"

4th of the 6th mo 1776

"Mary Moffitt formerly Cox complained of last month for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity friends for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her Labour Extended"

5th of the 8th mo 1776

"Rachel Williams complained Last month for Disorderly company keeping so as to have an illegitimate Child for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her labour Extended"

4th of the 1st mo 1777

"Lydia Hinson formerly Jones complained of last month for accomplishing her marriage out of unity, also for leaving the parts without making Satisfaction which Disorder this meeting Disowns her"

4th of the 1st mo 1777

"Deborah Lindly formerly Dix Complained of Last Month for keeping unseasonable Company with him that now is her Husband before marriage so as to be with Child, for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her"

1st of the 2nd mo 1777

"Lydia Ward formerly Chamness complained of in the 12th month last for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends, for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her after the usual Labour Extended"

1st of the 3rd mo 1777

"Mary Adamson formerly Wells Complained of last month for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends for which disorder this meeting Disowns her"

5th of the 4th mo 1777

"Margaret Spencer formerly Cox complained of in the 2nd month last for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends for which disorder this meeting Disowns her, Labour Extended"

3rd of the 5th mo 1777

Jane Rankin formerly Martin Complained of Last month for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her"

3rd of the 5th mo 1777

"Hannah Martin complained of Last month for having an illegitimate child for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her"

2nd of the 8th mo 1777

"Jane Holladay formerly Andrew complained of in the 6th mo last for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her, labour Extended"

6th of the 9th mo 1777

"Fanny Coventon formerly Moreman complained of last month for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her Labour extended"

6th of the 12th mo 1777

"Elizabeth Richardson formerly Mooney complained of in the 10th month last for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends for which Disorder this Meeting Disowns her, labour Extended"

3rd of the 1st mo 1778

"Mary Chapman formerly Vestal Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him who is now her husband so as to be with child before marriage"

7th of the 3rd mo 1778

"Rebekah Saunders formerly Fasmer Disowned after the usual Labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends"

1st of the 8th mo 1778

"Jane Travis formerly Hadly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

1st of the 8th mo 1778

"Catherine Pickerel formerly Wireman Disowned after usual Labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends"

1st of the 8th mo 1778

"Margaret Brown formerly Martin Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

7th of the 11th mo 1778

"Sarah Underwood complained of in the eighth mo last for going into Disorderly company also for Dancing when there for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her after usual Labour extended"

7th of the 11th mo 1778

Margery Piggot Disowned for keeping Disorderly company and frequenting places of Diversion and dancing also Labour extended"

5th of the 12th mo 1778

"Elizabeth Smith formerly Rattcliff Disowned for going out in marriage, labour Extended"

3rd of the 4th mo 1779

"Mary Grave formerly Pennington Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

1st of the 5th mo 1779

"Martha Brown formerly Cox Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends labour Extended"

4th of the 9th mo 1779

"Rachel Allen formerly Stout Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends usual labour extended"

2nd of the 10th mo 1779

"Gertrude Cox Disowned for having an illegitimate child Labour extended"

1st of the 1st mo 1780

"Ann Lakey formerly Hadly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends"

5th of the 2nd mo 1780

"Martha Cox Disowned for accomplishing her marriage with her first Cousin contrary to Discipline Labour extended"

1st of the 4th mo 1780

"Mary Brown formerly Adams Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends also having a Child in a short time after marriage Labour Extended"

2nd of the 12th mo 1780

"Rachel Bradly formerly Farmer Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends Labour extended"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1781

"Mary Biddock formerly Standfield Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends Labour Extended"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1781

"This meeting Disowns Rachel Caps formerly Smith for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1781

"This meeting Disowns Elizabeth McDoyle formerly Smith for Disorderly Company keeping and living a considerable time with him who now is her husband before marriage Labour Extended"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1781

"Susanna and Mary Little formerly Jackson Disowned after labour Extended for accomplishing their marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1781

"Martha Shy formerly Harvy Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity labour Extended"

3rd of the 3rd mom 1781

"This meeting Disowns Catharine Wilkins formerly Smith for accomplishing her marriage out of Unity Labour Extended"

5th of the 5th mo 1781

"Elizabeth Pennington complained of in the first month last for assisting her Brother in Stealing a young woman in order for marriage for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her Repeated Labour extended"

4th of the 8th mo 1781

"This meeting Disowns Abigail Crow formerly Lee after usual labour extended for accomplishing her marriage out of unity"

3rd of the 11th mo 1781

"Rebekah Cox formerly Hinshaw Disowned after usual Labour bestowed for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity friends"

1st of the 12th mo 1781

"This meeting Disowns Mary Davison for having a Child in an unmarried state usual Labour Extended"

1st of the 12th mo 1781

"Hannah Bass formerly Moon Disowned after the usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 4th mo 1782

"This meeting Disowns Delilah Adcock formerly Moreman for accomplishing her marriage out of unity labour Extended"

6th of the 4th mo 1782

"Mary Still formerly Clark Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity Labour Extended"

6th of the 4th mo 1782

"Sarah Rattcliff formerly Diggs Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out the unity of friends labour Extended"

6th of the 4th mo 1782

"Sarah Moreman Disowned for having a child in an unmarried state Labour Extended"

7th of the 9th mo 1782

"This meeting Disowns Rachel Moon for having a child in an unmarried state Labour being Extended"

7th of the 9th mo 1782

"Amy Thompson Disowned for Neglecting the attendance of our Religious Meeting and for Superfluous apparel also for Slighting the Advice of her friends much labour has been bestowed"

7th of the 12th mo 1782

"Phebe Wood formerly Clark Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of Unity after usual Labour Extended"

7th of the 12th mo 1782

"Hannah Ray formerly Massey Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends labour Extended"

7th of the 12th mo 1782

"Alice Dimmett formerly Chapman Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 1st mo 1783

"Hannah Ray formerly Massy Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

1st of the 3rd mo 1783

"Sarah Hinshaw formerly Martin Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labor Extended"

3rd of the 5th mo 1783

"Lucy Crofford formerly Moreman Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 5th mo 1783

"Hannah Wilson formerly Matthews Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 5th mo 1783

"This meeting Disowns Rebekah Moreman formerly Diggs for accomplishing her marriage contrary to Discipline with a man of the same Society and also near of kin"

3rd of the 5th mo 1783

"This meeting Disowns Ann Moreman formerly Clark for accomplishing her marriage contrary to Discipline with a man of the same Society and also near of kin"

7th of 6th mo 1783

"Sarah Shephard formerly Farmer Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends"

7th of 6th mo 1783

"Lucy Stickling formerly Haly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

5th of the 7th mo 1783

"Mary Jackson formerly Farmer Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

2nd of the 8th mo 1783

"Ann Jackson formerly Dunn Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 9th mo 1783

"Sarah Bray [unknown] complained of in the 5th mo last for Dancing talebearing and wearing her hair Disagreeable to her friends, for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her after much labour bestowed"

3rd of the 1st mo 1784

"Rachel Farmer complained of in the 10th mo last for not living with her husband also accusing him of things that she could not support for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her after Repeated bestowed"

3rd of the 1st mo 1784

"Lydia Hallingsworth formerly Comber Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends with a man near of kin"

3rd of the 1st mo 1784

"Rachel Mooney Disowned for having a child in an Unmarried state Likewise concealing the Birth of it labour Extended"

7th of the 2nd mo 1784

"Ann Coble formerly Underwood Disowned for accomplishing her marriage contrary to Discipline also for having a child in a short time after marriage, Likewise for frequenting places of Diversion"

6th of the 3rd mo 1784

"Martha Edwards Complained of in the 12th mo last for frequenting places of Diversion and Dancing, for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her after labour being Extended"

6th of the 3rd mo 1784

"Rebekah Maddock formerly Hinshaw Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends"

3rd of the 7th mo 1784

"Hannah Dixon formerly Hunt Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the Unity of friends with a man of the same society"

3rd of the 7th mo 1784

"Rebekah Tyson complained of Last month for keeping unseasonable company with a young man so as to be with child by him for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her labour has been Extended"

3rd of the 7th mo 1784

"Mary McDaniel formerly Smith Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends usual labour Extended"

7th of the 8th mo 1784

"Catharine Pickheart formerly Andrew Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of Unity usual labour Extended"

1st of the 1st mo 1785

"Mary Nobbit formerly Brown Disowned for accomplishing her marriage contrary to Discipline usual Labour Extended"

5th of the 3rd mo 1785

"Ruth Barton formerly Underwood Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity usual labour Extended"

4th of the 6th mo 1785

[Lorsrana?] Barns Disowned after labour has been Extended for having a Child in an unmarried state"

2nd of the 7th mo 1785

"Martha Hopkins formerly Cox Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

5th of the 11th mo 1785

"Rachel McDaniel formerly Bray Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage of the Unity of friends labour Extended"

5th of the 11th mo 1785

"This Meeting Disowns Content Hendrick formerly Vernon for accomplishing her marriage out of unity with a man near of kin usual labour Extended"

7th of the 1st mo 1786

"Jane Womble formerly Tyson Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

7th of the 1st mo 1786

Lordrana Phillips formerly Gilber Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends Usual labour Extended"

4th of the 2nd mo 1786

"Elizabeth Mordick formerly Brooks Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

4th of the 3rd mo 1786

"This meeting Disowns Rachel Underwood for having a child in [unknown] Husbands Absence Labour Extended"

4th of the 3rd mo 1786

"Sarah Vestal Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends with her first cousin also having a child to soon after Marriage Labour Extended"

4th of the 3rd mo 1786

"This Meeting Disowns Hannah Landsbil and Mary Wilson formerly Lock for accomplishing their Marriages out of unity"

4th of the 3rd mo 1786

"This Meeting Disowns Susanna West and Sarah Gibson formerly Bonbow for accomplishing their Marriages out of the Unity of friends"

6th of the 5th mo 1786

"This meeting Disowns Rebekah Noblet for telling untruths in order to screen her Husbands misconduct Repeated labour Extended"

2nd of the 9th mo 1786

"Sarah Stephenson formerly Tyson Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends also having a child in a short time after marriage--labour Extended"

2nd of the 9th mo 1786

"Sarah Ellit formerly Piggett Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of unity labour Extended"

7th of the 10th mo 1786

"Mary Adamson formerly Hammer Disowned after Usual labour Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of unity"

4th of the 11th mo 1786

"Martha Hayle formerly Harvy Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of unity Labour Extended"

3rd of the 2nd mo 1787

"Dorothy Woolison formerly Upton Complained of in the 11th mo last for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends and also for taken an Oath for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her, after much Labour has been extended"

2nd of the 6th mo 1787

"Hannah Craven formerly Cox complained of in the 4th month last for accomplishing her marriage out of unity also for attending a Disorderly marriage for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her labour Extended"

7th of the 7th mo 1787

"Rebekah Cox Disowned for accompanying her Brother to accomplish her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

4th of the 8th mo 1787

"Ruth Pyle formerly Lindly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

6th of the 10th mo 1787

"Elizabeth Stuart formerly Dixon Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the Unity of friends and having a child in a short time after marriage"

6th of the 9th mo 1788

"Mary Hunter formerly Gilbert Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the Unity of friends labour Extended"

6th of the 9th mo 1788

"Sarah Temples formerly Barns Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of Unity, also having a child in a short time after marriage labour Extended"

4th of the 10th mo 1788

"Abigail Barns Disowned for attending a Disorderly Marriage Labour Extended"

1st of the 11th mo 1788

"Mary Thompson formerly Pike Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends with a member, also for having a child in a short time after Marriage Labour Extended"

7th of the 3rd mo 1789

"Mary Hadly Disowned for holding her Negroes in slavery"

7th of the 3rd mo 1789

"Mary England formerly Hadly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 4th mo 1789

"Mary Stuart formerly Nelson Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with a member our society so as to be with child before marriage also accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

4th of the 4th mo 1789

"Sarah Handcock formerly Cox Disowned for keeping unseasonable Company so as to be with Child before Marriage also accomplished her Marriage out of the Unity of friends Labour Extended"

4th of the 7th mo 1789

"Mary Phillips formerly Sanders Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends Labour Extended"

5th of the 9th mo 1789

"Jane Brown formerly Grave complained of in the 8th month last for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her after the usual labour Extended"

3rd of the 10th mo 1789

"Charity McDaniel Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the Unity of friends usual labour Extended"

3rd of the 10th mo 1789

"Margaret Gifford formerly Wells complained of in the 9th mo last for keeping unseasonable company so as to be with child before marriage, also accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her after the usual labour Extended"

3rd of the 10th mo 1789

"Ann Stout formerly Hobson Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

7th of the 11th mo 1789

"Mary Lamb formerly Dunn Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

7th of the 11th mo 1789

"Elizabeth Little Disowned for having a child in an unmarried state also Denying of being in that condition until a short time before the child was Born, labour Extended"

2nd of the 10th mo 1790

"Ruth Massy formerly Dix disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

4th of the 12th mo 1790

"Charity Williams Complained in the 9th month last for attending a Disorderly Marriage, for which Disorder this meeting Disowns her after labour has been Extended"

2nd of the 4th mo 1791

"Rebekah Pugh formerly Branson Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

2nd of the 4th mo 1791

"Mary Dix formerly Lindly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends with a member labour Extended"

4th of the 6th mo 1791

"Elizabeth Jackson Complained of last month for having a child in an unmarried state for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her after labour was Extended"

3rd of the 9th mo 1791

"Mary Hinshaw formerly Marshall, Disowned for keeping unseasonable so as to be with child before marriage by him that is now her Husband labour Extended"

1st of the 10th mo 1791

"Mary Zuckingbush formerly Newlin Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends labour Extended"

3rd of the 12th mo 1791

"Content Brown formerly Hodgins Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends usual labor Extended"

3rd of the 3rd mo 1792

"Elizabeth Madon formerly Carter Disowned after the usual labour Extended for accomplishing her Marriage out of unity of friends"

2nd of the 6th mo 1792

"Jane Massy formerly Mandson Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends"

2nd of the 6th mo 1792

"Sarah Caps formerly Sanders Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of unity"

7th of the 8th mo 1792

"Deborah Elliott formerly White Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends"

7th of the 8th mo 1792

"Elizabeth Ryly formerly Chambers Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him that now is her Husband soon to be with child before marriage also accomplished her marriage out of unity labour Extended"

7th of the 8th mo 1792

"This Meeting Disowns Agness Hinson formerly Clark, Agness Everet formerly Diggs, Rachel Adcook formerly Moreman now Thomas for accomplishing their Marriages out of the unity of friends also Disowns Fanny Diggs formerly Crew for accomplishing her marriage out of unity with a member of our Society"

1st of the 9th mo 1792

"This Meeting Disowns Sarah Williams after the necessary labor Extended for having a child in an unmarried state"

6th of the 10th mo 1792

"Mary Honaday formerly Dix Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 10th mo 1792

"Abigail Underwood formerly Pike Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of unity labor Extended"

6th of the 10th mo 1792

"Mary Grave formerly Hadly Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of unity, with a member of our Society Labor Extended"

1st of the 12th mo 1792

"This meeting Disowns Miriam Jones for having a child in an unmarried state labor Extended"

5th of the 1st mo 1793

"Catharine Williams formerly Martin Disowned (after usual labor Extended) for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends"

2nd of the 3rd mo 1793

"Phebe Thompson Disowned for having a Child in an unmarried state labor Extended"

6th of the 4th mo 1793

"Mary Bennton formerly Lindly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage contrary to Discipline usual labor Extended"

6th of the 4th mo 1793

"Catharine Cox complained last meeting for accomplishing her marriage out of unity with her first cousin for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her labor Extended"

1st of the 6th mo 1793

"Ruth Massy produced an offering to this meeting condemning her outgoing in marriage which was Received for Satisfaction"

3rd of the 8th mo 1793

"Mary Butler formerly Carter Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 8th mo 1793

"Hannah Atkinson formerly Dunns Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 8th mo 1793

"Sarah Ellitt formerly Gilbert Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labour extended"

7th of the 9th mo 1793

"Ruth Hadly formerly Marshall Disowned for keeping unseasonable company so as to be with child before marriage, also accomplished her marriage out of the unity of friends Labor Extended"

7th of the 9th mo 1793

"This Meeting Disowns Jane Hinshaw, after usual labor Extended for accomplishing her Marriage out of unity with a member of our society"

2nd of the 11th mo 1793

"Rachel Doane, formerly Williams Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him that is now her Husband so as to be with Child before marriage labor Extended"

1st of the 3rd mo 1794

"Sarah Culberson formerly Jones Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labor Extended"

6th of the 9th mo 1794

"Hannah Morris formerly Marshill, Disowned after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

7th of the 2nd mo 1795

"Ann Vestal formerly Martin Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity of friends"

7th of the 2nd mo 1795

"Hannah Hinshaw complained of last month for having a child in an unmarried state, for which misconduct this meeting Disowns her, after Labor has been Extended"

7th of the 2nd mo 1795

"Elizabeth Vestal, formerly Carter, Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him who is now her husband so as to be with child before marriage"

3rd of the 10th mo 1795

"Rachel Underwood formerly Wells Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends with a member of our society, labor Extended"

2nd of the 4th mo 1796

"Ann More formerly Gilbert Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him who is now her Husband so as to be with child before marriage labor Extended"

2nd of the 4th mo 1796

"Rachel Phillips formerly Sanders Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him who is now her Husband so as to be with child before marriage labor Extended"

7th of the 5th mo 1796

"Miriam Handcock formerly Sanders Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labor Extended"

4th of the 6th mo 1796

"Sarah Siler formerly Hadly Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends labor Extended"

4th of the 6th mo 1796

"Sarah Siler formerly Hadly Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends labor Extended"

4th of the 6th mo 1796

"Susanna White formerly Hinshaw Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

2nd of the 7th mo 1796

"This meeting Disowns Amy Hodgen for Disorderly company keeping so as to have a child in an unmarried state"

3rd of the 12th mo 1796

"Abigail Lawrence formerly Hadock Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him who is now her Husband so as to be with child before marriage"

2nd of the 9th mo 1797

"Hannah Grave Disowned for keeping unseasonable company so as to have a child in an unmarried state Labor Extended"

4th of the 11th mo 1797

"Mary Kindrice formerly Barns Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him that is now her husband so as to be with child before marriage labor Extended"

4th of the 11th mo 1797

"Esther Caps formerly Smith Disowned after usual labor Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 1st mo 1798

"Ann Thompson formerly Marshall, Disowned after the usual Labor Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 1st mo 1798

"This meeting Disowns Rachel Piggott for keeping unseasonable company so as to have a child in an unmarried state labor Extended"

2nd of the 6th mo 1798

"Ann Hodgin Disowned for frequenting places of Diversion and Dancing also leaving the parts without making Satisfaction"

4th of the 8th mo 1798

"Margaret Davison formerly Pike Disowned for keeping unseasonable company with him that is now her Husband so as to be with child before marriage labor Extended"

4th of the 8th mo 1798

"This meeting Disowns Rebekah Leonard formerly Grave after the usual labor Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

1st of the 9th mo 1798

"Sarah Mcpherson formerly Neal Disowned after usual Labor Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

6th of the 10th mo 1798

"Frames Bradford formerly Freeman Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

3rd of the 11th mo 1798

"Ann Stout formerly Smith Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends with a man near of kin"

2nd of the 3rd mo 1799

"Mary Sharden formerly Deane Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of unity"

2nd of the 3rd mo 1799

"Elizabeth Wells Disowned for keeping unseasonable company so as to have a child in an unmarried state labor Extended"

1st of the 6th mo 1799

"Phebe Carrol formerly Gilbert Disowned for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

1st of the 6th mo 1799

"This meeting Disowns Esther Gilbert formerly Smith and Rebekah Doude formerly Barns for keeping unseasonable company with them that is now their Husbands so as to be with child before marriage"

1st of the 6th mo 1799

"This meeting also Disowns Rebekah Greg, formerly Comber and Ann Cox formerly Comber likewise Lydia Cox formerly Cobey for accomplishing their Marriages out of the unity of friends"

1st of the 6th mo 1800

"Charity Piggott Disowned for Retailing Spirituous Liquor also for trying to Dance; Labor Extended"

2nd of the 8th mo 1800

"Sarah Vanderford formerly Comber Disowned after the usual Labor Extended for accomplishing her marriage out of the unity of friends"

4th of the 10th mo 1800

"Elizabeth Bartly formerly Doane Disowned for accomplishing her Marriage out of the unity of friends labor Extended"

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