

THE MIGRATION OF WESTFIELD QUAKERS FROM SURRY COUNTY,
NORTH CAROLINA 1786-1828

A Thesis
by
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Abstract

THE MIGRATION OF WESTFIELD QUAKERS FROM SURRY COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA 1786-1828 (May 2013)

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During the early decades of the nineteenth century Quakers from North Carolina began a mass exodus to the western territories of Ohio and Indiana. Previous historians of North Carolina Quaker history have overgeneralized that North Carolina Quakers from all North Carolina regions migrated for the same reasons, especially, they argued, to become rid of the institution of slavery. Although slavery did impact migrations, other problems like the lack of suitable marriage partners and a limited availability of land also prompted some Quakers in the northwestern part of the state from Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina to migrate west between 1786-1828.

Quakers from Westfield settled mainly in the monthly meetings of Fairfield and Miami in southwestern Ohio, and later in the 1820s they began to settle at Whitewater Monthly Meeting in Indiana. Other Friends from the North Carolina Yearly Meeting including many from Deep Creek in present day Yadkin County, and

Chestnut Creek in present day Grayson County, Virginia also migrated during the same decades as Westfield Friends from 1786-1828. Once in Ohio and Indiana, Friends from those three monthly meetings merged with many other migrant Quakers and established renewed Quaker communities based upon the tenets of their faith.

Monthly meeting minutes from Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek indicate the large issues that were problematic within each community. Within the minutes, marriage records, birth and death, and migrations of Friends, among other Quaker tenets, were tediously recorded by monthly meeting clerks. Coupled with tax records, land grants, deeds of sale for slaves, and itinerant minister's journal entries, new light is given to what really provoked Friends from Westfield to migrate west from 1786-1828. Each monthly meeting applied the Quaker tenets as they fit their community, resulting in Friends dealing with issues like marriage and slavery at different times. Therefore, the migration of Westfield Quakers demonstrates that migration of North Carolina Friends did not occur through a singular motive; migration was actually extremely multifaceted.

Acknowledgments

An unexplainable amount of gratitude and sincere thanks is given to the archivists at Guilford College in Greensboro, North Carolina. They provided access to the monthly meeting documents and continually encouraged the research on Westfield Monthly Meeting.

My thesis adviser, Dr. Neva Jean Specht, was instrumental to the completion of this thesis. Her insight into Quaker history and expert input, along with superb editing and writing skills, was always welcomed. Also, thank you to my committee members Dr. Sheila Phipps and Dr. Bruce Stewart. I deeply appreciate the time they devoted to the completion of this work.

Dedication

To my maternal grandparents Tom and Iva Jessup, descendants of the first Quakers in Surry County, North Carolina; they helped to instill the importance of family heritage in my life. To my Quaker ancestors, and the founders of Westfield, without whose tedious documentation of Monthly Meeting Minutes, I may have never learned the history of my family and of my home in Westfield. Lastly, a huge thanks to my family and especially my parents Mike and Laticia Humphries—who always encourage me to follow my dreams.

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Introduction

"The Lord showed me, so that I did see clearly, that he did not dwell in these temples which men had commanded and set up, but in people's hearts . . . his people were his temple, and he dwelt in them." - George Fox¹

Crossing over many treacherous rivers, creeks, and uncut forested mountains on the way down from Virginia to the Westfield Friends Meeting in North Carolina, Thomas Scattergood believed that the small backcountry meeting would be quiet, unkempt, and absolutely a place to further the works of his traveling Quaker ministry. Upon arrival, the first thing Scattergood noted was the mixed meeting of Quakers and non-Quakers alike under religious worship.² Finding a suitable seat within the Quaker meeting, Thomas sat for a while waiting for the Inner Light to come over him before giving his testimony. As his Inner Light directed, Thomas wrote that he “got up to speak; but such was the instability manifested, and the want of life in the Meeting, that I soon sat down, and waded under travail for an hour or more.”³ Scattergood never gave his testimony; instead he prayed to the Lord for relief of his inner most feelings. In reality, Westfield proved to be a meeting far from the quietest backcountry ideals that Thomas Scattergood held prior to his visit. The Friends Meeting was a lively place, with multiple testimonies and emotions from its entire congregation as pictured through Thomas’s 1792 description.

¹ Conservative Quakers of America, “George Fox Quotes,” Quakers Online <http://www.quaker.us/foxquotes.html> (accessed January 1, 2013).

² Thomas Scattergood, “Memoirs of Thomas Scattergood: A Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends,” in vol. 8 of *Friends Library: Comprising Journals, Doctrinal Treatises, and other Writings of Members of the Religions Society of Friends*, eds. Joseph Rakestraw, William Evans, and Thomas Evans (Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1844), 36.

³ Scattergood, 36.

Thirty-five years later, Westfield, the thriving backcountry meeting where Scattergood was once denied his testimony, lost a majority of its members. By 1828, those members of Westfield Monthly Meeting had left Surry County, North Carolina migrating west, leaving behind only glimpses of the lively meeting that Scattergood's reflections describe. Westfield for the last decade of the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth century had been a key Quaker migratory point for people from New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina. As the decades after Scattergood's visit progressed, Surry County and the Westfield community evolved into a place no longer based solely upon the tenets of the Friends alone. The Westfield community became diversified in population and religious belief. The community's growing diversity weighed on the Westfield Monthly Meeting and its members. Eventually, the growing diversity of the Westfield community prompted some members to take action to ensure the continuance of their faith and some chose to migrate west and help establish monthly meetings in Ohio and Indiana.

This thesis focuses on the motivating factors behind Westfield Quakers' migrations by arguing that Westfield members migrated for numerous reasons—better marital opportunities, the impact of slavery upon the North Carolina Yearly Meeting—and the indirect consequences of slavery for the Westfield Quakers, and for more access to land that would allow them to maintain the close-knit community they had prior to the move from Westfield.

Background

The Society of Friends originated out of the aftermath of the English Civil War in the 1650s. Religious persecution and corruption that plagued England during the Civil War provoked many people to desire religious freedom and toleration away from the Anglican Church and other orthodox denominations. Thus, the Society of Friends emerged in the midst

of chaos under George Fox, a dissenting preacher, and the son of a wealthy weaver from Leicestershire, England.⁴ Fox looked down upon those who claimed to be professors of God's truth, and developed radical social views for the seventeenth century. George Fox turned away most forms of religious authority by rejecting ordained ministers or clergy as the interpreters of God's word and looked with disgust at many forms of corruption through those church positions. Fox developed his own belief that became the foundation for the Society of Friends. He focused his confidence in the direct revelation of Christ through the Inner Light to the individual believer.⁵ Soon people who believed in the Inner Light like Fox met at a "meeting house," without a designated priest, and had a quiet time interspersed with many testimonies giving glory to God.

Other non-typical norms of seventeenth century people that Friends implemented included neither swearing oaths to the state, nor paying tithes to church leaders who functioned as part of the State. Those practices led early Quakers to be persecuted because of those practices.⁶ Different from other orthodox religious groups like the Anglicans or Presbyterians, Friends did not believe in the use of sacraments at their meetings. Communion derived from a silent meditation with God, not an outward show of taking bread and wine like other denominations. Friends also disregarded both infant and adult baptisms for they believed that a relationship with God is an inward connection; thus, it was not necessary to represent it on the outside through a water baptism.⁷

⁴ Rufus M. Jones, ed., *The Journal of George Fox* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), 81. See also: George Fox, "Chapter 1 Boyhood a Seeker," Rapture Ready http://www.raptureme.com/resource/gfox/george_fox.html (accessed January 20, 2013).

⁵ Hiram Hilty, "North Carolina Quakers and Slavery" (PhD diss., Durham: Duke University, 1969), 2.

⁶ Hilty, 5.

⁷ Jones, 93-102. Also see: George Fox, "The First Years of Ministry 1648-49," Rapture Ready <http://www.raptureme.com/resource/gfox/2.html> (accessed January 20, 2013).

Moreover, early Quakers were pacifists, an ideology that also developed from the turmoil of the English Civil War, and carries through into their present day philosophy. This viewpoint separated Quakers from most other religious groups in England and made them outcasts, viewed as traitors to the established church and to the State in times of war.⁸ Friends' refusal to take up arms stemmed from their pacifist views, belief in religious tolerance, and for a need in separation between church and State domination. Equality was another area where Friends set themselves apart as women and men were viewed in the society as equal in the eyes of God. Belief in equality also led some Quakers to advocate for the abolishment of slavery in the eighteenth century, and then more forcefully in the years leading up to the Civil War. It became an issue that caused disagreements between Quakers throughout the Antebellum period. In short, due to the chaos in England in the aftermath of the English Civil War and to the Friends' desires to spread their beliefs in the Inner Light far and wide, Quakers began the first of many migrations of their faith to the American colonies and the Caribbean.

Upon arrival to the New World in the seventeenth century, Quakers settled alongside other religious groups in the New England colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. In the mid-Atlantic region, the colony of Pennsylvania became a haven for Quakers and many other diverse populations. Pennsylvania was founded through a grant from the King, by wealthy Quaker William Penn, a businessman and a philosopher in his own right. King Charles II of England owed a debt to Penn's father, an admiral and a politician who sat in the House of Commons. To repay his debt King Charles II

⁸ George Fox and Others, *A Declaration From the Harmless and Innocent People of God, Called Quakers, Against all Sedition, Plotters, and Fighters in the World: for Removing the Ground of Jealousy and Suspicion from Magistrates and People Concerning Wares and Fightings: Presented to the King on the 21st Day of the 11th Month 1660*, vol. II, 8th and Bicentenary ed. of Fox's Journal (London: Friends Tract Association, 1891), <http://www.q.hpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/dec1660.htm>. (accessed January 1, 2013).

gave Penn the land of Pennsylvania.⁹ Pennsylvania became a haven for Quakers from England under the guidance of William Penn's "holy experiment" to establish the colony almost autonomous from the others in the Delaware Valley based on the Quaker political and social belief systems.¹⁰ Pennsylvania, and especially Philadelphia, became the center for American Friends and the Philadelphia Meeting served as a model for other Yearly Meetings as they were established throughout the colonies during the eighteenth century.

Quakers dominated Pennsylvania's government and provided models for the Society for almost seventy years. As the diversity of the Quaker population grew in the middle colonies, it led inevitably to disagreements between Friends. Some historians such as Frederick Tolles have argued that these disagreements were tied to where Friends lived, whether Friends were urban or rural.¹¹ Urban dwellers, according to the rural Friends, believed that Quakers living in Philadelphia had become too worldly or "church-like."¹² Deviance from Quaker tenets, according to historian Jack D. Marietta, led to Quakers becoming disowned. The procedure for readmission to the society alone was so lengthy that it made Quakers feel as though they could not "get back in" the Society if Friends condemned their transgression.¹³ Politics of who ruled the meetings became too intertwined in the Society so many Friends attempted to maintain their pure society by migrating south and west. Therefore, Quakers left

⁹ Samuel M. Janney, *The Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia: Friends' Book Association, 1878), 163. Janney notes that William Penn "inherited from his father a claim on the British government for money advanced and services rendered to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds, and in the year 1680 he petitioned Charles II to grant him, in lieu of this sum, a tract of country in America." Also see: Ellen Thomas Berry and David Allen Berry, *Our Quaker Ancestors: Finding them in Quaker Records* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1987), 21. Also see: George Hodges, *William Penn* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1901), 65.

¹⁰ Janney, 550. Note Janney says the purpose of the "holy experiment" was to "found and govern a colony without arms or military defences: 'to reduce the savage nations, by gentle and just measures, to the love of civil society and the Christian religion,' and to lay the foundations of a 'free colony for all mankind.'"

¹¹ Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 230-41.

¹² Tolles, 240. Also see: Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 131-149.

¹³ Marietta, 3-15.

especially the areas of the Delaware Valley, Maryland, and Virginia before some eventually settled in North Carolina.¹⁴ Renewed with the fight against “backsliding” into the world again, Quakers developed extensive communities of cohesiveness and exclusion in the Piedmont of North Carolina.

Members of the Society of Friends faced different challenges in the southern colonies. As early as 1660, Virginia lawmakers viewed Quakers as a threat to the established Anglican Church and created laws that prohibited Quakers from openly practicing their faith.¹⁵ Quakers’ disbelief in sacraments marked them as heretics against the established religion of Virginia, so Friends were often imprisoned, or banished from the colony for not following the orders of the church.¹⁶ Thus, some Friends continued on their journey from Virginia, eventually landing in the eastern sections of North Carolina, in Pasquotank and Perquimans Counties, around 1671.¹⁷ Some Quakers who settled in Pasquotank and Perquimans Counties migrated straight from England. Other Virginians and North Carolinians living near the border of the two colonies, not far from the Albemarle Sound and influenced by a visit from George Fox and other English Quakers, converted to the Society of Friends.

The Society of Friends in North Carolina was organized in several different meeting stages presided over by the yearly meeting. Preparative meetings were the smallest gatherings, also known as the local meetings, and met weekly at the designated meeting house on the

¹⁴ Robert W. Ramsey, *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Frontier, 1747-1762* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 10 and 17. Also see: Donald Vernon Dowless, “The Quakers of Colonial North Carolina, 1672-1789” (PhD diss., Baylor University, 1989), 101-03. Note that Vernon also includes Rhode Island Quakers in the list of migrants as he argues that Quakers initially migrated because they were pioneers, for religion, and for economic interests.

¹⁵ “The Quakers of Virginia: The Attempts to Suppress them in Colonial Days,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1893. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F40B16FC3A5F1A738DDDAE0994DA415B8385F0D3> (accessed January 1, 2013).

¹⁶ “The Quakers of Virginia: The Attempts to Suppress them in Colonial Days.”

¹⁷ Hilty, 5.

seventh day (Saturday). They were meetings of worship, not business.¹⁸ Next came the monthly meeting that maintained at least three preparative meetings and met on the first day (Sunday) once per month. Those who met at the monthly meeting were Friends from preparative meetings who were held in “good standing” with their fellow Friends, and who had not been charged with a disownment (removal from Society records and the business meeting because the member was found to not be in “unity” with the elements of their meeting).¹⁹ All Friends, no matter whether they were disowned or not, could attend the meeting for worship at the preparative meeting stage, but only Friends who were in good standing could attend business meetings at the monthly meeting stage.²⁰ Monthly meetings also housed separate women’s and men’s meetings for business where each recorded minutes that described issues within their meeting. The men’s meeting, however, was the ruling meeting of both. Monthly meetings were also the places where Friends asked to marry, or “remove to” another Friends’ meeting elsewhere.²¹ These meetings were the center of Quaker life and guidance, and Friends desired to preserve their unique ideals. Not only was the meeting the center of Quaker life, but

¹⁸ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room, 2-4. Also see: Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793- 1853, Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room, 1; Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825, Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room, 2; and Hilty, 7.

¹⁹ Margery Post Abbot, Mary Ellen Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John William Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends* (Lanham and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2003), 74. Note a disownment basically indicates formal recognition by a monthly meeting that a member is not in “unity” with one or more essential elements of its faith and practice, or that the member’s behavior reflects unfavorably on Friends’ witness in the world. Prior to any formal action being taken, overseers or other experienced Friends meet with the individual following a process of meeting with individuals in hopes they would change their ways. Disownment removes the offender from the membership lists.

²⁰ Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society 1655-1725* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 96. Also see: Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825; and Hilty, 10. Note Hilty suggests that “Perhaps the most powerful persons in this structure were the clerks of the monthly and yearly meetings. Decision was always by the ‘sense of the meeting’ known as a consensus instead of majority vote.”

²¹ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825; and Davies, 96.

it was also the center of the communities that maintained a predominately Quaker homogeneity through exclusionist practices.

Next, the quarterly meetings oversaw at least three monthly meetings and met every three months with representatives from the monthly meetings. Finally, the yearly meeting that maintained the quarterly meetings within its jurisdiction met once per year.²² In North Carolina, the location of the Yearly Meeting was first in Pasquotank County, at Symons Creek; however, in 1787, the Yearly Meeting decided to alternate its meetings between the western and eastern quarters, holding the first one in the western quarter at Center in Guilford County in 1787.²³ Until the mid-nineteenth century, if problems ensued within the yearly meeting, their issues would be solved by the “mother meeting” in London, England.

The most powerful members of all the meeting levels were clerks because they recorded all minutes of business within the monthly meeting. Clerks and other members called “representatives” went to the quarterly and yearly meetings and obtained guidelines known as Queries—Quaker laws and guidelines, from the Philadelphia and London Yearly Meetings, to maintain Quaker tenets within their meeting.²⁴ First in manuscript form, and later as printed copies by the Yearly Meeting, Queries were distributed throughout the Monthly Meetings that came under the jurisdiction of a particular yearly meeting.²⁵ The clerks and representatives were often “weighty” members in the Society, who had the largest ties and material assets in the community.

²² Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 2-4.

²³ North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) Discipline, 1983, North Carolina Yearly Meeting <http://ncymc.org/fpframes.html> (accessed March 16, 2013). This notes that the process of switching sites for the Yearly Meeting in North Carolina continued until 1813 when New Garden became exclusively the site for the Yearly Meeting until 1883. Also see: Charles Fitzgerald McKiever, *Slavery and the Emigration of North Carolina Friends* (Murfreesboro, North Carolina: Johnson Publishing Company, 1970), 6-7.

²⁴ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 2. Also see: Hilty, 7.

²⁵ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828.

Weighty Friends often ruled and implemented the Quaker tenets to the monthly meeting members. Weighty Friends discussed issues within the Society and the community. A disruption in the harmony of a Friends' community could prompt Friends to leave and recreate a renewed Quaker community in a new unsettled location. Friends transplanted themselves from northern colonies and locations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Virginia, to North Carolina, and developed a prominent Quaker meeting at New Garden in the Piedmont region of present-day Guilford County, North Carolina, by the 1750s. By the mid-eighteenth century, New Garden became the center for Carolina Quakerism.²⁶ Friends at New Garden established other meetings in the western-Piedmont of North Carolina, some of the most westward settlements in the United States in the late seventeenth century, including one in Surry County, North Carolina.²⁷

The following map indicates the county boundaries of North Carolina in 1784. Surry County lay in the northwestern corner of the state. Guilford County, from which many Westfield Quakers migrated, is located in the Piedmont, and the eastern Quaker strongholds of Pasquotank and Perquimans Counties are located on the coast.

²⁶ McKiever, 6-7.

²⁷ Hester Bartlett Jackson ed., *The Heritage of Surry County North Carolina* (Winston Salem: Surry County Genealogical Association in cooperation with Hunter Publishing Company, 1983), 1:17-18 and 360-363. Also see: Robert M. Hill, "Westfield Meeting: Surry Co., N.C. From *Old Westfield Meeting of Friends*," <http://roots.web.ancestry.com/~quakers/Westfield.htm>. (accessed September 6, 2011). Also see: Unknown Berrier, "Story of Friends, Area Are Entwined," *Mount Airy News*, Sunday, October 5, 1997. Note that this article discussed the events of the Quaker settlement and called Friends who settled in Westfield "pioneers."

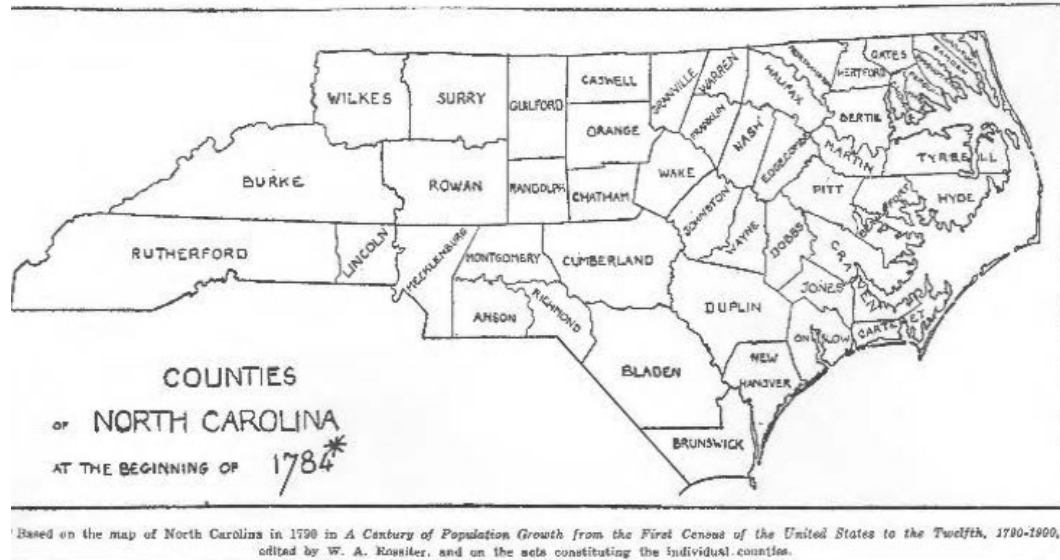


Figure 1. North Carolina County Formation 1784. Francis Grave Morris and Phyllis Mary Morris, “Economic Conditions in North Carolina About 1780: Part I,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 16, (1939): 122.

In Surry County, two distinct religious groups settled the backcountry area first: the Moravians in Salem (in present-day Forsyth County), and the Society of Friends in the Westfield area of Surry County during the late 1760s.²⁸ A new Quaker community, led by Friends from New Garden Monthly Meeting, began developing in the valleys of Big Creek and Tom’s Creek (before Surry County became a county in 1771) when they crossed the Quaker Gap of the Sauratown Mountains to the “western field.”²⁹ By 1784 the Quaker community on the banks of Tom’s Creek was granted acknowledgment from New Garden as Tom’s Creek Preparative Meeting. Tom’s Creek became a Monthly Meeting on 13 November 1786, and the name changed to Westfield Monthly Meeting because of the “western field” location; it

²⁸ Seth B. Hinshaw and Mary Edith Hinshaw, eds., *Carolina Quakers: Our Heritage Our Hope Our Tercentenary, 1672-1972* (Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1972), 140.

²⁹ Ersie Pell McIntyre, interviewed by Ashley Humphries, Pell Family History and Westfield Friends Meeting History, September 9, 2011. See also: Raynor Pell Wilson, Letter to Westfield Friends Meeting, 1997; Hester Bartlett Jackson, 360-63; and “Westfield Dates Back to 1760,” *The Pilot Mayfest*, 1984. The *Pilot Mayfest* unknown author calls the migrants from New Garden “pioneer Quakers” because they were the first Quakers in the vicinity of Surry County.

became the center of Quaker life and the Westfield community in Surry County.³⁰ The following map recognizes the area of Tom's Creek and Big Creek on the border of Surry and Stokes Counties in the northeastern corner. Multiple waterways allowed for Westfield to be a location of hopeful economic and religious prosperity for a Quaker community of migrant Friends moving into the area at the turn of nineteenth century.

³⁰ Hinshaw and Hinshaw, 140. They note that Tom's Creek changed its name to Westfield because of the reference from New Garden Quakers of its location, "The Western Field" where Quaker's crossed the Sauratown Mountains in order to arrive on the shores of Big Creek and Tom's Creek.

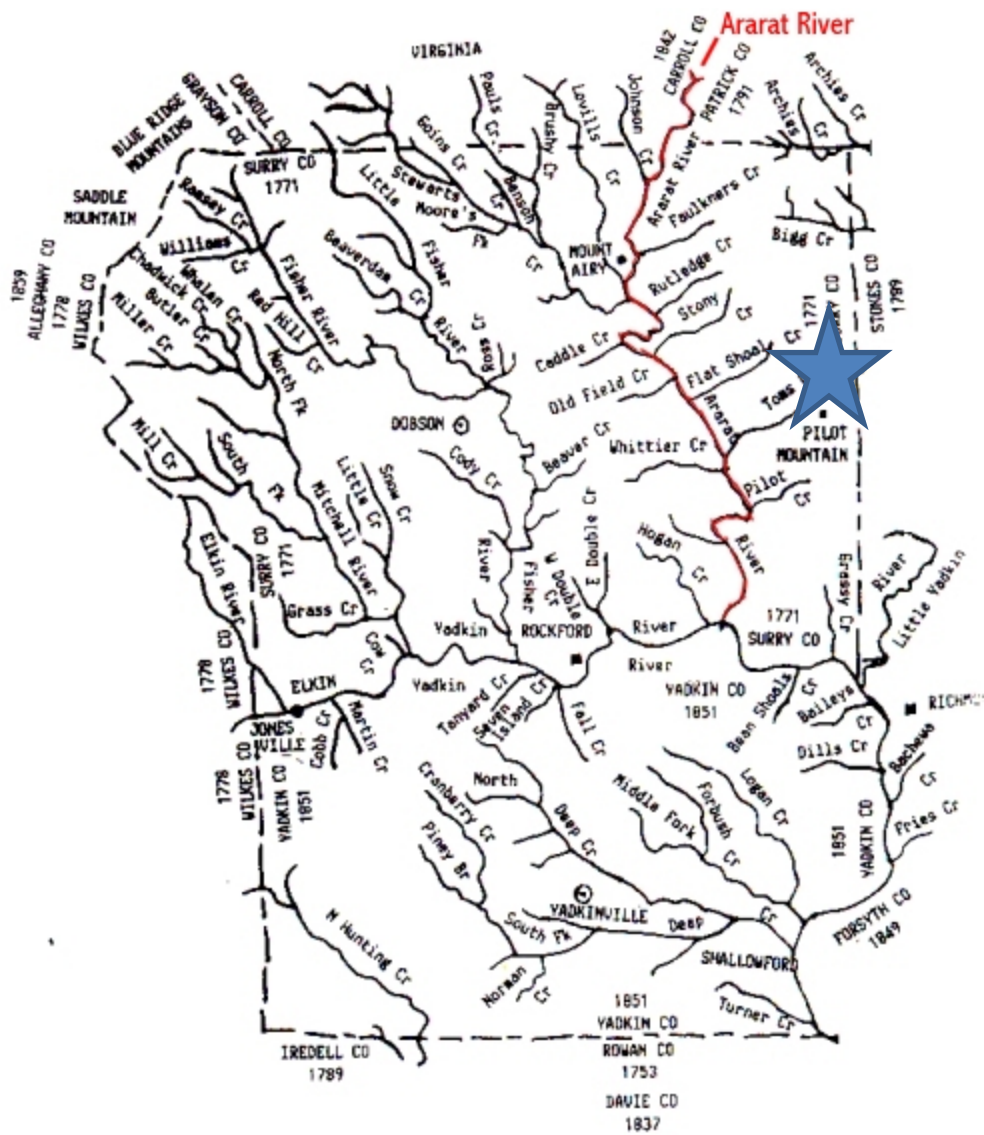


Figure 2. Map of Surry County Waterways. “Maps: Ararat River,” NCGenWeb Project <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ncsurry/map4.html> Welcome to Surry County, North Carolina (accessed March 19, 2013).³¹

³¹ Please note Tom’s Creek and Big Creek in the upper right corner of the map. The star marks the location of the Westfield community that also encompassed a portion of neighboring Stokes County. Deep Creek will subsequently be used as a comparative location in the lower half of Surry County where Deep Creek Monthly Meeting was housed.

The Westfield Friends Meeting was the only physically established religious organization in the area of Westfield before the Civil War, when Baptists established a settled meetinghouse likely due to their custom of itinerancy.³² Thus, the Westfield Meeting constituted a place of worship for all in the Westfield vicinity, and was an important feature of life for early settlers, Quakers and non-Quakers alike, during the early Antebellum period. Religious worship was a main social and political feature for many communities during the Antebellum Era and Westfield constituted little difference in those practices.³³ Quakers established themselves as pillars of the Westfield community in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century, however, a multitude of issues developed in North Carolina, Surry County, and the Westfield Meeting that fostered a dramatic change for the Quakers and their community, including fear of marriage outside the faith, competition with slaveholders and disputes within the Society of Friends on the “slave issue,” and failure to find cheap lands for contiguity that led to the migration of Friends West to Ohio and Indiana.

³² Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 156 and 216. See also: J. G. Hollingsworth, *The History of Surry County or the Annals of Northwest North Carolina* (J.G. Hollingsworth, 1939), 189. Also see Jo White Linn, *Surry County, North Carolina, Wills 1771-1827* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1992), 123-24. One record of Surry County Wills includes “William Forkner, 7 February 1807” indicating that Donaldsons School House Branch specifies Elders giving free privilege for worship of God of other established churches except when used by Baptists. It also notes that Forkner was an Elder of the Baptist Church in the Hollow settlement because the “desire said word has to promote worship of the only true God,” 124.

³³ Heyrman, 139. Heyrman notes that both Baptists and Methodists urged their converts to choose spouses of the same faith, similarly to the Society of Friends beliefs. She notes that, “those who married out of the Lord turned out poorly.” She also that kinship ties played a key role in the spreading of religious affinities for Baptists and Methodists. “Membership lists show that men and women related by blood and marriage often made up the majority in Baptist and Methodist churches.” A fear for families, she notes, was for migrations west for those families who were divided by religion, 125.

Historiography:

Historians of the Society of Friends devote much research towards Quakers in the Delaware Valley. Interest in famous Quaker William Penn's colony of Pennsylvania, founded as a Quaker haven, caused historians to privilege that settlement over the highly Quaker-populated, religiously free colony of Rhode Island, and above any southern states that maintained strong Quaker communities, including North Carolina. The way many historians use the history of Delaware Valley Quakers as a stand-in for all Quakers, whether northern or southern, leaves the impression that all Friends faced the same issues as Delaware Valley Quakers. Famous Quaker historians like J. William Frost, Barry Levy, Jack D. Marietta, and Tom Hamm attempt to analyze Quakerism as monolithic, as though variations between northern and southern or eastern and western American Quakers did not exist. Although Delaware Valley Quaker history is important to understanding the evolution of the Society of Friends, for southern Quakers, and especially those of North Carolina, issues such as marriage, slavery, and economics developed differently than for those in the Delaware Valley.

The few historians who have studied North Carolina Quakerism have mainly focused on only the Quaker strongholds of Perquimans and Pasquotank Monthly Meetings in eastern North Carolina and New Garden Monthly Meeting in central North Carolina while neglecting the more western-Piedmont meetings like Westfield Monthly Meeting. Each monthly meeting of Quakers, whether northern or southern in the United States, or in different regions in North Carolina, implemented the use of the Queries and Quaker tenets as those guides pertained to their specific meeting. Those variations in practice led to delayed reactions on problems like slavery and marriage unity in the Westfield faith community during the Antebellum period.

Due to those distinctions across the Society of Friends, the historiography is extremely limited to what actually pertains to the western-Piedmont North Carolina meetings like Westfield Monthly Meeting. The Quaker historiography discussed within this thesis pertains specifically to the changes that affected the migration of Westfield Friends from Surry County, North Carolina. The discord includes general American Quakerism, Quaker marriage, “the slavery issue,” and land settlement. The limited secondary sources on southern Quakers require new researchers to turn to primary sources to glean the history of southern Friends. However, analyzing works by Quaker historians of the Delaware Valley can be helpful to identify trends that actually were universal in American Friends history. When coupled with primary resources of specific southern meetings like Westfield, a more complex history of the Society of Friends can be written.

In order to understand the primary sources that follow within the chapters on marriage, slavery, and the land settlement of Quakers, the overarching histories of American Quakerism help guide historians to trends within the Friends Society. However, more importantly, identifying the trends that historians such as J. William Frost, Barry Levy, Jack D. Marietta, and Tom Hamm discuss within their works allows Quaker historians of one specific area like Surry County, North Carolina to identify the areas where historians over-generalize in shaping an “American Quaker” history.

William J. Frost’s *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* analyzes the intricate Quaker value system in relation to the family.³⁴ Frost argues that the Society of Friends had certain ideals about family and used disownments against members that did not comply with those ideals. Opening with an overview of Quaker practices and faith, he focuses on the

³⁴ J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1973), 49.

changing family in the late eighteenth century in areas like children, youth, and marriage. Unfortunately, although Frost's title suggests that his focus is on *The Quaker Family*, he does little to actually discuss how the Quaker family changed during the eighteenth century even with heightened problems of disownments for marriage disunity.³⁵ Unlike Frost's findings suggests, Friends did encounter change within their society in the eighteenth century. Meeting minutes indicate problems that ensued in monthly meetings like those at Westfield that affected family life enough to migrate west to Ohio and Indiana. Frost underplays the changes that took place during the eighteenth century that affected Quaker families.

In another viewpoint on family, historian Barry Levy argues in *Quakers and the American Family* that Quakers played a pivotal role in the origins and development of America's family ideology. According to Levy, the Puritans are quoted as the people who defined the American family, but he argues that, because of the large number of Quakers who settled in the Delaware Valley, their value systems had an equally large impact on American society during the colonial period.³⁶ Levy declares that second generation Quakers were under strict disciplines to maintain a pure society and became disowned when they went against the Society of Friends' tenets.³⁷ Levy goes too far in his generalization of the American family and Quakerism's role in shaping it because not all Friends encountered the same problems at the same time. Meeting minutes from western-Piedmont North Carolina meetings indicate that it was not only second generation Quakers who became disowned, and that many of the communities like those at Westfield did not interact heavily with those outside of their Quaker community.

³⁵ Frost, 213. Note Frost suggested that marriage ensured the continuance of the faith and the Quaker family through the screening process of marriage partners.

³⁶ Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 10-18.

³⁷ Levy, 237 and 248.

Another historian that uses the Delaware Valley Quakers to make an overarching argument about American Quakerism, Jack D. Marietta, focuses on changes in American Quakerism that affected the Society during the mid-eighteenth century that led to his idea of a Quaker Reformation in the 1750s-1780s in *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783*.³⁸ Marietta suggests that the entire Quaker reformation evolved from the effects of the Seven Years War, where Friends viewed God as punishing them for becoming too worldly in both social and political realms. That belief led to the desire of a return to the “Golden Age” of Quakerism, and led to the strengthening of disownments within the nineteen Quaker meetings in Pennsylvania that Marietta analyzes. Those changes that occurred within Pennsylvania prompted some Quakers to migrate south, and in North Carolina meetings the stringent implementation of disownments began when new meetings formed. There was not a “reformation” of North Carolina Quakers, but due to the locations where they migrated from, the idea of tighter policies protecting their tenets was uncovered within monthly meetings from Westfield. The continual strengthening of Quaker tenets also prompted Friends from Westfield to migrate west in the nineteenth century.

Another historian, Thomas Hamm, in *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, also discusses changes within American Quakerism by focusing on events that led to the schism of the Society of Friends in 1828. Hamm notes that southern states like North Carolina transformed when migrations west occurred in the early nineteenth century, and argues that Friends placed economic gain above spiritual motives for their move.³⁹ Hamm suggests that

³⁸ Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783*, xviii.

³⁹ Thomas Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 14.

the Quaker split developed because of acculturation of Friends into the mainstream society that resulted in the first schism between Orthodox and Hicksites by 1828.⁴⁰

The Quakers in America, Hamm's other work, focuses on pre-Civil War Quakerism in America, and serves as an overview of Quakerism rather than an intricate study of a Quaker group or problem.⁴¹ From northern Quaker meetings to those in the South, the Friends Society encountered obstacles at different times and reacted differently due to the geographic location. For example, meeting minutes acknowledge the importance of issues that were prevalent within the Society, including slavery, but, minutes indicate that many meetings in the western-Piedmont of North Carolina did not include discussions on slavery pertaining to their specific meetings. Therefore, it was not relevant to rid their intricate community of slavery, nor was it a singular motivation for future migration.

Although general histories on Quakerism enhance one's understanding about the Society of Friends, specific historical research on marriage, slavery, and land settlement provides a better understanding of why Westfield Quakers migrated west in the early nineteenth century. Quaker marriage issues have been contemplated by few historians. One exception includes Matthew Zimmerman's doctoral dissertation, "Married to the Faith: Colonial American Quakers and the Trans-Atlantic Community." In his dissertation, Zimmerman argues that the location of a particular meeting, both geographic and chronologically, figured prominently in determining how friends defined their faith.⁴² Zimmerman declares that economic reasons through the Americanization of Quakerism

⁴⁰ Hamm, 98-120. *The Transformation of American Quakerism* further discusses the later splits in the nineteenth century within Quakerism including the John Wilbur split and the Joseph John Gurney split. Hamm concludes that these splits separated Quakerism into three distinctive categories: conservative, moderate, and revivalist.

⁴¹ Thomas Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 195-199.

⁴² Matthew A. Zimmerman, "Married to the Faith: Colonial American Quakers and the Trans-Atlantic Community" (PhD diss., Lehigh University, 2006), 26.

allowed for regional discrepancies within each meeting, but the purity of the community and meeting lie in their exclusionist marriage practices. Again, like many other historians' work, Zimmerman bases his findings from six Delaware Valley meetings in the colonial period. Friends followed a strict pattern to the tenets that were most relevant in their Quaker communities, as monthly meetings in western North Carolina demonstrate; Delaware Valley Quakers and North Carolina Quakers faced challenges in marriage at different rates.

Another predominantly Quaker work on marriage, S.B. Laughlin's *Beyond Dilemmas: Quakers Look at Life*, suggests that Quaker marriage practices hindered the growth of the society because Quakers were forced to choose between religious purity and romantic love. Using Delaware Valley Friends, Laughlin claims that the conflict between those two ideologies demonstrates the rise of more emphasis on romantic love within the Quaker faith because of the high number of disownments.⁴³ Although it would be nice to equate the period with a rise of sentiment, monthly meeting disownments from Westfield indicate that some Friends married outside the faith, but others simply disregarded the long Quaker marriage process and married away from the meetinghouse, which led to their disownment from the monthly meeting. Friends were free to marry those who upheld the tenets of their faith, and who were approved of by their meeting; the rise of emotional love did not lead to more disownments within the Westfield meeting because marital disownments declined throughout the four decades the meeting was in operation.

Marital disownments allowed Quakers to maintain tenets and a religious community within their society, but other growing problems like the "slavery issue" within the North

⁴³ S.B. Laughlin, ed., Introduction to, *Beyond Dilemmas: Quakers Look at Life* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1937). According to Laughlin, "Friends in closed groups.... Lived very much to their selves, married among their own members, were educated in their own schools, made their living working with or for members of the society, and married according to the respected order," 172.

Carolina Yearly Meeting also tested the commitment of Friends to the Quaker tenets. Although later than their Pennsylvania brethren who recorded a tenet against buying and selling slaves in 1755, North Carolina Friends adopted laws in 1775 against the buying and selling of slaves unless the monthly meeting approved.⁴⁴ Unlike Quaker centers in northeastern and central North Carolina, slavery was not an issue for the members of the Westfield Friends Meeting during the early antebellum period because the western Quaker community owned few slaves. Still, because Westfield was a part of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, slavery did impact the meeting overall, especially as Surry County's slaveholder population increased during the early nineteenth century. Historians of North Carolina Quakers focus primarily on Friends who attempted to abolish slavery in the state, assuming all dealt with slavery at the same rate, a false assumption.

Jean R. Soderlund's *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* discusses the fight against slavery that developed at the local meeting levels and eventually enlarged into the Yearly Meetings fight in the Delaware Valley. Soderlund argues that the delay in abolishing slavery within the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was due to the large number of prominent first generation Quakers who held slaves. Releasing their slaves would dampen their economic livelihood, something wealthy businessmen did not desire to do.⁴⁵ Soderlund's argument, like many others, focuses on the urban and rural communities of the Delaware Valley in the North, places extremely different from southern Quaker locations. North Carolina Friends dealt with slavery differently than their northern counterparts not only because it was more predominant in the South, but also because not all North Carolina Quakers were even impacted by the

⁴⁴ Hilty, 30 and 34-36. See also: Stephen B. Weeks *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 198-244.

⁴⁵ Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 69.

institution. One cannot overgeneralize about Delaware Valley Quakers' issues equaling those that plagued the South.

In more specific research towards Quakers and slavery in North Carolina, Hiram Hilty's doctoral dissertation, "North Carolina Quakers and Slavery" centers on abolitionism, the Manumission Society, and the Underground Railroad.⁴⁶ Hilty suggests that anti-slavery sentiments were ingrained within the Society in North Carolina because of itinerant ministers like John Woolman, and due to the leaders of anti-slavery centers like New Garden, in Guilford County, North Carolina, often being migrants from Pennsylvania where abolitionism was prevalent. Hilty notes that slavery was a much smaller issue in the Piedmont communities of North Carolina where strict abolitionism developed, than in the eastern portion of the state during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁷ Although most Friends recognized slavery in North Carolina as a harmful institution because it went against the tenet of equality within their faith, and because of the Yearly Meetings' concern with slavery written in the Queries, not all meetings dealt with slavery inside their Quaker communities. Although Westfield Friends recognized problems with the institution of slavery in their minutes, the meeting does not seem to have been directly impacted by the institution, and did not fight as strongly as those from New Garden Monthly Meeting in the Piedmont of North Carolina to extinguish slavery.

Conversely, Daniel R. Kroupa argues within his doctoral dissertation, "Slave Revolts and North Carolina Quaker Migration," that Carolina Quakers actually migrated to the mid-West in the first few decades of the nineteenth century due to a fear of slave revolts.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Soderlund, iii.

⁴⁷ Hilty, 165. Hilty quotes a letter from Samuel Charles, a former North Carolina resident, to Jeremiah Hubbard on October 8, 1826 that claims that Friends in Ohio and Indiana where Friends and slaves relocated became resentful due to North Carolina Quakers sending slaves into the free states, and that it may be more beneficial to develop a colony of former slaves instead of incorporating them into mainstream society.

⁴⁸ Daniel R. Kroupa, "Slave Revolts and North Carolina Quaker Migration," (PhD. diss., Michigan State University, 1997), 40. Kroupa suggests also that fear drastically increased after Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831,

Kroupa argues that, though Quakers were abolitionists in a sense, many were still racist and did not accept African Americans into Quaker membership until after the Civil War. Because of that practice, African-Americans were not allowed to worship in the same meetings as white Friends, but instead held their own distinctive worship services.⁴⁹ Although Kroupa's argument suggests that a fear of slave revolts prompted the migration of North Carolina Friends, it does not resonate with meetings that were not largely impacted by slavery in their communities. The western-Piedmont monthly meeting like Westfield in Surry County did not deal with an enormous population of slaves like other eastern communities. Slave revolts would not have been a fear for those Friends who did live among large slave populations.

Charles Fitzgerald McKiever's *Slavery and Emigration of North Carolina Friends* also points to slavery as a motivating factor for migrations of "Old North State" Quakers. Unlike Kroupa, however, McKiever's focus stems from economic causes. McKiever argues that Quakers began to find it increasingly hard to compete with slave-holding planters because white labor was expensive and even looked down upon by plantation society when people purchased slaves to do their "dirty work."⁵⁰ McKiever claims that all motivations for migration were tied to the institution of slavery for North Carolina Friends.⁵¹ Although North Carolina Quakers recognized slavery especially in the monthly meeting minutes, meetings like Westfield were not impacted by slavery "economics" like McKiever suggests, and most were certainly not pushed west by slavery alone.

McKiever draws primarily from Stephen B. Weeks's *Southern Quakers and Slavery*. Published in 1896, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* was written during the early decades of Jim

but that is not relevant to the time period of this thesis.

⁴⁹ Kroupa, 68.

⁵⁰ McKiever, 23.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 57-60. McKiever suggests that, "The pioneer theory- the wanderlust and or the search for better lands - all other causes for the migrations seem to extend from the one basic cause, slavery" (60).

Crow laws. Weeks identified Quakers of the South through meetings in Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina. For North Carolina, Weeks focused on the larger areas of Friends meetings including Pasquotank and Perquimans Monthly Meetings, and central North Carolina's New Garden Monthly Meetings.⁵² Weeks's main argument centers on the migrations of southern Quakers west *only* because of slavery.⁵³ Evidence does not support that the singular cause slavery led to the migration of hundreds of Quaker families west. Weeks's work was the first to focus on the relationship of Quakers to the institution of slavery in the South. Motivations for Westfield Quakers, a meeting no historian has researched thoroughly, were multifaceted, as minutes, taxes, land grants, and marriage records show.

Although many historians have argued that slavery motivated Friends to migrate west, it was not the only problem facing North Carolina Quakers in the early nineteenth century. North Carolina Friends dealt with issues of land settlement and increased population as the nineteenth century progressed. Once again, the primary work on land settlement developed from examples in the Delaware Valley. Many first generation Friends left the areas of the Delaware Valley and settled in Guilford County, North Carolina because of a limited availability of land due to a population growth. Once settled in North Carolina, the same pattern of a growing population and limited availability of land prompted some Friends to migrate again further west in North Carolina. Although nothing has specifically been written on land issues of North Carolina Quakers alone, ideas from several historians of land settlement, even those of the Delaware Valley during the Antebellum period, reveal a pattern similar to that of the Westfield Friends and their issues of limited availability of land that led to their migrations.

⁵² Weeks, 70-125.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, iv. Weeks addresses that slavery was the subject area that differentiated Quakers from other religious groups.

Studies of southern backcountries and migratory and settlement patterns reveal economic motives of groups of people, including the Quakers, during the colonial and early Antebellum periods. James T. Lemon's *The Best Poor Man's Country* suggests that settlers in Chester County, Pennsylvania were middle-class Americans who desired individual satisfaction. Those individuals moved, Lemon claims, when their environment became economically unstable and a future of economic prosperity was unforeseeable.⁵⁴ The migratory patterns of Westfield Quakers indicate that many Friends moved from relatively the same locations (such as Pennsylvania to New Garden, then from New Garden to Westfield) into places where other Quakers lived. Individual desires of Quakers such as land and wealth could be enhanced by living in a Quaker community, but Friends still migrated to remain part of the Society. Thus, land patterns prove that Quakers who settled at Westfield did not just migrate southward and westward in the initial stages of migration for individual desires, but rather they migrated for a larger Quaker community, a pattern that developed again in migrations west.

Tracing migration patterns of Virginia Quakers during the colonial period in *Migration in Early America: The Virginia Quaker Experience*, Larry Dale Gragg discovers that Quakers migrated first from Philadelphia into Virginia, and then down the Great Valley Wagon Road into the new backcountry settlements in North Carolina.⁵⁵ Gragg suggests that Friends who moved into Orange County, North Carolina migrated from Pennsylvania and Virginia to the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting to get away from the burdens of tenant farming.⁵⁶ Gragg asserts

⁵⁴ James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: John's Hopkins Press, 1972), 76 and 87.

⁵⁵ Larry Dale Gragg, *Migration in Early America: The Virginia Quaker Experience* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 48.

⁵⁶ Gragg, 45- 50. Gragg devotes a small amount of attention to the Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina claiming that Westfield flourished quickly because of the large number of Quakers who migrated from Virginia and New Garden. Gragg claims that often Quakers returned to former Monthly Meetings

that Quakers eventually left North Carolina and settled in Ohio because of a desire for more fertile land, temperate climate, and a pleasant lifestyle that became unavailable around monthly meetings in North Carolina in the antebellum period. Gragg suggests that Friends continuously migrated for the singular reason of enhancing their lifestyle and economic situation, but other issues like marriage and slavery also impacted migration of many Friends. Meeting minutes of Westfield indicate that the issues of marriage within the faith and slavery also affected Friends greatly. Certainly, land and settlement played a role in the migrations of Friends west, but it was not the only factor that provoked migration of Friends from Westfield.

Robert W. Ramsey's *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762* attempts to identify settlement patterns in Rowan County, North Carolina during 1740-1760. Specifically, his chapter "Quakers and Baptists on the Northwest Frontier" indicates that most rulers of Rowan County from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries were either Baptists or Quakers.⁵⁷ However, Ramsey assumes that Quakers in the northwestern area were absorbed into the Baptist missionary activity suggesting that they "abandoned the Quaker faith... because local sources are silent on the matter."⁵⁸ However, by checking monthly meeting records from the northwest frontier of North Carolina, including monthly meetings such as New Garden, Center, and Cane Creek, in operation by 1760, Ramsey would have discovered that Quakers were not absorbed into the Baptist faith in membership, but rather expanded greatly. The early settlement at those monthly meetings, especially New Garden, allowed for settlement of monthly meetings further west in North Carolina, including Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County.

because of the new backcountry settlements; however, he mentions that over 86 percent of Quakers actually migrated in one direction once entering the backcountry areas, and did not return to their former monthly meetings or lives.

⁵⁷ Ramsey, 131 and 138.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 138.

Unlike Ramsey’s analysis of Rowan County, North Carolina, Creston S. Long III’s doctoral dissertation “Southern Routes: Family Migration and the Eighteenth Century Southern Backcountry” attempts to analyze why migrants decided to abandon their former homes and neighborhoods for lives in the southern backcountry.⁵⁹ Long argues that most migrants moved to acquire more land and to build better lives for themselves and their families, but usually to places where likeminded people whom they already knew and who shared their religion resided.⁶⁰ Even though Long suggests that religion played a large part in where Friends migrated, he does not offer specific analysis on all religious groups. He only briefly mentions the Moravians and Quakers, two of the first migratory groups to the southern backcountry. A deeper analysis of Quakers of the southern backcountry like Westfield in Surry County indicates that many Friends did in fact migrate to where other Friends lived, which enabled the tenets of the religious community—marriage within the faith, “the slavery issue,” and land settlement—to be maintained.

This thesis will unfold in the following ways with each chapter indicating an underlying factor of maintaining a solid Quaker community. Each chapter will draw on Westfield Monthly Meeting as well as sources from other western-Piedmont meetings, including Deep Creek Monthly Meeting in present day Yadkin County, North Carolina and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting in present day Grayson County, Virginia.⁶¹ Analysis of other western meetings allows the historian to demonstrate how Westfield was both similar

⁵⁹ Creston S. Long III, “Southern Routes: Family Migration and the Eighteenth Century Southern Backcountry” (PhD. diss., College of William and Mary, 2002), 3.

⁶⁰ Long, 126-133.

⁶¹ Please note that some records indicate Chestnut Creek as Mount Pleasant Monthly Meeting, but due to the Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes referencing Mount Pleasant as Chestnut Creek almost entirely, it stands as Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting within the contents of this thesis. The name Chestnut Creek changed to Mount Pleasant when it established as a monthly meeting in 1801; records date from 1802.

and different from other Quaker meetings in the implementation of the tenets within their community.

The first chapter, “The Glimmerings of The Light within, that mov’d the Spirit to that Fleshly Undertaking⁶² Quaker Marriages and Westward Migration of Westfield Friends,” addresses specifically the rise and decline of marital disownments within Westfield Monthly Meeting in relationship to migrations westward. Once families from Westfield settled in Ohio and Indiana specifically, the analysis turns towards whether they continued marrying outside the faith in large numbers, or whether former Westfield Friends married other Quakers because there were more available partners.

Chapter 2, “A Problem for Many Friends: Slavery as a Cause of Quaker Migration,” discusses the prominent issue of slavery for North Carolina Quakers within Surry County, North Carolina and the Westfield Monthly Meeting. Quaker involvement with the issue of slavery embodies the largest historiographical focus of Quaker studies about North Carolina Friends because historians such as Weeks oversimplified the fact that Friends migrated to become rid of slavery in their Society. However, sources indicate that in Westfield, although Friends recognized and practiced the concerns of the Yearly Meeting on the issue of slavery, slavery was not a prominent issue in the community and Friends did not migrate solely based on that single factor.

Finally, Chapter 3, “Land is not wanting for men in Carolina, but men for Land.⁶³ Quaker Family Land Settlement and the Migration of Friends West,” focuses on the economics of land ownership and how the Westfield Quakers desired to maintain a strict Quaker

⁶² W. P. and G.W., *The Quakers Wedding or, the Old Maid Made Otherwise* (London: J. Brown, 1706), 2. ASU Archives.

⁶³ Harry Roy Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 24.

community by living near each other. Similarly, once Friends migrated to Ohio and Indiana, the migrants recreated a cohesive Quaker community on new, cheap, and fertile tracts of land. In short, the Quakers of Westfield migrated for better marital opportunities within the faith, the “slavery issue,” and because of the depletion of the available land that maintained the close knit community of the Society at Westfield. Thus, the vibrant place that Scattergood visited in 1792 ceased to exist in Surry County, North Carolina by 1828 because many members had migrated west.

Methodology:

In order to fully understand the migratory patterns of the Westfield Friends it is important to know how Friends got to Surry County, North Carolina. Friends who migrated to Westfield were from similar backgrounds with the same desires of community in mind and the same tenets to follow. To trace families to Westfield and their implementation of tenets at Westfield, I used the monthly meeting documents with help of William Wade Hinshaw’s *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, a compilation and abstraction of five volumes of American Monthly Meetings that includes the arrival and removal of Friends to other areas. The Monthly Meeting records address on what day a new family arrived in a monthly meeting, bringing with them their “certificate of removal” from their former meeting. This allowed Friends in “good standing” to migrate to other Monthly Meetings and immediately become part of the Society in their new location.

To understand the motivation of migration, I focused on three areas that appeared most often in the minutes of the Westfield meeting, as well as other sources in the Westfield area: marriage, slavery, and land settlement issues. Evidence suggests that those reasons, either individually or in combination, united many Westfield Friends in their movements westward

into the Ohio and Indiana territories. Some of these factors may have also been motivating factors in their initial migration to Westfield, but those patterns in the time frame have not been researched in depth for the purpose of this thesis. It is an understatement to argue that reasons why families chose to migrate are complex and multifaceted. Westfield Monthly Meeting's mass migration between 1786 and 1828 of over fifty families lends itself to closer examination and the possible discovery of the causes of migration—those that pulled families west and those that pushed families west.

Records for the Westfield Quakers are abundant, as meeting records date from 1786 to 1828, cutting off four years short of the time when Westfield was laid down as a meeting.⁶⁴ In this thesis, the period of migration is designated as ending in 1828 primarily for two reasons. First, Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes are not recorded after 1828. Second, the schism of the Society of Friends between the Orthodox and the Hicksite branches emerged in 1828. The Hicksite Schism, led by Elias Hicks, desired a return to the original Quaker doctrine of direct revelation of the Inner Light, and not a reliance on the scriptures that many Friends had become accustomed to using.⁶⁵ Stopping in 1828 also proves the idea that monthly meetings like Westfield were greatly impacted by the Schism because, by 1828, a large portion of Westfield's members had already migrated.

Monthly Meeting Minutes from Westfield also devote great attention to marriages, disownments, queries, and business orders from the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings. Housed within the minutes are marriage certificates indicating the couples who married, especially those that were “weighty” friends, and in particular the twelve members of the monthly

⁶⁴ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1856, 384, notes that “the ensuing Quarterly meeting held at Deep River in consequence of Westfield Quarterly Meeting being laid down.” Deep Creek was then subsequently added to Deep River Quarterly Meeting. This is the only record indicating that Westfield was laid down in December of 1832.

⁶⁵ Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, 12-35.

meeting that signed the marriage certificates.⁶⁶ Monthly meeting records also acknowledge when members asked to be removed to another meeting, or migrate to “other shores.”

Westfield Meeting records are housed in the Quaker Room at Hege Library at Guilford College, in Greensboro, North Carolina. Although the records from Westfield and all other monthly meetings under the guidance of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting dating from 1698 were abstracted and compiled into one volume by William Wade Hinshaw in his *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, the actual primary sources give much greater details about the meetings’ views of certain individuals or of disownments.⁶⁷ The actual minutes from the monthly meeting also reflect the meeting clerks’ interpretation of what went on in the meeting. Each clerk gave different significance to certain areas of discussion and offered an interpretation of the meeting discussion. Overall, each clerk’s records are distinct and this must be taken into account when working on a particular meeting’s minutes.

However, monthly meeting records have their limitations. To compliment meeting records I turned to other primary sources such as journals from traveling ministers. For example, traveling Quaker ministers like Thomas Scattergood reported in their journals when they passed through the Westfield community in 1792.⁶⁸ That insight of the outside perspective contributes to a better understanding of the Westfield Friends.

Other primary sources include slavery records during the Antebellum period in Surry County. The Register of Deeds Office recently compiled an index of slave records from deed books A through Z and numbers one through twelve housed at the Register of Deeds Office in Dobson, in Surry County, North Carolina. This compilation makes it more accessible for

⁶⁶ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828.

⁶⁷ William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* Vol. 1 (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1936). Hinshaw’s encyclopedia notes who was disowned and reasons for the disownments, as well as a few marriage, birth, death, and migration records. Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek are found on pages 953- 1013.

⁶⁸ Scattergood, 36.

historians to locate slave owners and, often times, the names of the slaves in Surry County.⁶⁹ Tax records also reveal those that held “black polls” or were taxed for having slaves in Surry County and can be cross-referenced with the names that show up in the slave index to locate the places where slave owners lived in Surry County.

Land grants and tax assessments of property reveal the locations of Quakers in relative distance from the Westfield Meetinghouse. They also allow the historian to form a distinct settlement pattern both of families and of the wider Westfield Quaker community. Also, one important interview with the eldest living Quaker from the Westfield meeting, Ersie Pell McIntyre, offered an opportunity to learn about her memories regarding the meeting’s history on marriages, slavery, and economic hardships passed down through oral tradition.⁷⁰

Additional oral histories have been recorded about Westfield from former members now deceased. Those histories detail an interpretation of how Westfield was settled, and describe the families who migrated to the Westfield community. The Surry County Historical Society has also published a work on the churches of Surry County where Westfield appears alongside the churches that developed in Surry County and the Westfield area after the Civil War. Although oral histories detail interesting information, the major arguments are drawn largely from the monthly meeting minutes, the slave index, tax and land records, among other items like census records and journals.⁷¹ In short, this thesis traces the reasons for migration of

⁶⁹ Surry County Register of Deeds Office, Dobson, North Carolina, “Slave Index of Deed Books A- 11,” compiled by Jennifer Crouse, Fall 2011.

⁷⁰ McIntyre, “Interview.” See also: Wilson, “Letter;” Iris M. Harvey, *Stokes County, North Carolina Tax List 1790* (Raleigh: The Division of Archives and History, 1996); and Agnes M. Wells and Iris M. Harvey, *Surry County, North Carolina Tax List 1815* (Raleigh: The Division of Archives and History, 1996).

⁷¹ Note the use of Chestnut Creek in Virginia during the early years of the Yearly Meetings in North Carolina. There were not many discrepancies in having Virginia meetings or South Carolina Meetings fall under the guidance of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The leadership of the Monthly Meeting, Quarterly Meetings, and Yearly Meetings all fell under the leadership of the meeting that was closest to the meeting at hand. Since Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting, stationed in Grayson County, Virginia, was located about 35 miles from Westfield, and close to the North Carolina line, it fell under the jurisdiction of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

Westfield Quakers to their destination meetings, and through those findings gives a larger voice to Surry County and the impact of Quakers in North Carolina's historic past.

Chapter 1: “The Glimmerings of the Light within, that mov’d the Spirit to that Fleshly Undertaking”¹ Quaker Marriage and Western Migration of Westfield Friends

“For From Genesis to the Revelation you never read of any priests who married any people, but it is God’s ordinance; and whom God has joined together, let no man put asunder.”

- George Fox²

Quakers practiced endogamy, that is, the practice of marrying within their faith. To maintain that practice the Society of Friends regulated, as much as possible, who, when, where, and how one should marry. Yet Surry County’s number of Quaker youth, in the first couple of decades after its founding in 1786, continued to marry outside the faith at the Westfield Monthly Meeting. Other Quaker meetings of Chestnut Creek in Grayson County, Virginia, and Deep Creek in present day Yadkin County, North Carolina also indicated a rise of marriage outside the faith, but in later decades than Westfield. Eligible marriage partners were scarce in Surry County and marriage partners within the Quaker faith were even more limited because there was only one Friends location at Westfield. That development ultimately led to the migration of Quaker families and their children to growing Quaker communities in Ohio and Indiana where marriage partners of the Quaker faith could be found. Out west, those Westfield migrant children married other young migrant Quakers and combined to form new vibrant, and more importantly, homogenous Quaker communities that preserved Quaker tenets.

¹ W. P. and G.W.

² Hall V. Worthington and Joan Worthington, eds., “A Collection of Many Select Epistles to Friends, of that Ancient, Eminent, and faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, George Fox, vol. 1, Letters 263-64,” in *The Missing Cross to Purity*, <http://www.hallvworthington.com/Letters/gfsection11a.html> (accessed February 12, 2013).

Background: The Marriage Process

Quaker marriage like all Quaker practices developed from the core Quaker testimony and faith based on the Inner Light, which allowed for a little bit of Christ in all. The Inner Light not only led Friends to know whom to marry, but when to marry.³ Due to the guidance of the Inner Light—unique to the Quaker denomination—marriage was a lengthy process. Parental agreements, betrothal, and the Quaker meeting’s acceptance of the spousal choice in the proposed marriage needed to be approved before the marriage occurred. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the reference meeting to all other yearly meetings in the colonies, offered this advice on marriage in the early Antebellum period: “great care be taken about marriages for the consent of parents.”⁴ Parental consent demonstrated respect for a parent’s guidance in their children’s marriage choices, and an understanding between parents’ approval and children for the preservation of the Society’s faith.⁵ Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek marriage records all recognize the necessity of parents prior to a marriage taking place in “having consent of parents and relatives concerned were aloud [sic] of by said meetings, and they left to their liberty to accomplish their marriage according to the good order used among Friends.”⁶ If Quaker parents consented to a non-Quaker partner and a child married against the tenets of the

³ Frost, 153.

⁴ Laughlin, 157. Note that the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was the highest figure of Quaker law in America even when North Carolina started its own Yearly Meeting in 1698.

⁵ Westfield Monthly Meeting Marriage Certificates 1786-1828, Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room.

⁶ Westfield Monthly Meeting Marriage Certificates 1786-1828; 1, 4, 48, 52, 54, 56, 58, 62, 78, 83, 88, 100, 103, and 123. Also see: Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Marriage Certificates 1802-1825; 3, 13, 17, 73. Also see: Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Marriage Certificates 1793-1856; 1 and 134.

Friends, the parents also faced possible disownment.⁷ Through marriage, couples affirmed their faith and commitment to the teachings of the Society.

Besides a Quaker couple gaining consent from his or her parents, the prospective couple also had to be approved by the monthly meeting. A specialized committee was organized to research the proposed couple's intent to marry.⁸ The need for the monthly meeting's consent indicates the importance of the marriage to the overall welfare of the meeting. The meeting was the members of the community and, thus, the meeting watched over their flock of Friends without guidance from anyone on the "outside" such as a formal clergy. Purity of the flock indicated that the Society of Friends would be preserved into the future with the beliefs of being un-worldly in a separate distinct community. The pursuit of endogamy—marriage within the society *only*—allowed for purity to occur and preservation to be maintained. Marriage was an agreement not only between two people, but also of the entire Quaker community of Westfield.

⁷ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. In 1797 "Thomas Bryant appeared at this meeting and offered a paper condemning his attending the marriage of a Friend contrary to discipline which was read and accepted," 135. Later in 1797, "The Preparative Meeting complains of Uriah Carson for Drinking Spiritous Liquors to excess and attending the marriage of a Friend consummated contrary to discipline and dressing out of plainness John Allison and Samuel Bond are appointed to treat with him on those occasions," 137. There are more occasions where Friends from Westfield were "talked with" about attending a marriage contrary to discipline or against Quaker wishes found within the documents of Westfield Monthly Meeting. Also see: Frost, 155. Also see: Abott and others, 74. They note that a disownment means that a member of the Friends Society was found to not be in unity with one or more of the elements of the Quakers.

⁸ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. Note that 22 November 1788 Jacob Worley and Phebe Hiatt appeared at this meeting and declared that they continued their intention of marriage with each other and nothing appearing to hinder thare [sic] precedence thay [sic] are left to their liberty to accomplish there marriage according to good order Thomas Ballard and Thomas Jessop are appointed to attend the marriage and see if it be orderly accomplished," 13. On 23 May 1790 William Jackson and Mary Jessop appeared at this meeting and declared their intention of marriage with each other "Amasa Beason and John Burris are appointed to inquire into the young mans clearness in report to marriage engagements," 24. Note that the accompaniment of a committee is found on each page with a marriage intention and a marriage within the Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. Also see: Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 195.

The special committee made up of both men and women from the monthly meeting organized at the monthly meeting investigated the couple's intent to marry. Prospective couples had to address all members at a "passing meeting" of their intent to marry. For example, on 27 September 1787 Joseph Hiatt Junior and Hannah Reece appeared at the Westfield Monthly Meeting and declared their intention of marriage. A committee of two members—Samuel Bowater and Curtis Jackson—was appointed to investigate the young man's clearance in respect to marriage.⁹ During the next monthly meeting on 20 October 1787 Joseph and Hannah appeared before the meeting and once again declared their intention of marriage "and nothing appearing to hinder their proceedings they are left to their liberty to accomplish their marriage according to good order. Caleb Sumner and Timothy Jessop are appointed to attend the marriage and see if it be orderly accomplished."¹⁰ Thus the couples were required to follow through three phases after the initial address of the marriage proposal:

1. Investigation of Committee of Friends, usually two people.
2. Wait at least one month before re-asking permission of the monthly meeting to marry.
3. If fit, the committee would appoint a "weighty" Friend to attend the wedding.¹¹

Within the period of investigation, the proposed couple would be asked a series of questions relating to the reasons for their desire to marry.¹² Since marital union contributed to the piety

⁹ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828 (27 September 1787), 6. Marriages were recorded with the women's monthly meetings. Hannah Reece was a member of Westfield Monthly Meeting, and the investigation period resonates that Westfield Friends desired to know Joseph's background for their member's well-being, but also to make sure that he was "good enough" to become a part of their meeting as well.

¹⁰ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828 (20 October 1787), 6. Similar cases are found in pages 3-336 of the Westfield records.

¹¹ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 6. Note that Monthly Meeting records indicate Joseph Hiatt Junior and Hannah Reece's intention of marriage on 22 May 1787. Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes indicate that Friends appointed last meeting to attend the marriage of Joseph Hiatt Junior and Hannah Reece report that it was orderly accomplished, 7. Each page addresses either a couple asking the Monthly Meeting permission to marry in the near future, or the Monthly Meeting approval of the proposed marriage. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 965. Also see: Laughlin, 157.

¹² Frost, 151. Note that during the period of committee examination, the future husband and wife's sexual history, as well as family history, would be investigated and persons who had not had carnal knowledge of each other and held proper Quaker morals could have a Christian Quaker linkage.

of the couple, Friends also postponed the age to wed until the husband and wife were mature enough to participate fully in the life of the meeting, and until they had enough assets to be able to marry.¹³ After the completion of the investigation, the couple went before the entire monthly meeting, or at least those who could attend, to wed. Marriage was the cornerstone to the continuance of the Quaker faith through ready and able pious husbands and wives whom thereafter entered fully into the life of the monthly meeting.

The actual marriage ceremony allowed all members of the Friends meeting to contribute and share thoughts with other members of the congregation since weddings were held at monthly meetings. Quakers did not believe that marriage was a civil right and were only supposed to be wed under the supervision of God, and guidance of the Inner Light in the meetinghouse. This contrasted with Puritans especially, who viewed marriage as a secular commitment.¹⁴ Exchange of vows took place in several different ways in North Carolina meetings. Monthly meeting clerks recorded marriage certificates, stating that, “having declared their intention of marriage before several of the monthly meetings of the people called Quakers at Westfield in the county and state aforesaid having consent of parents and partys [*sic*] concerned were allowed of by the said meeting. And they left to their liberty to accomplish [*sic*] their marriage according to the good order used among friends.”¹⁵ Other monthly

¹³ Ibid. For an article discussing the ages when Friends married and how many children they produced thereafter see Robert V. Wells and Michael Zuckerman, “Quaker Marriage Patterns in a Colonial Perspective,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (July 1972): 415-442, JSTOR, <http://0-www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/1923872> (accessed March 29, 2013). Wells and Zuckerman focus on marriage patterns during the colonial period in America using 276 Quaker families from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania Monthly Meeting’s. The age when American Quakers married, according to Wells’s statistics, differed from that of colonial Europeans during the same time period. Europeans married later, and therefore, the rate at which American couples had children actually equaled the rate of Europeans relative to the age they wed. Groups were, therefore, not always the same in the rate they married or had children even within the same religion.

¹⁴ Zimmerman, 29.

¹⁵ Westfield Marriage Certificates 1786-1828, 48-123. Also see: Chestnut Creek Marriage Certificates 1802-1825, 15 “having declared their intentions of marriage with each other before several monthly meetings of the people called Quakers held at Mount Pleasant according to the good order owed among them, and having

meetings like that of Deep Creek indicated a different type of marital vows within the marriage certificates. On 10 October 1799, Archelus Handy and Martha Johnson wed by “Archelus Handy taking Martha Johnson by the hand did in asolemn [sic] manner openly declare that took of Martha Johnson to be his wife promising through divine assistance to be unto her a loving [sic] and faithful husband until death should separate them and then and there in if assembly if so Martha Johnson did in like manner.”¹⁶ Handy’s and Johnson’s vows recorded on their marriage certificate indicate a personal and loving connection between the couple with “til death do us part” verbiage. The marriage certificate signed by at least twelve members of the meeting stated that the couple’s marriage was accomplished “according to good order used among friends.”¹⁷ Thereafter, the certificate returned with the committee to the next monthly meeting where it would be read and approved and entered into the meeting minutes by the clerk. The true Quaker marital process was lengthy and, as such, probably contributed to many disownments during the Antebellum period, not just to non-Quakers, but out of Friends tenets by marriage outside of the Quaker meetinghouse.

consent of parents and parties concerned their proposals of marriag [sic] was allowed by the meeting. And they were left at their liberty to consummate their marriage according to good order....” Other Chestnut Creek Marriage Certificates also indicate similar patterns, 3-17. Note sometimes marriages were held in the homes of Friends, but none from Westfield adhere to that choice of a marriage location.

¹⁶ Deep Creek Marriage Certificates 1793-1856, 1. Note marriage certificates on 32 and 162 also indicate the same consistency of “loving husband and wife- until death do us part” marital ideologies. Also see: Soderlund, 69. Soderlund notes a rise of sentiment in Quakerism, but Quakers typically knew their hopeful marriage partners for a long time prior to marriage because they lived within the Quaker community.

¹⁷ Westfield Marriage Certificates 1786-1828, (1795) “the marriage of Charles Moore and Anna Grigg.” Note that Westfield is the only monthly meeting out of Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek which implemented the use of six women and six men signing the marriage certificates. Over twenty people typically signed the marriage certificates for Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek had only three or four women who signed the marriage certificates out of a total of twelve.

Marriage Disownments and Western Piedmont North Carolina Meetings:

The purpose of a disownment was to maintain the protection and integrity of the society. Disownment could bring disgrace on families, the disowned individual, and their spouse because they disregarded the tenets of the Society. Disownments were also a dishonor to God. Still, despite the risk of disownment, Friends continued to behave in ways the meetings found contrary to the tenets of their faith. There were many reasons for marriage disownments that included: consanguinity (marrying someone who was closer than a second cousin), divorce, and remarrying too quickly.¹⁸ Until the late nineteenth century, all Quakers made divorce grounds for disownment.¹⁹ Historically, Quakers only married once unless widowed, and had several children, with a family lineage that endured for decades.²⁰

Most importantly, Quakers could be disowned for marriage for several reasons such as marrying out of union (MOU) when a Quaker married a non-Quaker; marrying contrary to discipline (MCD) that indicated a marriage against the order of the Friends society, such as being married by a magistrate or outside the Quaker meeting. Friends were also sometimes simply indicated as “dis” in Quaker records where a clerk may not have taken the time to be specific about the cause of the disownment.²¹ Thus, in cases where Friends may have simply been disowned in one meeting, in another meeting session Friends may have condemned their

¹⁸ Laughlin, 159. Note that Quakers were supposed to uphold four degrees of consanguinity, brothers could not marry wives' sisters, nor could first or second cousins marry. Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1856, notes that by 1830 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting declared that an item be added to the disciplines (Queries), “No member of society shall marry the sister of his deceased wife, nor women marry the brother of her deceased husband,” 382.

¹⁹ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 196.

²⁰ Hinshaw Vol. 1, 989. However there have been instances where Friends married more than once or even twice as in the case of Benjamin on 7 February 1807 when he was disowned from the Deep Creek Monthly Meeting for the third time for marriage out of union. Also see: Frost, 152. Frost notes that “no divorced person could speak the word of God.”

²¹ Hinshaw Vol. 1, “Introduction,” ix-xv. These abbreviations and terms are important to grasp what Quaker records actually reveal.

action for being disowned due to pressure from parents or because they were children of “weighty” Friends.

Marriage outside the society yielded more disownments than any other offense. This is likely because the result of such a union was the failure of the family to provide a religious upbringing for their children, or provide resources that established their children with land and funds that allowed for them to marry within the meeting.²²

Abundant changes occurred within the Westfield Monthly Meeting from 1786 to 1828 in dealing with mixed Quaker marriages. In the spring of 1800, Thomas Jessop Junior appeared at Westfield Monthly Meeting and read a paper condemning his accomplishing his marriage out of the unity of Friends which was read and accepted. Later, on 20 September 1800 Thomas Jessop Junior appeared at Westfield Monthly Meeting again and requested for “his son Jonathan to be joined in membership with us which the meeting grants.”²³ His marriage out of unity in the spring of 1800 reveals no marriage certificate, and the minutes do not speak of a wife. However, since he was disowned by Westfield Monthly Meeting because of a marriage out of unity to a non-Quaker, his son would not have been seen as a birth-right Friend. His original disownment was likely caused by sex before marriage that led to a quick marriage or “shot-gun wedding.”

However, marriage problems for Friends shifted during the early years of the nineteenth century. In fact, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting established a tenet dealing with children born outside of marriage. The Yearly Meeting of 1806 held at Little River Meeting House in Perquimans County determined, “this meeting is of opinion that no illegitimate [*sic*]

²² Laughlin, 159.

²³ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 195 and 197.

child should be considered as having a birth right in our society.”²⁴ The fate of the denomination depended upon a couple to produce offspring that allowed for Quaker worship and their community to continue in the future, “marriage formed the foundation of the Society of Friends.”²⁵

By comparing Westfield disownments to Chestnut Creek in Grayson County, Virginia, and Deep Creek in present day Yadkin County, North Carolina, some conclusions can be reached as to the effect of marriage disownments on certain meetings and how detrimental those marital disownments may have been to North Carolina meetings as a cause for community migration west.²⁶ Chestnut Creek, Deep Creek, and Westfield Monthly Meetings were located in the western portion of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting boundaries. It is likely that all three of the meetings encountered similar circumstances in marriage due to their geographic isolation in the western portion of North Carolina. Due to the isolated location of the two western Piedmont North Carolina meetings and the one southwestern Virginia meeting, marital disownments occurred in similar manners from 1786-1828. The strict regulations of marital disownments directly impacted the migration of Friends from Chestnut Creek, Deep Creek, and especially Westfield west. Due to the fact that Friends had to marry within their Society, and adhere to the process prior to the approval of a marriage, migration to where more Quakers were located such as in the Ohio territory provided an outlet for Friends to uphold marriage within the faith, although some Friends still disregarded the tenets.

An estimate of Westfield’s total meeting membership during the forty-year period from 1786-1828 by using birth, death, and disownment records, totals less than 600 members

²⁴ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 257. Also see: Laughlin, 155.

²⁵ Ibid, 28.

²⁶ Hinshaw Vol. 1, 1001.

including children.²⁷ According to possible marital disownments from the Westfield Monthly Meeting, there were sixty-four disownments for marriage, and 127 disownments simply stated as “dis.”²⁸ These numbers, along with seventeen other disownments indicate that 208 total disownments occurred during the roughly forty-year period at the small monthly meeting of Westfield, a third of the overall population.²⁹ Marriage out of union specifically resulted in the disownment of thirty percent, while sixty-one percent were disowned simply stated in the records as “dis.”³⁰ In the records “dis” constituted 127 total cases, and within this number a great deal of marriage disownments probably existed. For example, Susannah Elis was simply disowned from the meeting on 23 May 1795. Seven years later on 19 June 1802 Susanna Pickering, former Ellis, condemned her marriage out of unity.³¹ The minutes do not acknowledge any reason for the long amount of time for condemning her marriage out of unity. Her family did not migrate west, nor did she have a child whom she desired to be seen as a birthright Friend. This entry indicates the incompleteness of some of the records within the Monthly Meeting minutes. These records of minutes from Westfield and the other meetings are to the historian’s discretion, but it is important to note that the same person did not record each. It is hard to indicate how many of the disownments simply recorded as such were

²⁷ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 953-970.

²⁸ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. Note that there were also seven disownments for military activities specifically during the year of 1814, and ten for a combination of differences like living outside the boundaries of the meeting, or going out of Quaker order, or dressing un-plain. Note 18 January 1806 Richard White was simply disowned, 251. In 1801, Zachariah Puckett was disowned for attending a marriage of a member “of our Society consummated contrary to Discipline and dressing out of plainness,” 221. Jesse McKinney was simply disowned on 18 September 1815, 330. In 1788, “Rachel Beals offered a paper to this meeting condemning her outgoings which was red [sic] and excepted,” 14. In 1793, “the Preparative Meeting complained of Walter Thornbrough for hiring a substitute to serve in the Militia, and also “complains of Ebenezer John for hiring a substitute to serve in the militia,” and for “Jesse Baldwin for keeping bad company frolicking and dancing and for hiring a substitute to serve in the militia,” although those individuals were not actually disowned on this date for their military transgressions, 71. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 953- 70.

²⁹ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828.

³⁰ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1786-1828. Note that 5 percent became disowned for “other” grievances with the remaining 4 percent disowned for military activities. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 953-70.

³¹ Ibid. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 965.

actually those of marriage transgressions, but due to the large number of simple disownments recorded, it would probably be a much higher number of marriage disownments than the sixty-five cases addressed.³² The high number of simple disownments and the clerks' minutes indicate a disparity in what clerks actually recorded as in the case of Susanna Pickering.

Similarly, an estimated overall membership, including children, through analysis of birth, death, and disownment records at Deep Creek during the period of 1786 to 1828 reveals less than 800 Quakers in membership. Deep Creek Monthly Meeting had 367 disownment cases during the roughly forty years addressed, close to half of the meeting population.³³ Of the 367 cases, 242 (sixty-six percent) of them occurred because of marriage.³⁴ Secondly, 110 of the records (thirty percent) indicate that people were just simply disowned.³⁵ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting records also indicate some disparity with the clerks' pithiness in recording the minutes. On 5 August 1809, Jonas Reynolds was simply disowned, and on 6 October 1827, Jonas Reynolds condemned his marriage out of union.³⁶ Many times folks waited to condemn their disownment because they may have relocated or needed to get a positive certificate of removal to be entered into a Quaker meeting elsewhere. Although Reynolds took a long time to condemn his marriage, speaking in front of ones' peers and meeting to condemn his marriage against Friends tenets was probably hard to do as it would suggest that the marriage was

³² It is also important to note that the Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes being used are solely from the men's meeting as the women's records have been lost. However, many of the recorded names and dates address women's removal, thus indicating that the Monthly Meeting recorded normally both women's and men's disownments because the Monthly Meeting was by default the men's meeting and covered both.

³³ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 971-1000.

³⁴ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853. In 1813, Deep Creek Preparative meeting complains of "Nathan Farmer for the willful neglect in attending meetings," 250. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 971-1000.

³⁵ *Ibid.* Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 971-1000. Note that only two people (less than one percent) were disowned because of military services or "mustering," while a total of 13 people (3.5 percent) became disowned for living elsewhere outside the vicinity of the meeting's boundaries, including two people who actually joined another society.

³⁶ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, "Reynolds" 971-1000. Also see: Zimmerman, 43.

wrong. Also, it may be that he now had children and wanted to make sure his children would be accepted as birthright Friends although records do not indicate such motives.

Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting in Grayson County, Virginia demonstrated similar numbers of disownments within their meeting during the years 1802-1825, at least for the available records. The membership of Chestnut Creek from 1802 to 1825, using birth, death, and marriage records, indicates an estimated population of less than 400 members, including children.³⁷ There were 103 total disownments for Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting during the period of 1802 to 1825, revealing a quarter of its population being disowned. Of those disownments, seventy-nine were in place because of marriage out of unity (seventy-seven percent), and twenty-four disownments simply stated making up the remaining twenty-three percent.³⁸ Records do not indicate any other reasons for disownments in the meeting.³⁹ The main grievances for Chestnut Creek Monthly meeting developed from marriage and simple disownments, but it may be because the minutes only emerge from the women's meeting and they were concerned with those issues more than others.

Monthly Meeting records and the compiled abstract from William Wade Hinshaw for marriages and disownments of Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek are represented in Table One. Each reason for disownments in the monthly meeting minutes are listed on the far left side and indicate marriage disownments as MOU, a simple disownment (DIS), military—that especially included hiring a substitute, or mustering—taking up arms to fight—and other grievances like living outside the meeting boundaries, drinking spirituous

³⁷ Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 1001-1013.

³⁸ Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825. In 1803, the Monthly Meeting complains of "Patience Bond for committing fornication," 38. Continued in 1804, the Preparative Meeting of Fruit Hill complains of Elizabeth Huffman, formerly Suffrins, for accomplishing her marriage contrary to discipline," and disowned her, 37. Also in 1804, "Chestnut Creek Preparative Meeting complains of Elizabeth Bryant for dressing out of plainness and attending a marriage consummated contrary to discipline," 30. Dozens of these cases arise within the Monthly Meeting Minutes.

³⁹ Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825.

liquors, or lacking plainness are listed in the “other” category. Each meeting is separated into their own column coordinating with each disownment connotation as well as the total in the bottom row for all disownments during the period of 1786-1828 for each meeting. The percentages for all total disownments from each meeting (208, 367, and 103) found in the fifth row are then divided by the disownment reasons listed in the first column for each meeting. These are located respectively in the percentages of total column directly after each meeting.

Table 1: Reasons for Disownments From Quaker Meetings, 1786-1828

	Westfield	% of Total	Deep Creek	% of Total	Chestnut Creek	% of Total
MOU	64	30%	242	66%	77	77%
DIS	127	61%	110	30%	24	23%
Military	7	4%	2	> 1%	0	
Other	10	5%	13	3.5%	0	
Total:	208		367		103	

Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1786-1828, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1793-1856, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1803-1825. *Note:* One can see that marriage disownments constituted the largest disownment transgression for Deep Creek and Chestnut Creek, but simple disownments for Westfield.

However, there are enormous differences in the decades of disownments of Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek persons. Table 2 represents the years of disownments broken down by decade, and indicates a time frame for when the majority of disownments occurred within each meeting by a percentage of the total. The growth or declination of marriage disownments for each monthly meeting of Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek is analyzed within decades from 1786 to 1828. The first row indicates the years in which disownments are listed then divided by the total marital disownments for each meeting. For example, during the years 1786 to 1800, Westfield Monthly Meeting disowned thirty-six people for marriage out of a total of sixty-four (this number is found in the last column),

indicating that fifty-six percent of disownments for marriage occurred during this period. From 1801 to 1810, eleven people were disowned for marriage out of sixty-four total—representing seventeen percent of marriage disownments. Next, from 1811 to 1820, twelve people were disowned because of marriage at nineteen percent of the total; while from 1820-1828, only five people became disowned, at a mere eight percent of the total. Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting, and Deep Creek Monthly Meeting marriage disownments and percentages are also calculated out in this manner. The last row of Table 2 indicates the total disownments for each decade by combining the three meetings disownments.

Table 2: Marriage Disownments and Percentages Per Decade

	1786-1800/ %	1801-1810/ %	1811-1820/ %	1820-1828/ %	Total MOU
Westfield MM	36, 56%	11, 17%	12, 19%	5, 8%	64
Chestnut Creek MM	0	45, 58%	28, 36.5%	4, 5.5%	77
Deep Creek MM	37, 15%	58, 24%	89, 37%	58, 24%	242
Total Dis	73	114	129	67	

Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1786-1828, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1856, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1803-1825.⁴⁰

Table 2 demonstrates that there was a progression of disownments within the meetings for marriage, up until it began to decline from 1820 to 1828. Westfield was the only Monthly Meeting whose marital disownments occurred largely during the first decade of its existence probably because it was a relatively new meeting in an unpopulated area while Deep Creek and Chestnut Creek each maintained large disownment periods during the decades of 1801-1810 and 1811-1820. The differences indicate that each of the three monthly meetings dealt with problems like marriage at different times even within roughly the same region of the North

⁴⁰ Westfield Monthly Meeting 1786-1828. Note that for Westfield, from 1787-1800, a total of 36 marriage disownments took place; while from 1801-1810, a total of 11 MOUs occurred; subsequently from 1811-1820, a total of 12 disownments transpired, and finally, from 1821-1828 when the meeting records end, only 5 total marital disownments occurred. This period at Westfield from 1786 to 1800 marked a total disownment for marriages at 56 percent of the people disowned. The next decade from 1801-1810 a total of 17 percent of the people were disowned, while from 1811-1820, 19 percent of Friends were disowned, and a mere 8 percent of the people were disowned in the last eight years. These numbers indicate that the number of transgressions of Quakers marrying outside the faith declined from the beginning of the meeting, in comparison to migrations out of Surry County. Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 971-1000. For Deep Creek during the same ten year periods as Westfield disownments for marriage indicated in 1786-1800 only 37 people became disowned at 15 percent of the total; in 1801-1810 a total of 58 people at 24 percent were disowned, while between 1811-1820 the largest Deep Creek group, 89 people were disowned at 37 percent, and in the last set of years, 1821-1828, 58 people again at 24 percent became disowned. Those disownments for marriage represent the total 242 marriage disownments of Deep Creek Monthly Meeting during the years of 1786-1828. Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825 indicate that only marriage and simple disownments occurred in the meeting. A total of 77 people were disowned for marriage issues alone. From 1786 to 1800 no people were disowned for marriage; from 1801 to 1810 forty-five people were disowned at 58 percent of the total. Next, from 1811 to 1820, 28 people were disowned at 36.5 percent of the total, and finally from 1821-1825 when records end, only four people were disowned for marriage at 5 of the total. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 1001-13.

Carolina Yearly Meeting. Also because of the differences in overall Quaker membership of the three monthly meetings, Deep Creek operated a more stringent practice of marital disownments, at almost half of their members, than Chestnut Creek or Westfield who disowned less than a quarter for marriage.

Reasons for Disownments:

Marriage disownments took place on a larger scale than any other disownment within the three meetings addressed from western North Carolina, including Westfield. Disowned individuals were often let back into the meeting because they condemned their actions of marriage against the Quaker faith and God. No records from Westfield, Chestnut Creek, or Deep Creek indicate that a person who condemned their marital transgression to be refused re-entry into their monthly meeting, indicating that the Society wanted members to understand their reasons for their disownment and admit their fault. Quakers did not want to keep their members out of the Society because that would harm the future of the Society.

Census records indicate a rise in population in Surry County during the decades Friends began to migrate west. Based on the only written history of Surry County, North Carolina, J.G. Hollingsworth's *A History of Surry County* compiled census records from 1790 to 1830 including free persons, slaves, and indentured servants. During the first census recorded in 1790, there were 3,293 white males and 3,188 white females, with seventeen indentured servants and 698 slaves.⁴¹ By 1800, the white male population increased to 4,409 and the white female population constituted 4,160 people with 21 free blacks and 1,095 slaves.⁴² A continued increase in population developed by the census of 1830, after Westfield was largely

⁴¹ North Carolina Census Records Online, Surry County, 1790-1810, <http://us-census.org/pub/usgenweb/census/nc/surry/>, (accessed November 21, 2012). Also see: Hollingsworth, 202.

⁴² Hollingsworth, 202. Hollingsworth notes "in 1810, the white male population decreased to 4,061 and the white female population rose to 4,752. By 1820 the population increased, with a male population of 5,435 and a white female population of 5,747."

depleted of its members, as 6,284 white males and 6,281 white females, plus 185 free negroes and 2,026 negro slaves were accounted for.⁴³ The jumps in population in Surry County parallel similar jumps in marriage disownments during the first decade for Deep Creek and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meetings. Westfield's largest period of marital disownments, however, was the first period from 1786 to 1800, which does not coincide with the heightened population in Surry County in the decades that followed.

Other issues like an increase of itinerant ministers within Surry County could have led to members marrying outside the Society. Itinerant ministers of both Baptist and Methodist faiths became widely known within North Carolina during the early 1800s.⁴⁴ Although there was not an official meeting or church established by another denomination in Surry County until after the Civil War, Baptist and Methodist traveling ministers and people who followed those teachings were within the area of the Westfield Friends Meeting even earlier than the 1790s.⁴⁵ In 1828, on the last page of the Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes, Westfield Monthly Meeting disowned Jesse Lemons for joining the Methodist Society.⁴⁶ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting actually disowned two individuals from their meeting for joining another society as well, although the society was not identified in the minutes.⁴⁷ Baptists and other

⁴³ North Carolina Census Records Online, Surry County, 1790. Also see: Hollingsworth, 202.

⁴⁴ North Carolina Quakers were not looked upon favorably during this early Antebellum time period. Many of them did not fight against the British in the Revolutionary War, and then again did not take up arms during the War of 1812.

⁴⁵ Job Scott, "Journal of the life, travels, and gospel labours of Job Scott 1797," 240 and 253, Earlham School of Religion. <http://dq.c.esr.earlham.edu:8080/xmlmm/search> (accessed October 13, 2012). Also note there is still not a Methodist Church within the vicinity of the Westfield area, and a formal Baptist church was only established during reconstruction after the Civil War.

⁴⁶ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828.

⁴⁷ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1856, 17. Also see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 240- JAS- Joining another society. Also see: Job Scott 1797. He addresses the meeting of Westfield in North Carolina on a mission trip indicating that Baptists and other denominations all attended the Friends meeting, and that Quakers were profitable in converting others as he said: "After one of these meetings, a Baptist man, somewhat in years, told me he had tried to keep up family prayers in his house, but found he could have no satisfaction in it, unless when he felt a divine influence inclining him therto [sic], and that he had now omitted it, except when he found himself thus qualified.--O that all may learn the necessity of waiting upon God in the silence of all flesh." Although it does

religious denominations also worshiped at Westfield with the Quakers because there was not a unified meetinghouse for their faiths.⁴⁸ Those denominations, as well as Quakers, probably resulted in conversions from all sides to that of Quaker, Baptist, and Methodist faiths.

Westward Migrations:

Decline in Quaker marital disownments at Westfield may have resulted due to the beginnings of migrations west to Ohio and Indiana for Westfield members. Interestingly, the number of families within each meeting of Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek began to decrease once Friends recognized the possibilities of new Quaker meetings in western territories. Families from the Northeast and the South migrated and settled in the areas of Waynesville in Warren County, Ohio, where Friends developed the Miami Monthly Meeting, and in nearby Highland County, Ohio, where the Fairfield Monthly Meeting emerged. In Richmond, Indiana, Quakers formed White Water Monthly Meeting. In the Whitewater Monthly Meeting, between the years of 1809 and 1812, more than 800 members were accepted by the Monthly Meeting.⁴⁹ Over 1200 Friends migrated and settled in at Miami Monthly Meeting by 1810 within a short period of its founding in 1803.⁵⁰ Members at Fairfield, Miami, and Whitewater continued exclusionary practices of Friends through Quaker marriages.

Migration to the new lands in Ohio and Indiana allowed for marriages to fellow Quakers in newly developed meetings separated from the worldly community at the monthly

not indicate specifically that the man converted to the Society of Friends, it acknowledges the fact that other religions were in the Westfield area, and members of the Society had begun to be acquainted with those of other denominational faiths. Scott then declares, "After this meeting we still found a pressing engagement to have another meeting at Friends meeting house at Westfield, which was helped accordingly the next day, to great satisfaction: many Baptists and others, as well as many Friends, attended," 242. Also see: Scattergood.

⁴⁸ Scattergood.

⁴⁹ Sheryl Vanderstel, "Quakers in Indiana in the Nineteenth Century," *Connor Prairie Interactive History Park*, <http://www.connerprairie.org/Learn-And-Do/Indiana-History/America-1860-1900/Quakers-In-Indiana.aspx> (Accessed October 19, 2012).

⁵⁰ Francis C Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends* (Winston-Salem, N.C.: Christopher Publishing House, 1959), 83.

meetings of Miami and Fairfield in Ohio, and at Whitewater in Indiana.⁵¹ Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meetings helped to found new Friends communities and a Quaker society continually based upon traditional Quaker tenets of marriage among others.

In total from Westfield, 51 heads of households and their families migrated west during the years of the earliest migration in 1792 to the latest in 1828.⁵² The majority of Westfield Quakers migrated to Miami Monthly Meeting or Fairfield Monthly Meeting in Ohio, and a few later to White Water Monthly Meeting in Indiana from 1801 to 1810.⁵³ Those territories were largely unsettled by pioneers, which allowed for Quaker communities to become as cohesive as Westfield was before the population increase.

Comparatively, a total of 159 Deep Creek families for the same time period of 1786-1828 migrated west, with the earliest migration actually taking place in 1804, and the latest in 1828 coinciding with Westfield's last migration. More families migrated between 1811-1820 from Deep Creek, demonstrating that western North Carolina Quakers did not move solely based on one reason during a certain time frame, but for an assortment of reasons including marital opportunities, since their large migratory period differed from Westfield's.⁵⁴

Quite similar to Deep Creek, Chestnut Creek's records indicate a large number of Quaker Migrants during the same relative time frame of 1802-1825. The earliest migration from Chestnut Creek occurred in 1803 and the latest took place in 1821. Overall from Chestnut

⁵¹ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828.

⁵² Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. Note from 1792 to 1800, only five families migrated west, while from 1801 to 1810 twenty-six families migrated, and from 1811 to 1820, eleven families migrated west, and finally from 1821 to 1828 a total of 9 families migrated west to the territories of Ohio and Indiana in the late 1820s.

⁵³ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828.

⁵⁴ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853. Note from 1804 to 1810, a total of 38 heads of households and their families migrated to Ohio and Indiana. From 1811 to 1820, a total of 84 families migrated during that time period, and from 1821 to 1828, 26 families migrated west.

Creek, a total of 115 persons and families migrated west to Ohio and Indiana.⁵⁵ The same period of 1811-1820 was the largest migratory period for Chestnut Creek families as was the case for Deep Creek Monthly Meeting.⁵⁶ The majority of Chestnut Creek families migrated to Ohio and settled in the Monthly Meetings of Fairfield and Miami, while all families who migrated to Indiana moved to Whitewater Monthly Meeting except for two who moved to Lick Creek Monthly Meeting in 1817 and 1821.⁵⁷ Fairfield, Miami, and Whitewater Monthly Meetings also housed the most migrants from Westfield, but many Deep Creek migrants moved to other monthly meetings near Fairfield and Miami, then on to Whitewater, Indiana. Regardless, Quakers primarily moved where they knew other Quaker families would be located and their tenets practiced.

Migrations by ten year periods are indicated within Table 3 from the Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings.⁵⁸ For example, five heads of households migrated westward during the period of 1786 to 1800 from Westfield, while from 1802 to 1810 twenty-six families moved; from 1811 to 1820 eleven families moved, and in the last decade from 1821 to 1828 only nine families migrated, resulting in a total of fifty-one heads of households who migrated westward to the monthly meetings of Miami and Fairfield in Ohio, and Whitewater in Indiana. The monthly meeting migrations for Chestnut Creek and Deep Creek are also demonstrated in the same manner. The last column indicates the total number of heads of households who migrated westward during the decades listed from each meeting discussed. Table 3 identifies that Westfield's highest period of migration precedes Chestnut

⁵⁵ Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825. Note that during the years of 1803 to 1810 a total of 45 families migrated west into the Ohio and Indiana territories, while from 1811 to 1820 a total of 67 families migrated, and in the last period from 1821 to 1828 a total of three families migrated west.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid. Note that some families actually migrated to Tennessee first, but were not calculated into the migrations.

Creek’s and Deep Creek’s in the 1801-1810 period while both Chestnut Creek and Deep Creek Friends’ migrated largely in the 1811-1820 time period.

Table 3: Migrations Per Decade

	1786-1800	1801-1810	1811-1820	1821-1828	Total
Westfield	5	26	11	9	51
Chestnut Creek		45	67	3	115
Deep Creek		38	84	26	159
Total/ Period	5	109	132	38	284

Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1786-1828, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1793-1856, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1803-1825.

For Westfield, marriage disownments overall decreased during the three largest decades of migration as indicated by the (W) within Table Four. The largest period of marriage disownments was also the first few years of the monthly meetings’ existence (1786-1800), which probably played into the heightened number of disownments. The new monthly meeting of Westfield probably had to prove to the Quarterly Meeting at New Garden that the “weighty” Friends at Westfield could maintain Quaker tenets. Letting Friends “slide” for marrying against Quaker order would indicate that Westfield’s “weighty” members did not uphold Quaker tenets as necessary. For Deep Creek Monthly Meeting (part of southern Surry County during the Antebellum period), the largest period of marital disownments does not directly correlate with the largest period of migration, indicating that motivations for migrations were not based solely upon the same reasons for Friends even within the same county. Marriage disownments increased for Deep Creek during each decade, but migrations reached their height from 1811 to 1820 before sliding off in the next decade. Chestnut Creek Monthly

Meeting also indicated a decline in marital disownments in correlation with the three decades of migrations from their meeting.

Table 4: Migrations and Marriage Disownments

Years	Migrations (W, D, C)	Marriage Dis. (W, D, C)
1786-1800	5 (W)	36 (W)
1801-1810	26 (W), 38 (D), 45 (C)	11 (W), 37 (D), 45 (C)
1811-1820	11 (W), 84 (D), 67 (C)	12 (W), 58 (D), 28 (C)
1821-1828	9 (W), 26 (D), 3 (C)	5 (W), 89 (D), 4 (C)

Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1786-1828, Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1793-1856, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1803-1825.

Marriages of Friends Out West:

Once people from Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings migrated and settled in Ohio and Indiana, their exclusionist practices continued. Due to the large number of Friends who migrated from those three meetings among other meetings in North Carolina, the Delaware Valley, and South Carolina, Friends had more choices in marriage partners because Ohio, and later, Indiana, became the only migratory point for Quakers. More families married within their faith than committed marriages that resulted in disownments during the two specific decades of migration from 1801 to 1810 and 1811 to 1820. From Deep Creek Monthly Meeting, Daniel Huff, Jr. and his wife Sarah arrived with children James, John, and Rebecca at Fairfield Monthly Meeting 6 April 1811. On 13 October 1816, Rebecca married Samuel Sanders, also a member of the meeting.⁵⁹ James, the son of Daniel and Sarah, married at Fairfield to Sidney Wright, the daughter of Quakers Edward and

⁵⁹ William Wade Hinshaw, Fairfield Monthly Meeting Minutes, quoted in the *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, vol. 5 (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1936), 249-250.

Hannah Wright on 8 April 1816.⁶⁰ Samuel Welch and wife Chloe and children Martha, Amos, Judith, Betsy, Sally, Webster, and Samuel migrated first to Clear Creek, Ohio in 1814 then again to Miami Monthly Meeting in 1816. Amos, the son of Samuel and Chloe, married at Springfield Monthly Meeting to Rachel Fallis on 27 October 1824.⁶¹ Then again in 1832, Samuel Jr. was granted a charter to West Grove Monthly Meeting, where he married Rachel Williams.⁶² The minutes indicate that Quakers married within the faith and carried their Quaker tenet of marriage within, from Deep Creek Monthly Meeting in North Carolina to monthly meetings in Ohio and Indiana.

For Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting multiple minutes record marriages to Quakers whether in their own destination meetings or in nearby meetings. Isaac Green and wife Hannah migrated to Fairfield Monthly Meeting, Ohio on 27 October 1810. Levi, the son of Isaac and Hannah, married at Fairfield to Elizabeth Huff, the daughter of Daniel and Sarah of the said county.⁶³ Samuel and Abigail Chew with children Alice, Mary, Reuben, and Ruth were received by Fairfield Monthly Meeting, Ohio dated 26 July 1818. Ruth in turn married Thomas Thorn on 15 February 1835.⁶⁴ On 29 August 1821, Jonathan Jessop was granted a charter to Cesars Creek Monthly Meeting (located six miles West of Waynesville, Ohio, the location of Miami Monthly Meeting) to marry Patience Mills.⁶⁵ Also, on 6 December 1826, Mary Jessop married David Green at Miami Monthly Meeting.⁶⁶ Like Deep Creek migrants, Friends from Chestnut Creek also continued the practice of adhering to Quaker tenets of marriage within the faith once in Ohio and Indiana.

⁶⁰ Hinshaw vol. 5, 249-250.

⁶¹ Hinshaw vol. 5, 138-39.

⁶² Hinshaw vol. 5, 138-39.

⁶³ Hinshaw vol. 5, 241.

⁶⁴ Hinshaw vol. 5, 241.

⁶⁵ Hinshaw vol. 5, 252.

⁶⁶ Hinshaw vol. 5, 252.

For the Westfield Monthly Meeting, Benjamin Hoggat and wife Charity with children Hannah, Rachel, Leah, Sarah, Eli, Esther, Neri, and Charity migrated to Fairfield Monthly Meeting, Ohio and were received on 25 August 1810. Daughter Hannah married Thomas Frazier, a Friend, on 11 November 1812.⁶⁷ On 31 December 1808 Joseph Sumner and sons Samuel and Thomas received on certificate from Westfield Monthly Meeting, North Carolina to Fairfield Monthly Meeting, Ohio. Later, on 1 July 1829, Thomas married at Fairfield Monthly Meeting to Martha Williams.⁶⁸ On 25 May 25 1814 Jesse Williams and wife Sarah and children Micajah, Terrell, Achilles, Ann Lynch, Sarah, Robert, Elizabeth, and Jesse Lynch were received on certificate to Miami Monthly Meeting, Ohio. By 30 August 1815 Achilles was granted a charter back to New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina to marry. Next Achilles moved back west to Whitewater Monthly Meeting, Indiana on 30 September 1818 to settle his family.⁶⁹ Similar to Deep Creek and Chestnut Creek members, Westfield migrants also continued the practice of maintaining Quaker tenets of marriage once settled into monthly meetings in Ohio and Indiana.

Those members of the Society of Friends, along with many more, continued to uphold their marriages within the Society and married other Friends in destination meetings or those in surrounding towns and counties next to Fairfield, Miami, and Whitewater Monthly Meetings. Of course, marriage disownments still occurred, but at an extremely lower rate until the schism of the Quaker faith between the Orthodox and the Hicksites—founded by Elias Hicks—occurred.⁷⁰ Fairfield Monthly Meeting in Ohio constituted the second largest place where Friends from Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek continued the practice of

⁶⁷ Hinshaw vol. 5, 242.

⁶⁸ Hinshaw vol. 5, 261.

⁶⁹ Hinshaw vol. 5, 142.

⁷⁰ Hinshaw vol. 5, 215-294 and 17-146.

marital disownments, but at a much lower level. Fairfield Monthly Meeting officially opened in 1807, therefore the results indicate a limited number of marriage disownments during the period of 1801 to 1810 because it had only been in operation for four years. During those years, twenty-two disownments for marriage took place, while in 1811 to 1820, sixty-three occurred, and then a decline once again took place by the period 1821 to 1828 with thirty-two members disowned for marriage. For roughly three decades of Fairfield Monthly Meeting through 1828, only 117 persons became disowned for marriage.⁷¹ During the first few years, Fairfield Monthly Meeting comprised over 1000 members.⁷² One could say that marriage disownments decreased because meetings in Ohio were less strict at maintaining Quaker tenets. However, Friends who settled in Ohio and Indiana migrated in part to continue the Quaker tenets of marriage within the faith, and the meetings in Ohio were several times larger than their former meetings in North Carolina. The few marital disownments that occurred during the first decades at Fairfield Monthly Meeting indicate a strong connection to available Quaker partners and Quaker marriages. Marital disownments declined because of the availability of Quakers within the Fairfield area in Ohio.

Prior to the schism of 1828, migrations to Miami Monthly Meeting in Ohio that opened in 1803 led to marital disownments, from 1801 to 1810, fifty-one people became disowned because of marriage; those disownments largely occurred prior to 1806 when the meeting was still quite small, but growing. From 1811 to 1820 a total of thirty-six marital disownments occurred, while from 1821 to 1828 a total of twenty-nine disownments occurred in the now

⁷¹ Fairfield Monthly Meeting Minutes see Hinshaw Vol. 5. Note Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes do not exist after 1828, but equally as important the Schism that took place that year in the Quaker faith, between the Orthodox and the followers of Elias Hicks led to multiple disownments into the 1850s of Friends becoming disowned not for marrying non-Quakers, but for marrying those who had become Hicksite Quakers.

⁷² Karen Campbell, "Leesburg Monthly Meeting: Fairfield Monthly Meeting," *Quaker Genealogy in Southwest Ohio*. <http://qugenswohio.blogspot.com/2005/10/leesburg-monthly-meeting-fairfield.html>. (Accessed October 13, 2012).

huge Quaker meeting. Overall, for roughly three decades through 1828, Miami Monthly Meeting only disowned 116 people for marriage grievances.⁷³ William Wade Hinshaw concluded in the preface to the section on the Miami Monthly Meeting in his *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, that during the first five years of Miami's existence, it received over 550 certificates for new members, 150 from North Carolina specifically. Each of those was from heads of households, and included children on the certificates as well. Hinshaw concluded that, based on the certificates and number of people per family, Miami Monthly Meeting housed about 2200 persons,⁷⁴ a meeting more than three times larger than Westfield, Chestnut Creek, or Deep Creek Monthly Meetings in North Carolina. The small number of marital disownments that occurred in thirty years at Miami Monthly Meeting, Ohio when in numbers the meeting was extremely large, pays tribute to Friends' desire to marry within the faith and maintain homogeneity within their Society during the Antebellum period.

Problems still existed in various ways that led to marital disownments within the Society. However, the migration and marriage records indicate a decline in marriage disownments during the periods of heightened migration of Friends from Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings, especially since the destination meetings became so large in membership. Friends became able to maintain Quaker tenets more efficiently, and develop renewed cohesive Quaker communities in Ohio and Indiana after migration.

Conclusion:

The evidence of marital disownments denotes that Quakers were, in fact, an exclusionary society that used marriage as a way of keeping the larger society out of their own

⁷³ Fairfield Monthly Meeting Minutes see Hinshaw Vol. 5, 215-294. Also see: James Harris Norton, *Quakers to the West of the Alleghanies and in Ohio to 1861*" (PhD diss., Western Reserve University, 1965), 32-35. Note that Norton suggests that all Friends who migrated "met in Ohio where they mingled blood through marriage," 42.

⁷⁴ Miami Monthly Meeting Minutes see Hinshaw Vol. 5, 117.

insular world. Friends desired to maintain a cohesive Quaker community and maintain their ideals rather than accommodate worldly desires. Friends from Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meetings demonstrated variances with the periods of high disownments compared to migrations, indicating that each meeting migrated with multiple motives during different times. Westfield's migration pattern and disownment for marriage pattern predates those of either Deep Creek or Chestnut Creek, which implies that, although those meetings were basically in the same region, the same issues did not provoke them to move at the same times.

Without enough Quaker marriage partners within a relatively close distance, and due to the strict nature of the Quaker marriage policies, Friends found other outlets for Quaker marriages by moving west where new Quaker settlements were located. Ohio and Indiana became a haven for North Carolina Quakers from the western-Piedmont and southwest Virginia hoping to maintain the ideals of Quaker marriages. Friends from Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meetings married in new meetings of Miami and Fairfield in Ohio, and Whitewater in Indiana among other nearby meetings, to members who migrated from North Carolina, and some to other Friends who migrated from other areas in the United States. In Ohio and Indiana, Friends continued their Quaker marriage practices and the continuance of the Quaker community. For marriages, migration west became one of the only outlets that ensured the preservation and continuance of Friends' tenets and the Westfield Quakers' faith.

Chapter 2: A Problem for Many Friends: Slavery as a Cause of Migration

I desired them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their Negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner that some hath been and is; and that after a certain years of servitude, they would make them free.

-George Fox¹

...The meeting was small, many Friends having left this Quarterly Meeting and settled in Ohio, partly, it is said, on account of North Carolina being a slave state.

-Thomas Shillitoe²

In North Carolina there was not a more controversial issue for the Society of Friends during the Antebellum period than slavery. Unlike the issue of marriage disownments that universally plagued the Society of Friends in North Carolina from the mountains, piedmont, and the coastal plains, the problems with slavery for Friends developed largely in the areas where it was practiced. Large plantations on the eastern shores surrounding the Quaker strongholds of Pasquotank and Perquimans Counties as well as Quaker meetings in Carteret

¹Quakers and Slavery, "George Fox's Ambiguous Anti Slavery Legacy," Bryn Mawr Special Collections, <http://trilogy.brynmawr.edu/speccoll/quakersandslavery/commentary/people/fox.php> (accessed February 12, 2013).

² Thomas Shillitoe, "Journal of the Life, Labours, and Travels of Thomas Shillitoe, in the service of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," in *The Friends Library: Comprising Journals, Doctrinal Treatises, and Other Writings of Members of the Religious Society of Friends*, vol. 8, eds. Joseph Rakestraw, William Evans, and Thomas Evans (Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1844), 464. Shillitoe also notes later in 1828 that New Garden "is greatly stripped of its members by the schism that has taken place..." The schism Shillitoe mentions, now known as the Hicksite Schism, divided Quaker meetings into Orthodox and followers of Elias Hicks, who preached for a return to the earlier Quaker practices such as direct revelation. Hicks also strongly supported the abolition of slavery. Hicks's ideals often ran up against the leadership of the Yearly Meeting and it is no surprise that Shillitoe viewed the diminishing membership of the North Carolina Quarterly Meeting through the lens of the larger conversations taking place in the Society of Friends. Westfield Meeting greatly decreased in members prior to 1828 and the Hicksite schism, although Shillitoe contributes to an outsider's view of the Westfield community, the migration of members to Ohio was more complicated than Shillitoe may have realized.

and Onslow Counties relied on the labor of enslaved Africans.³ Some areas of the Piedmont, like the historic plantation of the Mendenhall's in Guilford County near New Garden Monthly Meeting, also an influential Quaker center, owned slaves for farm use.⁴ Due to the Society's tenet of equality, Quakers who owned slaves became a constant strain for the Society of Friends as the eighteenth century progressed in North Carolina. Anti-slavery Friends desired all North Carolina Quakers to free their slaves from bondage; however, slavery was an important factor to the production and success of many North Carolina plantations, including those of Friends like the Mendenhalls, and some Friends were disowned because of their unwillingness to manumit their slaves.

Eventually, in the decades before the Civil War, the Society helped manumit and relocate hundreds of slaves to Liberia, Haiti, and out West to places like Indiana and Ohio.⁵ Quakers from central North Carolina, especially those from New Garden, fought hard with North Carolina state legislatures to manumit enslaved Africans from bondage within their own

³Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes 1706-1910, Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room. Note on the 7th of August 1813, Jacob and Joseph Cannon were disowned by Perquimans Monthly Meeting for holding mankind as slaves, then they appealed to the Quarterly Meeting for acceptance back into the Society. Not until 1 June 1816 did the Quarterly Meeting confirm the action of the Monthly Meeting. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 39. See also: Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes 1706-1910. Note that the 4 September 1813 Perquimans Monthly Meeting disowned Henry Copeland for owning mankind as slaves, where he appealed to the Quarterly Meeting and they approved the Monthly Meetings action on 1 June 1816." See also: Hinshaw 43.

⁴Benjamin Briggs, "Set Thy House in Order: George C. Mendenhall's New Order of Carolina Quakerism," *The Southern Friend* 28 (2006): 30-43, EBSCOhost (accessed October 7, 2011). Benjamin Briggs' article within *The Southern Friend* reveals the life of one of the largest Quaker slave-owners in North Carolina, George C. Mendenhall. The life of Mendenhall was thoroughly discussed through his contrasting beliefs of being the largest slaveholder in Guilford County, a freer of enslaved people, an advocate of Quaker ideals, but not truly a Quaker. His issues began when he married Eliza Webb Dunn, a non-Quaker from the Blakely Plantation in Stanley County, and through the marriage instituted his "disownment" from the Deep River Friends Meeting. As typical for wealthy women who married during the early 1800s (1824), Dunn brought with her twenty-five slaves. From being disowned by his birth meeting, he could then own the slaves as well as run for political office, and he practiced both. Upon the death of Dunn in 1826, Mendenhall inherited her slaves and was supposed to free them as stated within her will, but did not until during his next marriage to a Quaker. His involvement within the manumission society also did not take place until the 1850s, and the number of slaves that he owned increased up toward one hundred by that time frame. A large part of his practice was leasing out slaves to other people, but not directly freeing them. His belief system behind his faith of Quakerism, and his actual practices of slave holding, indicated that the slave issue for members of the Society was more complicated than a "for or against" scenario.

⁵McKiever, 30-35.

Society. New Garden Monthly Meeting was the key location of the Friends Society in North Carolina during the early nineteenth century. New Garden Monthly Meeting leaders, therefore, impacted the viewpoint of other monthly meetings on the slave issue, especially when Friends who had been impacted from the anti-slavery tenets of Friends at New Garden migrated to other meetings.

In the western areas of the North Carolina Piedmont, most Quakers were small farmers and laborers working within their closed communities and owned few servants either white or black.⁶ Although the use of slavery increased in Surry County as each decade passed, and likely contributed indirectly to the migrations of Friends, evidence does not show slavery as a singular motivator in Westfield Friends' migration to Ohio and Indiana as previous historians like Weeks or McKiever have overgeneralized. The institution of slavery was a problem, but not the only driving force in Westfield Friends migrations west. Monthly Meeting minutes reflect no major discussion or debate about slavery and the ownership of enslaved Africans by members of Westfield.

John Woolman's Views Upon Slavery:

One of the most ardent anti-slavery Quakers was John Woolman. Woolman was born to extremely pious parents in 1720 in West Jersey. His parents advocated education at a young age, especially through reading the Holy Scriptures. By the age of twenty-three, Woolman took a strict order to following the scriptures and the Quaker faith. He became increasingly troubled by the issues of drinking, gambling, and notably the continued practice of selling slaves within the Society. Reluctantly at work as a clerk for bills of sale, Woolman recorded a bill of sale for an African-American woman to a fellow Friend. Disillusioned with the sale of another human being, Woolman refused to write anymore bills of sale for slaves, especially to

⁶North Carolina Census Records Online. See also: Hollingsworth, 202.

other Friends. That experience prompted Woolman in his ministering within the Friends Society against slave ownership.⁷

Soon after his experience with the bill of sale, Woolman began his career as an itinerant Quaker minister promoting the abolition of slavery and exposing, in Woolman's viewpoint, the corrupt practices of slave-ownership within the Society. He began in the northern parts of America, traveling South by the mid-eighteenth century. Woolman wrote about his disgust with the institution of slavery. While in North Carolina in 1757 he wrote, "When slaves are purchased to do our labour numerous difficulties attend it... I have been informed that there is a large number of Friends in your parts who have no slaves.... Follow in simplicity that exercise of the body, that plainness and frugality, which true wisdom leads to."⁸ Woolman addressed the Eastern Quarterly Meeting, saying that owning slaves went against the tenets of Friends, and although some Friends in North Carolina meetings owned slaves and others did not, members had been led away from the simplicity of the Society and following the tenet of equality.

At the Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Woolman came into contact with many other representatives from North Carolina Monthly Meetings and brought to their attention the use of slavery within the state and the Society even though, as Woolman claimed, not many Friends owned slaves within North Carolina during the mid-eighteenth century. Slave holding was growing, especially down east among non-Quakers whose commercial success began to put a squeeze on non-slave holding Quakers.

In contrast to Surry County in the western part of North Carolina, counties on the coast including the Quaker stronghold of Perquimans County had the second largest holding of

⁷John G. Whittier, ed., *The Journal of John Woolman* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1900), 63-65.

⁸Whittier, 115-16. Note Woolman visited North Carolina Quakers only on the east coast during the Quarterly Meeting session at Simon's Creek in Perquimans County in 1757.

slaves in the state.⁹In Perquimans County the slave population was 39 percent of the total population. Other counties on the coast including Chowan whose slave population was 49.7 percent of the total, and Pasquotank another Quaker stronghold, slave population was 31.9 percent of the total population resulted in a much higher slave population than in Surry County, North Carolina. Surry County actually had the third smallest slaveholding population in the state at 11.8 percent.¹⁰

In Surry County specifically there were 281 slaveholders with 234 of them being landowners as well. Most slaveholders in Surry County owned one to four slaves (213); a smaller group owned five to nine (53); fourteen owned ten to nineteen, while only one person owned twenty to forty-nine slaves.¹¹Chowan, Carteret, New Hanover, Halifax, Granville, and Orange, some of the more coastal and eastern piedmont counties, had individuals who held an upwards of fifty to ninety-nine slaves.¹²Quakers in Surry County, North Carolina, due to the fact that most people held only one to four slaves, would not have been in as much direct contact with slavery as if they lived on the coast, or even in central North Carolina counties such as Granville or Halifax.¹³ Traveling from the coastal communities to those like Westfield in the more mountainous areas of North Carolina, indicates that the importance of slavery declined through the small number of slave holders as well as the lower number of slaves as a percentage of the entire population. Therefore, slavery alone did not directly promote for the migration of Westfield Friends west during the Antebellum period.

⁹ Morris and Morris, "Part II," 306.

¹⁰ Morris and Morris, "Part II," 313.

¹¹ Morris and Morris, "Part II," 309.

¹² Morris and Morris, "Part II," 308-309.

¹³ Morris and Morris, "Part II," 305-313.

The Role of Geography in Slave Locations:

Due to the vast geographical diversity of North Carolina it is problematic to assume that *all* North Carolina Quakers from the mountains to the coastal plains dealt with the problem of slavery in the same way. The area of Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina, was slightly different from the locations New Garden Monthly Meeting, and especially different from Perquimans and Pasquotank Monthly Meetings on the East Coast. New Garden, like Westfield, housed several creeks including Reedy Fork, and Horsepen Creek, and Brush Creek near the monthly meetinghouse, as well as Buffalo Creek in the eastern part of the county. Deep River also ran South of New Garden, but its occupiers were those who met at Deep River Monthly Meeting.¹⁴

Pasquotank and Perquimans Monthly Meetings, were located directly in the Albemarle Sound on the coast of North Carolina, which encompassed dozens of waterways that made it a vibrant and attractive first place for Friends to settle. In the seventeenth century, all three locations promoted farming, but moving east to west the number of extremely large plantations decreased. Perquimans became a trading center in the East because of its multiple accesses to waterways. The New Garden area was full of rolling hills, a good climate, and fertile soil extremely beneficial for subsistence farming.¹⁵ However, neither Pasquotank nor Perquimans Counties in the East, or New Garden in central North Carolina, dealt with deep valleys and mountains, along with fertile soil and waterways, components that the Westfield Friends surrounded themselves with on the banks of Tom's Creek, Big Creek, and the Dan River when

¹⁴Guilford County, "Map of Guilford County 1808," NCGenWeb, http://ncgenweb.us/nc/guilford/files/2012/05/Guilford_County_1808.jpg(accessed March 19, 2013). Note this map indicates the creek locations as well as all Quaker meetinghouses that were within Guilford County in 1808.

¹⁵Guilford County, "Map of Great Philadelphia Wagon Road," NCGenWeb, <http://ncgenweb.us/nc/guilford/files/2012/05/GreatPhiladelphiaWagonRoad.gif> (accessed March 19, 2013). Guilford County was a central point of southern migrations on the Great Wagon Road during the Antebellum period.

they settled prior to 1770.¹⁶ Different from Pasquotank and Perquimans Counties, or New Garden in Guilford County, the geography of Surry County suited small farmers or those trying to maintain a subsistence style of living, one where few slaves were needed or could be afforded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Evolution of Philadelphia and North Carolina Yearly Meetings on Slavery:

Inspired by Woolman's testimony against slavery after visits to the Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina Yearly Meetings, Philadelphia Friends began the long fight against slavery. In 1758, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting excluded slave traders and owners from Society business matters.¹⁷ By 1768, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting condemned slave trading for profit, although no disownment for the transgression occurred. Most importantly, the 1772 North Carolina Yearly Meeting prohibited the buying and selling of slaves without permission from the local monthly meeting. This is how the case was made:

It is our judgment that no friend in unity shall buy a Negro or any other slave of any other person than a friend in unity, Excepting it be to prevent the parting of man and wife or parent and child, or for good reasons as shall be approved by the Monthly Meeting, and it Earnestly advises that all friends who are possessed of slaves by inheritance or otherwise, use them well in every respect endeavoring to discourage them from evil.¹⁸

Thus in 1772, North Carolina Quakers advocated that slaves could not be bought unless the monthly meeting of the said Friend approved of the action; and, for those Friends who owned slaves, to treat them with respect and lead them in the word of the Inner Light.

¹⁶Carol L. Snow, *Tobacco in Surry County* (Toast: C&L Historical Publications, 1991), 3.

¹⁷Michael J. Crawford, *The Having of Negroes Is Become a Burden: The Quaker Struggle to Free Slaves in Revolutionary North Carolina* (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 2010), xv.

¹⁸North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 23 October 1772, Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room, 107, 117-119. Note that the monthly meetings under the direction of the Western Quarter included: Cane Creek, Chatham, Center, and New Garden among other monthly meetings in Alamance, Randolph, Guilford, and Chatham Counties. Westfield developed into its own Quarter in 1803. See also: Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828.

By 1774, The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting agreed to disown slave traders. One year later, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting renounced slaveholding altogether. In 1775, the Western Quarter of North Carolina Meeting desired the Society to institute tenets that prohibited buying or selling slaves.¹⁹ By 1776, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting disowned slave-owners per the monthly meeting's and the quarterly meeting's requests. In North Carolina, Thomas Newby manumitted ten slaves to begin the Friends drive towards manumission of all the Society's slaves.²⁰ The development of freeing slaves provoked the North Carolina state legislature to pass new laws by 1777, claiming that any freed slaves were to be re-enslaved by the General Assembly's "An Act to Prevent Domestic Insurrections."²¹ The law stated that "no Negro or Mulatto Slave shall hereafter be set free, except for meritorious Services, to be adjudged of and allowed by the County Court, and Licence [sic] first had and obtained thereupon."²² Furthermore, the new state law contested that any slave that had been properly set free could still be apprehended and sold back into slavery.²³ North Carolina state laws against the abolition of slavery provoked some changes for North Carolina Quakers that eventually evolved into the development of the manumission society. The manumission society grew over the first few decades of the eighteenth century, and, in 1826,

¹⁹North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1775, Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room, 136-137. See also: Crawford 83.

²⁰Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes 1706-1910. Note that although Newby freed 10 slaves on the 10th of March, 1776, he bound the newly freedmen to a yearly payment to Newby where if they did not pay, he could then sell their labor for repayment. : Weeks, "In the Yearly Meeting of 1776, as a result of the work of a committee, some Friends declared their resolution to set their slaves free," 208. See also: Crawford, "Introduction Chapter," 6-10.

²¹Crawford, xvi.

²² Walter Clark, ed., "Laws of North Carolina for 1777, Chapter IV," in *The State Records of North Carolina* (Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing, 1994), 25:14-15. See also: Columbia University Digital Knowledge Ventures, "Columbia American History Online: E. Manumission of Slaves in North Carolina," <http://caho-test.cc.columbia.edu/dbq/11016.html>. (accessed February 13, 2013).

²³Columbia University Digital Knowledge Ventures.

fifty-four slaves were carried west to freedom. In 1834, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting freed 133 slaves.²⁴ By the next year, the manumission society had stopped its work.

The Society of Friends continued to address problems with slavery in the concluding years of the eighteenth century in North Carolina. By 1779, the Yearly Meeting also "earnestly and affectionately advised" all who held slaves "to cleanse their hands of them as soon as they possibly can."²⁵ In response to the continued push to manumit slaves, like the ones Thomas Newby manumitted, the North Carolina General Assembly legalized seizure and sale of improperly manumitted slaves because of Quakers freeing them.²⁶ Still the North Carolina Yearly Meeting pushed ahead and two years later authorized the disownment of Friends who were slaveholders. In 1788, there was a re-issuance of "An Act to Prevent Domestic Insurrection" where any freemen or freeholders (landowners) were required to turn in slaves who had not been properly freed by the courts of the North Carolinas legislature.²⁷ A decade later, the North Carolina State legislature required freed slaves to post bonds for their freedom.²⁸ Still, while many Quakers desired and fought for emancipation, especially those affiliated with the New Garden Monthly Meeting, and even became fearful of the institution's effect on Quaker tenets enough to migrate west, others like Westfield were not plagued with an abundance of slavery within their community enough to alone motivate for migration west.

²⁴ Hilty, 164.

²⁵North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, Minutes of the Standing Committee 1757-1814, (1779), Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room.

²⁶ Walter Clark, ed., "Laws of North Carolina for 1778 Chapter XII," in *The State Records of North Carolina* (Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing, 1994), 24:221. See also: Crawford, xvi and 126; Hilty, 67.

²⁷ Clark, "Laws of North Carolina for 1778, Chapter XII," 24.

²⁸Crawford, xvii. In response to Quakers manumitting slaves in North Carolina, and the development of the North Carolina General Assembly's "An Act to Prevent Domestic Insurrection" that returned slaves who had not been freed properly back to their owners, the emergence of the new West in the Northwest Territory prompted the United States government to discuss and eventually pass the Fugitive Slave Law in 1793 that returned all unlawfully freed slaves back to their owners, including any children that were born in the free territory of the Northwest.

Slavery in the Westfield Community:

Queries and tenets that Carolina Quakers used evolved from Philadelphia and London Yearly Meetings and dealt with concerns that North Carolina Quakers continually faced.²⁹ The queries listed practices that Quakers were to maintain, as well as others they should have refrained from implementing in their lives, like the purchase of slaves. In 1786, the year Westfield became a monthly meeting, the list of queries from the North Carolina Yearly Meeting recorded by the Westfield clerk noted important tenets for Friends to uphold:

1. *Attend meetings for worship and discipline regularly*
2. *Love and unity preserved do not participate in tale bearing (gossip)*
3. *Keep plainness in conduct, to raise spiritual children*
4. *Avoid excessive use of spirituous liquors and frequenting of taverns, or gaming*
5. *Are Friends clear of importing, dispersing of or holding kind as slaves and do they use those well who are set free in their care...*
6. *Are, Friends careful to love within the bounds of there circumstance and avoid going into trade and business beyond their ability...*³⁰

Monthly meetings provided Friends from Preparative Meetings as well as the Monthly Meeting to deal with problematic issues within their community. For the Westfield Quakers, as well as Chestnut Creek and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings, slavery was not a problem to deal with because there were not a large number of slaves within those counties in comparison to the actual population, unlike the Piedmont and eastern counties in North Carolina. Marriage provoked the most disownments, while grievances including drinking, dressing out of plainness, fighting and mustering constituted the other lesser disownment charges.³¹ The fact that no member of Westfield, Chestnut Creek, or Deep Creek Monthly Meetings became

²⁹Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. Notes that at each Monthly Meeting, the annual queries were approved and read.

³⁰Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 1. See also: Hilty, 25.

³¹Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. Note Westfield had seven people disowned because of mustering or taking up arms, and ten individuals disowned for living elsewhere or going out of Friends order. Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1856; Deep Creek Monthly Meeting, only two people were disowned for mustering and a total of 13 individuals became disowned because of living elsewhere or going out of Quaker discipline; Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825. For Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting, no persons were disowned for military or living elsewhere or going out of Quaker discipline.

disowned because of slavery ownership indicates in part that slavery was not a large issue for those monthly meetings. North Carolina Quaker records show that between early 1800 and about 1820, many western North Carolina Friends uprooted their lives and migrated to new meetings in the monthly meeting areas of Miami and Fairfield in Ohio, and also to Whitewater, Indiana. Previous historians like Weeks asserted that Friends migrated west solely because of increased intensity of slavery within the Old North State.³² In the Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina, Friends did not come in contact with slavery often and were not prompted by slavery directly as a singular reason for migration.

Census records do, however, indicate a rise in the slave population in Surry County from the 1790s to the 1830s and thereafter though. During the first census recorded in 1790 there were seventeen indentured servants and 698 slaves.³³ By 1800, 21 free blacks and 1,095 slaves were recorded. In 1810, free blacks increased to 84 people with enslaved blacks at 1,469 persons. By 1820, free blacks amounted to 105 people, with negro slaves at 1,355. In 1830, right before Westfield was laid down (1832), 185 free negroes and 2,026 negro slaves were counted in the census.³⁴ The white citizen population along with the African-American population doubled during the time period as well. The increase in slaves actually correlates with an increase in population settlement in Surry County, not just as a slavery increase alone. Slaves were owned by non-Quaker farmers, and only one Quaker family is known to have owned slaves. Although there was an increase in slaves throughout the county, no evidence indicates that Westfield and the Quaker community was plagued by an increase in slavery any

³²Weeks, "Preface," iv.

³³Hollingsworth, 202. In Surry County, productivity soon emerged as members of the Society gained more land holdings, and workers. In 1790, the population of Surry County, North Carolina entailed 7,191 people with about one-seventh of those being heads of households with 698 slaves.

³⁴North Carolina Census Records Online. See also: Hollingsworth, 202.

different from the rest of the county, but the issues of slavery and the abolitionists' tenets that many North Carolina Quakers followed certainly weighed on Surry County Quakers.

The following diagram indicates the location of slave pockets in North Carolina around 1780, where one dot equaled fifty slaves. Note that because these are adapted sources, some of the counties are not represented including the crucial abolitionist locale of Guilford County.

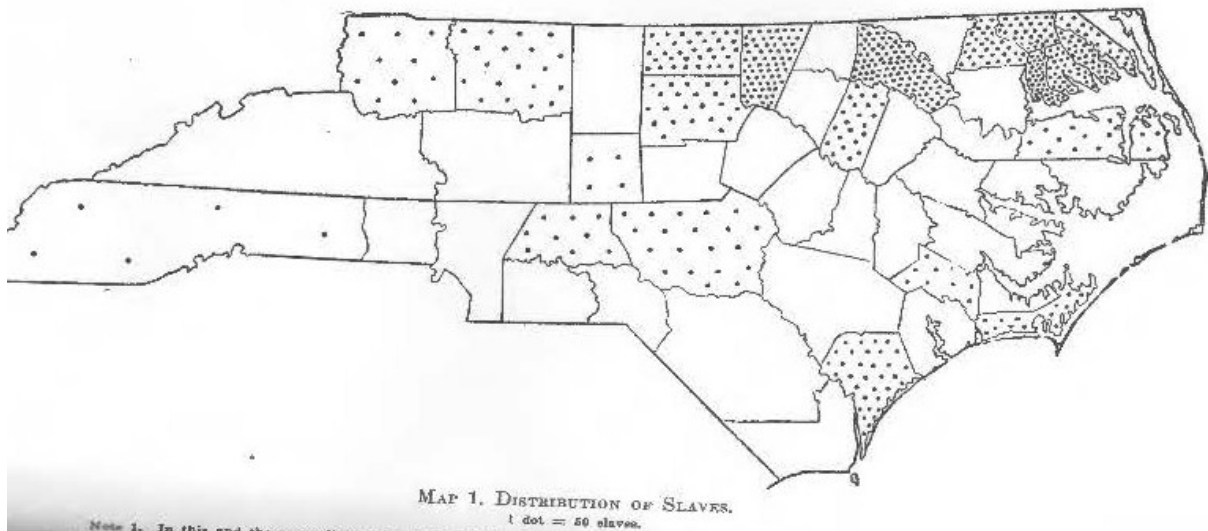


Figure 3. Slavery Across North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century. Francis Grave Morris and Phyllis Mary Morris, "Economic Conditions in North Carolina About 1780: Part I," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 16, (1939): 314.

Note that the above diagram indicates that slavery was present within Surry County, North Carolina; however, the majority of slavery was within the eastern and more centralized Piedmont locations of North Carolina. The large slave pockets on the East Coast and in the Piedmont locations correlates with the higher overall population in those counties. The less populated counties like Surry had a lower number of slaves and slave-owners.

Slave sales over six decades within Surry County subsequently correlate with an increased overall population in Surry County, and a heightened slave population. The last two

columns of Table 5 represent the migration of Surry County Quakers from Westfield and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings. Table 5 below demonstrates the increase in slave sales.³⁵

Table 5: Slave Deeds of Sale in Surry County, N.C. ³⁶

Years	Slave Sales, Surry County	Westfield Migration Per Decade	Deep Creek Migration Per Decade
1771-80	3		
1781-90	10		
1791-1800	35	5	
1801-1810	100	26	38
1811-1820	130	11	84
1821-1830	296	9	26

Surry County Register of Deeds Office, Dobson, North Carolina. “Slave Index of Deed Books A-11.” Compiled by Jennifer Crouse, Fall 2011.

The numbers from Surry County indicate that slavery dramatically increased through sales during the same periods that Quakers migrated to the new states of Ohio and Indiana, but they also continued to increase in large quantities even after migrations slowed to only nine for Westfield during the period of 1821 to 1828.³⁷ The largest period of Westfield migrations (1801-1810) was not the same period of increased deeds of sale for slaves (1821-1830). That does not mean they were not impacted by slavery, but simply that migrations from Westfield

³⁵Crouse, “Slave Index of Deed Books A-11.”

³⁶Also note that within Surry County, there was a continual increase in slave sales until 1850, when the county had the most documented sales at 581. But by the decade leading up to the Civil War and through 1867, a total of only 144 slaves were sold in almost a twenty year period, this indicating a drastic decline in overall slave sales.

³⁷“Nathan Jackson and Lacy Witcher Deed of Sale May 8, 1822,” in *Surry County Register of Deeds Book R*, (accessed January 20, 2013), 156. The trickiness of deeds of sale resonates from the fact that the recorders did not put a specific town or community in the deeds, but just where and when a person sold their slaves. For example, a sale in 1822 in Surry County between Nathen Jackson and Lacy Witcher, indicates that a “negro man named Martain.. and his heirs” was sold to Nathen Jackson “unless the sum of three hundred and five dollars was not paid in full to Lacy Witcher.

Friends did not occur because of the slavery motive alone. Deep Creek Monthly Meeting during this time also lay within Surry County. Thus all census records or slave sales outlined in Surry County Deed Books equally represent the area around Deep Creek for comparison. For Deep Creek Monthly Meeting, the largest period of migration 1811 to 1820 did not equal the largest period of slave sales (1821-1830) relevant to Westfield migrations from Surry County. The differences between Westfield and Deep Creek migrations indicate that a single factor did not motivate all Friends to migrate. It also points out that problems affecting monthly meetings that inhibited migration during certain time frames were different for all monthly meetings.

Similarly, Table 6 below indicates the increased slaves in Grayson County, Virginia through people taxed for slave ownership.

Table 6: Grayson County Citizens Taxed For Slave Ownership

Years	Grayson County, Va	Chestnut Creek Migration
1771-80		
1781-90		
1791-1800	58	
1801-1810	126	45
1811-1820	289	67
1821-1830	413	3

Historical and Genealogical Resources for the Upper New River Valley of North Carolina and Virginia, "Grayson County Slaveholders 1800-1860," New River Notes, http://www.newrivernotes.com/grayson_enumerations_1800_slaveholders.htm (accessed March 22, 2013).

The largest period where people from Grayson County were taxed for owning slaves was not the largest period of migrations for Chestnut Creek Quakers like those from Westfield. Slavery

increased in both Grayson County and Surry County up through 1830 and thereafter, but migrations decreased leading into the 1821 to 1830 for all three monthly meetings.

A Quaker with Slaves: William Jessop

Regardless of an increase of slaves within Surry County, or an increase in slave sales, only one known Quaker and some family members owned slaves in Surry County during the Antebellum period. Known as the founding family of Westfield through oral tradition, the Jessop family members were also “weighty” Quakers in the Monthly Meeting and the community. Joseph Jessop, the first Jessop settler in Westfield, settled on the banks of the Dan River and built a plantation and a mill for his family to provide a stable future for his heirs. Joseph and his wife Priscilla had several children including eight boys: Jacob, Joseph, William, Thomas, John, Caleb, Elijah, and Eli, and four girls named Sarah, Mary, Rachel, and Hannah.³⁸ The Will of Joseph Jessop notes that they were a Quaker family from Perquimans and Carteret Counties, also migrating through New Garden Monthly Meeting prior to settling in Surry County before 1783.³⁹

The Surry County tax assessment lists of 1815 indicate that both Elijah and Caleb Jessop, two of Joseph’s sons, were taxed for “one black poll apiece” and large amounts of land connecting to the original plantation of their father.⁴⁰ William Jessop, the son of Joseph, in particular, was born in 1769 and died in 1853 in Surry County, North Carolina.⁴¹ In 1816, William Jessop presented a gift to the Westfield Friends Meeting and the Yearly Meeting of

³⁸William Jessup Cleaver, compiler, *The Ancestry of Allen Grinnell Cleaver and Martha Irene Jessup-172 Allied Families* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1989), 90. See also: New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes 1754-1888, Archives of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Guilford College Quaker Room, 163. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 504 and 553.

³⁹Jo White Linn, 102. See also: William Jessup Cleaver, “The Will of Thomas Jessop” 85-90.

⁴⁰Wells and Harvey, 3.

⁴¹Irene Lucy Pell Poland. *Family Tree Genealogy: Descendants of William Sonair Jr./AKA Jessop*, (Roanoke, 2001).

the North Carolina Society of Friends, as stated from records in the Surry County Register of Deeds Office:

Know all men by these presents that I William Jessop of the County and State aforesaid for the love and respect that I do hold for the Society of Friends called Quakers do hereby give assign over and transfer for the use and benefit of said Society unto Mordica Morris, Josiah Parker and others Agents of said Society, and their successors in office all my right and title and interest in and to certain Negroes namely Richard, Annis, Richard, Aaron, Ausy, Martin, George, Rachel, Robbin, Jim, Nancy, Milla, Isaac, Annis, Merrium. In witness whereof I have here unto set my hand and affixed my seal this 28 of the 5 mo. 1816.⁴²

In 1816, William Jessop passed over the rights of fifteen slaves to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. Since two of William's brothers owned slaves, one could assume that his gift of fifteen slaves to the Society also resulted from possible inheritance from his parents, or maybe inheritance from his wife, or that he actually purchased the slaves himself.⁴³ The Jessop family may have owned slaves to work the mill and their large plantation on the banks of the Dan River. William's "Gift" to the Society of Friends of his fifteen slaves developed from a 1796 state law of North Carolina that authorized religious societies to hold and dispose of property; in 1815, a slave was not a person, but rather property.⁴⁴ Thus, although a heated debate occurred between the Yearly Meeting and the North Carolina legislature, and although a Westfield Quaker owned slaves, no member of the Westfield Monthly Meeting was disowned for slave ownership. The increased number of slaves within the county, along with deeds of sale, certainly impacted Quaker tenets, but because slavery was not prevalent within the Westfield Monthly Meeting, Friends did not leave Westfield only because of slavery.

⁴²William Jessop, "To the Quakers, a Gift," November Term 1816, Surry County Register of Deeds Office, Dobson, North Carolina, Book N, Page 315 (accessed Oct. 7, 2011).

⁴³Linn, 102. See also: Wells and Harvey, 3.

⁴⁴Saunders. See also: Hilty, 76. See also: Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853, 207. This minute indicates that the North Carolina Yearly Meeting advocated for agents to help free slaves from bondage.

Monthly Meetings Discussion of Slavery:

Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings minutes indicate an acknowledgment of slavery issues from the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and within those three monthly meetings the “big” problems with slavery and their community are represented. Quakers from Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings, although separated from the Quaker center of New Garden Monthly Meeting in the Piedmont of North Carolina, still maintained ties to the tenets, Queries, and desires of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, including the problems of slavery.

Although brief, the slightest mention of slavery within monthly meeting minutes identifies that Friends at Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings acknowledged the Yearly Meetings’ concern with slavery. Those discussed were significant enough for the clerk to record the debate in the monthly meeting minutes. Deep Creek minutes acknowledge the situation of the black people under Friends care, not those *outside* of the meeting. To the issue of slaves, Deep Creek noted in 1808 that Friends, “earnestly recommend to Friends in a collective capacity and those who have them under care strictly to attend to that Christian duty of doing unto them as we would they should do unto us.”⁴⁵ Deep Creek Friends desired fellow Quakers to treat slaves they came in contact, with Christian morals. By 1811 at Deep Creek, Barnabas Coffin, the clerk from Deep Creek Monthly Meeting, attended the Yearly Meeting and recorded in the minutes that a committee agreed to propose that the power of agents (over the “colored people”) be admitted within the limits of the Eastern Quarters.⁴⁶ Coffin addressed there in 1811 the fact that Friends took over ownership of slaves and kept them in order to free them at a later date, a huge step in manumission of slaves within the

⁴⁵Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853, 176.

⁴⁶Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853, 207.

Society. For Chestnut Creek, nowhere in their Monthly Meeting records does the clerk reference any discussion about slaveholding at all. This does not mean that slavery did not exist surrounding the Monthly Meeting because it most likely did within a certain range. However, the lack of acknowledging slavery even in the Yearly Meeting demonstrates that the Chestnut Creek community did not see slavery has a problem for their meeting.

Within the Westfield Monthly Meeting, the issue of slavery appears scattered throughout roughly forty years from 1786-1828. The first mention of a slavery developed from the list of queries at the first monthly meeting session in 1786.⁴⁷ In 1787, “suitable committees were appointed to each Quarter to visit and labour with such Friends as remain in the practicing holding their fellow men in a state of slavery.”⁴⁸ By 1788, the Yearly Meeting addressed that Friends had not yet “cleared their hands of slave holding and the meeting directed the inferer [sic] meetings to put the former advices of our yearly meeting in practice. Respect such who still continue to hold them as slaves and hand up a report...to next yearly meeting.”⁴⁹ The Yearly Meeting of 1789 recorded that many North Carolina Friends continued to own slaves in complete disregard of the Society of Friends requests, and some members of monthly meetings (not mentioning which ones) were disowned.⁵⁰ The minutes from the first several years of Westfield Monthly Meeting demonstrate that slavery was an immense issue within the Yearly Meeting and, therefore, a weighty issue for all monthly meetings to maintain a constant check on slavery within their meetings and communities. Yet, it does not appear that Westfield had to deal with any specific incident in their Monthly Meeting.

⁴⁷Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 2. Note number 5, “Are Friends clear of importing forbearing disposing of or holding mankind as slaves and do thay use than was who are set free and there care though none are or... indevering to then in a virtuous life.”

⁴⁸Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 8.

⁴⁹Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 15. Friends were also concerned with the education of slaves under Friends care “handed down to the inferer [sic] meetings,” and also in respecting the education of such negros [sic] in minority which are under friends cear [sic].”

⁵⁰Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 29.

Westfield Monthly Meeting recognized the need to address slavery within the first few years of their establishment as a monthly meeting, but, as time progressed, less and less information about slavery was recorded because slavery did not overwhelmingly influence the meeting. The next mention of slavery occurred in 1797 from a recording of the Yearly Meeting notes from New Garden in the minutes at Westfield. After recording the issues of “spirituous liquors” and taverns, the “neglect of duty in respect of those of the black people under Friends care and the want and love of unity amongst friends,” was recorded.⁵¹ Slavery did not create large problems within the Society in Westfield and Friends, therefore, focused on other areas within the minutes that were problems within their community. The fact that Westfield Quakers continued to address slavery within the minutes even sporadically indicates that Friends recognized the importance of maintaining Quaker tenets against slavery, even if it was not present within their community.

By 1801, the Westfield Monthly Meeting again referenced the prevalent grievances within their meeting and again discussed the “virtuous treatment of the black people under friends care.”⁵² Westfield Monthly Meeting minutes did not discuss any mention of slavery within the minutes until 1807 when the clerk of Westfield Monthly Meeting recorded from the Yearly Meeting: “Also the neglected situation of the black people under Friends care, is a subject which has claimed our serious attention: we earnestly recommend to Friends in a collective capacity, and those who have them under care, strictly to attend to that Christian Duty of doing unto them, as we would they should do unto us.”⁵³ The Yearly

⁵¹Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 148. Note that the minutes continue in discussing tale bearing, language, and dress.

⁵²Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, (1801), 222.

⁵³Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828 (1807), 265. Note that Barnabas Coffin signed the Yearly Meeting minutes as the Clerk for 1807. He was the relative of the famous Levi Coffin who is often recognized as the founder of the Underground Railroad. The Coffins were a family lineage descended from Nantucket Island in the 1770s; they first appeared in North Carolina at New Garden Monthly Meeting 29 June

Meeting, therefore, desired those who owned slaves to implement the golden rule, but it did not mention the release of them as free men, likely due to the fact that North Carolina's law allowed for slaves to be recaptured and sold back into bondage.

The last year that any reference to the “black people” was made within the Westfield Monthly Meeting was in 1811. According to the minutes, blacks were not being “sufficiently attended to, and neglected by some. . . . But some Friends who are well engaged [sic] with desires to labor for the promotion of the cause of truth.”⁵⁴ By 1811, some Friends, like in New Garden, held slaves as their own in hopes of freeing them at a later date. Overall, as minutes demonstrate, Quakers from Chestnut Creek, Deep Creek, and Westfield Monthly Meetings recorded minimal slavery discussions except those that followed desires of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Westfield recorded the most information out of the three western-Piedmont monthly meetings during the Antebellum period, but never discussed any problems of slavery within the meeting because it seems it was not an issue for members of the Westfield Friends’ community. Chestnut Creek did not record any mention of slavery within their monthly meeting minutes, and Deep Creek—different from Westfield—recognized the fact that Quakers began purchasing slaves as “gifts” in 1808 to free them at a later date. The continued discussion of slavery in the minutes, however, indicates that Friends at Westfield understood the problems with slavery in the Yearly Meeting, but because slaveholding was not prevalent in Surry County, it did not greatly impact their migration west as a singular reason as it may have in central and eastern North Carolina Quakers.

1771, New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes 1754-1888. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 532.

⁵⁴Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, (1811), 298.

Conclusion:

Out of the entire Westfield Monthly Meeting only one family, the Jessop's, owned slaves during the Antebellum period. Over 2,000 slaves were bought and sold for use in Surry County, North Carolina during the decade that William Jessop gave the slaves to the Society of Friends as a "gift." No person from any family, not even the Jessop family which held slaves, were disowned for slave ownership. The increased amount of slavery within Surry County (Westfield and Deep Creek), as well as within Grayson County, Virginia (Chestnut Creek) did not correlate with the years of heightened migration for any of the monthly meetings and reveals that migration for slavery alone was not plausible for those monthly meetings.

The practice of slave ownership, besides the one case of the Jessop family, did not directly impact the Westfield Meeting or the Quaker community, but an increase in the number of slaves within the county deviated from Quaker tenets. Friends monthly meeting minutes indicate the abolitionist desires proposed by the Yearly Meeting. Westfield Quakers were, in fact, concerned with slavery, but most Friends did not own slaves nor did they become directly impacted by the institution to prompt them to migrate for that reason alone. One cannot say that slavery did not impact Westfield Quakers' to migrate to Ohio and Indiana, but the facts remain that slavery did not exist within the Westfield Friends' community widely enough to cause all fifty-one Westfield Quaker families to leave their home community and make a new life away from slavery. The acknowledgment of slavery within monthly meeting minutes, along with the fact that most Quakers were not directly impacted by slavery, discredits previous historians like Weeks's claims that slavery was the lone motivating factor for North Carolina Quaker migration west. In reality, Westfield demonstrates how

multifaceted their reasons for migrations truly were; slavery was *not* the only motivator in migrations.

Chapter 3: “Land is not wanting for men in Carolina, but men for Land.”¹ Quaker Family Land Settlement and the Migration of Friends West

“Inhabitants flock in here daily, mostly from Pennsylvania and other parts of America who are overstocked with people...”² Settlers “are coming in hundreds of wagons from the northwards to take up land in the back settlements.”³

On 15 March 1781, the Battle of Guilford Courthouse was fought around the Quaker stronghold of New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina. British General Charles Cornwallis and Patriot General Nathaniel Green used Thomas Jessop’s plantation as a refuge for wounded soldiers where Thomas’s family and neighboring Quakers mended soldiers’ wounds.⁴ Drastic devastation encapsulated the lives of the Quakers who lived in the New Garden area. Livestock and produce, plentiful prior to the war, was now depleted as the land became completely stripped of its resources.⁵ The Battle of Guilford Courthouse completely transformed the area of New Garden during the Revolutionary War and thereafter. Economic hardships plagued the people of New Garden, and they looked to other outlets of better economic interest further in the backcountry settlements of North Carolina. Migrations from New Garden to newly developing Quaker communities like Westfield in Surry County, North Carolina, were prompted probably in part by the Revolutionary War as many of Westfield’s

¹ Merrens, 24.

² William L. Saunders, ed., “North Carolina Governor Gabriel Johnston to Board of Trade, February 15, 1751,” in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* Vol. 4 (Raleigh: Joseph Daniels, 1886), 1073-74.

³ William L. Saunders, ed., “North Carolina Governor Arthur Dobbs to Commissioners of Trade, November 9, 1754,” in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* Vol. 5 (Raleigh: Joseph Daniels, 1886), 149. See also: Gragg, 35.

⁴ Cleaver, 85.

⁵ Cleaver, 85.

earliest members migrated from New Garden. Also motivated by new prospects of an abundance of fertile land and settlement among other Quakers at Westfield, migrants from New Garden moved to the banks of Tom's Creek and Big Creek, near the Dan River, "the land of Eden," as William Byrd II called it in 1729.⁶

A surveyor describing the Piedmont terrain of North Carolina in the mid-eighteenth century claimed, "no matter where I stand it is possible to go to any other part of the land that I wish without crossing a stream."⁷ Plentiful waterways made the Piedmont a marketable place for the initial Quaker settlers at New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guilford County. In 1779, Henry Hull, a traveling Quaker minister, reported in his journal that "leaving Tennessee, we rode toward NC...And got to Bryan Ballard's on Chestnut Creek, in Virginia. In our way we had to ford many large rivers; the water in the Holstein came up to the skirts of my saddle, and wet my feet...on the 12th we attended the first meeting in Carolina, held at Dan River, and then one at Westfield...."⁸ Hull's journal entry describes the scenery of the path down to Westfield that made the area a draw for Quaker settlement. Fertile land and many waterways equated to cash crops, including corn, wheat, and other grains, along with the vast miles of timber that also encouraged settlement and economic success.⁹

⁶ Merrens, 24. Merrens notes that Governor Burrington of North Carolina states the abundance of land in the early eighteenth century around 1735, and the need of men to occupy the land prior to the large migrations of Pennsylvania Friends to the area of New Garden in the 1750s.

⁷ Ibid, 42.

⁸ Henry Hull, "Memoirs of the Life and Religious Labours of Henry Hull, A minister of the Gospel, in the Society of Friends, Late of Stanford, In the State of New York," in the *Friends Library Comprising Journals, Doctrinal Treatises, and other Writings of Members of the Religious Society of Friends*, edited by Joseph Rakestraw, William Evans, and Thomas Evans (Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications 1840), 4:266. Note that the meetings that Hull describes are the preparative meetings held at the Dan and at Westfield that eventually came under the Westfield Monthly Meeting in 1786.

⁹ P.M. Hale, "Surry and Stokes Counties" *In the Coal and Iron Counties of North Carolina*, (New York: P.M. Hale Publisher, 1883), 293-95. See also: Daniel B. Thorp, *The Moravian Community In Colonial North Carolina: Pluralism on the Southern Frontier* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 173.

Once in North Carolina, each family head could purchase for forty shillings per 100 acres, a total of 640 acres of land, and was also able to purchase an additional 100 acres for his wife and each child.¹⁰ In comparison to Pennsylvania, where taxes increased prior to Quaker migration south into the settlement in North Carolina at New Garden, and then moved to Westfield, taxes were low in North Carolina. During the 1750s, when many Friends left Pennsylvania for North Carolina and other southern colonies, the price of land had risen by fifty percent, quitrents by 150 percent, and the population had risen by almost 75,000 people in only a decade.¹¹ Thus, those Quakers, who were even considered middle class or wealthy found themselves taxed greatly and looked for outlets in the South, such as in North Carolina. From 1750 to 1775, “The Great Wagon Road” that flowed from Philadelphia through Virginia down into the area around the Yadkin River in present day Yadkin County, North Carolina—a distance of 435 miles—provided a successful pathway for migrants to travel into the desirable North Carolina Piedmont.¹² New Garden Quakers after a short time (ten to thirty years) in

¹⁰ “Early North Carolina/Tennessee Land Grants,” Tennessee State Library and Archives <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/guides/guide10.htm> (accessed February 18, 2013). Note any additional acreage cost five pounds per 100 acres. People purchased grants for specific land from county offices; military grants were issued to North Carolina soldiers of the Continental Line, based on their rank and service; pre-emption grants were issued to settlers in Tennessee who had settled the land when North Carolina was in charge of grants; surveyor grants were issued to surveyors and their assistants for compensation in surveying land; commissioner grants were granted to commissioners who were appointed by the North Carolina Legislature to survey the military reservation; and finally, legislative grants were issued to those who had served special service including Nathaniel Greene, the Revolutionary War General. Also note that North Carolina obtained control of the land grants from the English Crown in 1777. See also: Long, 139. Long states that it was a “widespread belief that it was easy to acquire land in North Carolina and growing opportunities in backcountry made the area attractive to many colonial settlers.”

¹¹ Lemon, 23 and 87. Lemon also notes that during this time, rural Friends especially became more selective in membership and relied more on “birthright” than voluntary confession to define the membership, 19. Lemon continues that in Pennsylvania, because Quakers were some of the first people to migrate, the rural Friends were more tightly clustered geographically. That trend connects to the Westfield Monthly Meeting environment in Surry County, North Carolina during the early Antebellum period because of their clustering (21). See also: Long, 116. Long notes that the average size of property sold to migrants was 250 acres. See also: Gragg, 50-51. Gragg discusses the change from owners to land tenants in Pennsylvania. Quakers leaving after 1760 - pushed to new regions by declining economic opportunity, or pulled by the hope of economic improvement after 1750.

¹² Merrens, 12. See also: Gragg, 38. Gragg notes that in the middle part of the eighteenth century, “New Garden profited by most of the migrations. However, later in the eighteenth century, Westfield Monthly Meeting

North Carolina were then pulled west by hopeful economic desires to Westfield in Surry County, North Carolina, a place in the backcountry away from the turmoil of war, economic dysfunction, and a heightened population.

Tracing motives behind migrations is an area that many historians address, including James Lemon in his work *The Best Poor Man's Country* where he discusses the theory of an increased individualism of people during the mid-eighteenth century in Pennsylvania. Lemon credits individualism as a main motivating factor that pulled people to lands of opportunity in the southern colonies.¹³ Lemon notes that relatives and the nuclear family provided a large part of the interdependency.¹⁴ However Friends depended like many others on their individual families, due to the way Friends migrated, their larger religious family was an equal motivating factor in Quaker migration to new lands. Multiple families migrated from New Garden to Westfield during relatively the same years, including the Jessops, Jacksons, Beals, Griggs, Pinsons, Ballards, Sumners, and Hietts.¹⁵ Many of those first migrants became “weighty” members of Westfield Monthly Meeting and later many of the descendants of those founding families at Westfield migrated west and helped establish monthly meetings in Ohio and Indiana.

Friends who migrated to New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina in the mid eighteenth century—the same Quakers who settled the Westfield Monthly Meeting in the later decades of the eighteenth century—migrated in part for their families as

in Surry County received an equally impressive number.”

¹³ Lemon, 6 and 218. Note Lemon suggests that “Pennsylvanians probably pursued individual success more vigorously than their medieval forebears... The balance was shifting away from community toward the individual, and this bourgeois or middle class tendency led to significant results in early Pennsylvania.”

¹⁴ Lemon, 116.

¹⁵ New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes 1754-1888, 124. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 567, Westfield 958-967. See also: Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 10. For the Pinsons see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 498, 963. For the Hiatts see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 956 and 963. For the Sumners see: Hinshaw Vol. 517 and 575. For the Ballards see: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 524.

well as to move to a renewed Quaker community. The first families who settled New Garden in the 1750s migrated largely during, and directly after, the Revolutionary War to the Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina. Descendants of those same Friends, and others from Deep Creek Monthly Meeting in present day Yadkin County, North Carolina and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting in Grayson County, Virginia, migrated to Ohio and Indiana in the early nineteenth century. Although families migrated at different times to the monthly meetings of Fairfield and Miami in Ohio, and Whitewater in Indiana from Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings in North Carolina, each had some members who migrated with similar outlooks in mind, new opportunities due to the abundance of land, and the prospect of building renewed Quaker communities in the Northwest Territory.

When discussing migration and land settlement patterns the theory of factors that “pushed” people to move and those that “pulled” others to move affected where and when people migrated. Conditions including depression, loss of jobs, or lack of land “pushed” people from locations like Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia down into North Carolina during the 1750s. Those people who migrated were pulled to the new locations in North Carolina, especially to New Garden, with the promise of cheap land, economic success, and more freedom.¹⁶ Like the Moravians who moved from Pennsylvania to the area of present day Forsyth County, North Carolina, historian S. Scott Rohrer suggests that they “constructed family-based congregations centered on God and farming.”¹⁷ The Quakers migrated and established similar locales at their new settlements in both New Garden and Westfield Monthly Meetings in North Carolina. However, because of an increase in population, one of the factors

¹⁶ S. Scott Rohrer, *Wandering Souls: Protestant Migration in America, 1630-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 7.

¹⁷ Rohrer, 11. See also: Thorp, 34, 165, and 173-73. See Thorp for more information on the Moravian Community from Forsyth County, North Carolina.

that pushed Friends from New Garden to Westfield by the early decades of the nineteenth century also became an issue in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The lure of cheap and abundant land, that was not overly populated, pulled Friends from Westfield and other western-Piedmont, North Carolina meetings to Ohio and Indiana in the early nineteenth century.¹⁸

Weighty Families and their Migratory Patterns:

Like other groups, religious or non-religious, Quakers migrated to areas that benefited their families and their faith community. Tracing those migratory patterns of several Quaker families to their destination meetings in North Carolina reveals the distinction of Quaker settlement patterns. Quaker tenets like those of marriage, abstaining from the use of slaves, and refraining from attending taverns or drinking “spirituous” liquors, could be guided over by the weighty monthly meeting members more easily the closer Friends lived to the central monthly meetinghouse.¹⁹ The one item that set Quakers apart from most other groups was the large number of Friends and their families who settled directly beside one another, creating a cohesive Quaker community in Westfield. Quaker migration was not only a migration of individual families, but also of the larger Friends community as Friends migrated together.

One of the first migrant families who settled Westfield, known as the founders of the Westfield Community through oral traditions, the Jessop family settlement pattern dates back

¹⁸ Hinshaw Vol. 1, 487-48. Hinshaw notes that Quakers migrated to New Garden during the years of 1754-1770 indicating that forty-five families migrated from Pennsylvania, thirty-five from Virginia, one from Maryland, and four from northeastern North Carolina. By 1771, other Quakers began migrating from Nantucket Island in Massachusetts where between 1771 and 1775, forty-one out of fifty certificates received by New Garden came from Nantucket alone. Note that between 1750 and 1770, the population of North Carolina increased from around 65,000 to 185,000 people.

¹⁹ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828, 47. Those minutes discuss the danger of settling on lands that had not been approved by the monthly meeting and states that, “No Friend do remove and settle out of the limits of monthly meeting without first applying to and having consent of the monthly and Quarterly to which they belong... This also includes travel outside the bounds of the monthly meeting.”

to their migration from England to North Carolina.²⁰ Although it is not known if the Jessop family were Quakers in England prior to their migration to North Carolina, their migration from a largely populated Quaker locale, Yorkshire County, England, straight into Perquimans County—the Quaker stronghold in North Carolina in the early eighteenth century—would lead one to suspect as much.²¹ The first Jessop migrant, Thomas Jessop, II, migrated from Rawcliffe in Yorkshire County, England, sometime prior to 1737.²² During the 1730s through the early 1740s an agricultural depression occurred in England, preventing many tenant farmers from paying their rent. Members of the gentry also found themselves having to sell their estates.²³ Although it is not possible to place Thomas Jessop into one of those specific categories, the depression in England impacted all farmers and, therefore, the motive to move where land was available and the excitement of living in the “New World” probably influenced Thomas’s migration into Perquimans County, North Carolina.

There, in North Carolina, Thomas Jessop married at Carteret Meetinghouse near Beaufort in North Carolina about 1737 to Quaker Sarah Small. Their first son, Joseph Jessop, the first Jessop to migrate to Surry County, was born on 7 September 1738 in Perquimans County, North Carolina.²⁴ Thomas and his family left Perquimans County for Guilford

²⁰ McIntyre, “Interview.” See also: Cleaver, 84-89.

²¹ Poland, 1.

²² Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes 1706-1910. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 54. Note that Hinshaw describes a Quaker man, Zachariah Nixon, becoming guardian of Thomas Pierce, orphan of John deceased, “to ye lands and plantation on which Dammaras Ratliff lived, lying to the North side of the Perquimans River, joining the land of Thomas Jessop and Joseph Ratliff.” Note the pattern of settling close to a river or creek for Quakers and for all migrants in general developed because of the fertile land that typically accompanied waterways. However, this instance also indicates a pattern of Quakers settling amongst one another in Perquimans County, North Carolina in 1739.

²³ G. E. Mingay, “The Agricultural Depression, 1730-1750,” *The Economic Historical Review* vol. 8 no. 3 (1956): 323-338, <http://0-www.jstor.org.wncln.wncln.org/stable/2598485>, (accessed March 26, 2013).

²⁴ Poland, 1. See also: Cleaver, 84. Thomas Jessop married several times, first to Sarah Small, then to Hannah Bishop in 1760, then again to Ann Matthews Floyd, who was the daughter of Walter and Mary Mendenhall Matthews. An extremely long line of the Quaker faith derives from the Mendenhall side.

County, North Carolina when the new monthly meeting of New Garden opened in 1754.²⁵ Thomas was a planter and a farmer in Guilford County, and established himself financially enough to be able to hire Abijah Pinson (another Quaker that eventually moved to Westfield) to assist Ann Jessop, Thomas' third wife, to do grafting and planting in her orchard in the later decades of the eighteenth century.²⁶ Thomas Jessop appears to have been an "entrepreneur" of land development and purchased land on the banks of the Dan River in Surry County prior to its formation in 1771.²⁷ Joseph Jessop, Thomas's son from his first marriage, migrated and settled on his father's land on the banks of the Dan River at Tom's Creek with herds of cattle and sheep before 1783.²⁸ Although Joseph was the first Jessop in Surry County, his children carried on the Jessop name and the Quaker line along with the plantation consisting of over 1,000 acres and a mill he had built with his wife Priscilla.²⁹ The Jessop land Joseph's father Thomas originally purchased became divided and added to by many of Joseph's children including Caleb, Elijah, Eli, and William, among others. The practice of subdivision maintained kinship ties, but because of Quaker marriage practices and the fact that Friends lived relatively close to the central meeting house, members of the Society maintained even tighter connections through land to their Quaker brethren. It is important to note that the Jessops' settlement patterns do not translate into other Quaker settlement patterns. Once the Jessops' reached the New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina, their settlement is very similar to many other Quakers who eventually settled at Westfield.

²⁵ Cleaver, 84.

²⁶ Cleaver, 84.

²⁷ Cleaver, 85. Cleaver notes that Thomas migrated from Perquimans sometime after 1760 because he was still recorded in Perquimans tax records in the year 1760, and then in Orange County, North Carolina tax records by 1766. Land sales records indicate that over 1,580 acres of land in Perquimans County of Thomas's was sold preceding his move into Orange County.

²⁸ Cleaver, "Will of Thomas Jessop," 85. Joseph Jessop was also given the bald eagle mare, shoemaker's tools, beaver hat, curry knife, a pair of new boots, razor and strap and a piece of cloth sent for by William Wilson.

²⁹ Linn, 102. Joseph Jessop held roughly 1000 acres of land, while Thomas Jessop held 540 and Timothy Jessop held 325 acres of land.

Another weighty family at Westfield, whom some of the Jessops' land connected to, was the Jackson family. The Jacksons descend from William Jackson of New Garden Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania prior to 1751.³⁰ Their southward migration away from Pennsylvania was most likely affected by increased population in Pennsylvania and the prospect of an abundance of cheap land along many rivers and creeks with several nearby monthly meetings in the Piedmont of North Carolina.³¹ William and his family first settled at Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in Orange County, North Carolina in 1751.³² Thereafter, members of the Jackson family settled in two locations, some at Center Monthly Meeting and others a short distance across Guilford County at New Garden Monthly Meeting. Hinshaw noted in, an *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* excerpt on New Garden Monthly Meeting that many of its members were from Springfield, Pennsylvania, because Quakers tended to carry the names of monthly meetings with them.³³ Members of the Jackson family then migrated again to the banks of Tom's Creek in Surry County before 1773 and began marrying other Quakers who had already settled in the new Quaker territory that became Westfield Monthly Meeting in 1786.³⁴

Subsequently, the Beals family who eventually settled in Westfield prior to 1786, migrated several times between North Carolina Monthly Meetings. The Beals migrated first to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in the early 1750s from Fairfax Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania. Other Beals migrated from Prince George County, Maryland and settled at New

³⁰ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 964.

³¹ Lemon, 87. Although Lemon does not specifically discuss Quakers within his work, he focuses on Pennsylvania, a large Quaker colony, to claim that "many persons left for Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, where land was cheaper, and quitrents lower, even though they had to face tithes for established churches in Maryland and Virginia in the 1750s."

³² Hinshaw Vol. 1, New Garden- Pennsylvania to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, 400, Center Monthly Meeting, 682, New Garden Monthly Meeting, 504 and 552, prior to moving to Westfield Monthly Meeting with the other migrants from New Garden.

³³ Hinshaw Vol. 1, 487.

³⁴ Hinshaw Vol. 1, 552.

Garden Monthly Meeting by 1754. Like the Jacksons, the Beals probably left Pennsylvania or Maryland for inexpensive and abundant land (among other religious reasons) that was largely unsettled in the Piedmont of North Carolina in the mid-eighteenth century.³⁵ After moving to New Garden, members of the Beals family once again migrated to the banks of Tom's Creek, where many children of Bowater Beals married members of the Jessop and Jackson family.³⁶

One of the descendants of the first Bowater Beals who migrated from Pennsylvania included Thomas Beals, one of the first Quakers to minister to the Delaware Indians in the Northwestern Territory. He left the area of Westfield to work with the Delaware Indians on the Scotio River in Ohio territory around 1777.³⁷ He visited Ohio several times in the years that followed his first visit to the Delaware Indians. After brief periods at New Hope Monthly Meeting, and Lost Creek Monthly Meeting both in Tennessee, Thomas' family finally settled in the Northwest Territory in Ohio during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.³⁸ Although his initial trips to Ohio territory were for ministry to the Delaware Indians, it was normal for fathers or other family members to make a preliminary trip to scout out a future settlement location, before the rest of the family moved.³⁹

³⁵ Hinshaw Vol. 1, 373. Note: 6 January 1753 Bowater Beals was received on certificate from Fairfax Monthly Meeting in Montgomery County Pennsylvania dated 25 July 1752.

³⁶ Hinshaw Vol. 1, 525.

³⁷ Hinshaw Vol. 1, 343, 487, 525. Thomas Beals met with the Delaware Indians in 1777. In 1778 Thomas returned from their visit to Indians and gave an account that they (and fellow Quaker travelers) were detained as prisoners and Thomas's certificate of removal was taken from him. By 1780, Thomas desired to remove to the Delaware Valley of the Ohio River near the Delaware Indians. The New Garden Monthly Meeting advised that he go himself first to inspect the area, and then take his family with him. Beals actually moved back to an area in the western portion of Virginia at Blue Stone, and by 1782, the Monthly Meeting actually advised Thomas and his family to return. Beals and his family then migrated to Lost Creek in Tennessee, and then to Grayson County, Virginia in 1793. By 1795 James Baldwin and Phineas Hunt migrated to the Ohio Valley; both were descendants of Thomas Beals Senior. Thomas Beals's family were the first Quaker pioneers to settle in the Ohio Valley. See also: McKiever, 44. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 953- 964.

³⁸ Hinshaw Vol. 1, Cane Creek-343, New Garden-490, Center-648, Westfield-955, 959, New Hope-1077-96, Lost Creek-1089, 1114, Miami MM- 24, Fairfield MM- 221. Note that the spelling for the Beals family changes several times like many other Friends names, spelling includes Beales, Beals, Bales, and Bailes among others.

³⁹ Long, 25.

The Jessops, Jacksons, and Beals migratory patterns represent many of the same ones for other Friends and their families who migrated and settled in North Carolina Monthly Meetings. Most Friends including the Bonds, Ballards, Sumners, Griggs, and Hietts, all weighty families in the Westfield Monthly Meeting, which settled at the backcountry meeting of Westfield in Surry County, North Carolina, previously lived in the area of New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guilford County.⁴⁰ Their migration pattern remains consistent with the Beals', Jessops', and Jacksons' migratory patterns in moving away from overpopulation, economic hardships, and the desire to maintain a tight Quaker community full of opportunity for their future children. After leaving New Garden in Guilford County, many of those same families, and also those from nearby Deep Creek and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meetings, migrated once again to new Quaker meetings in Ohio and Indiana in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

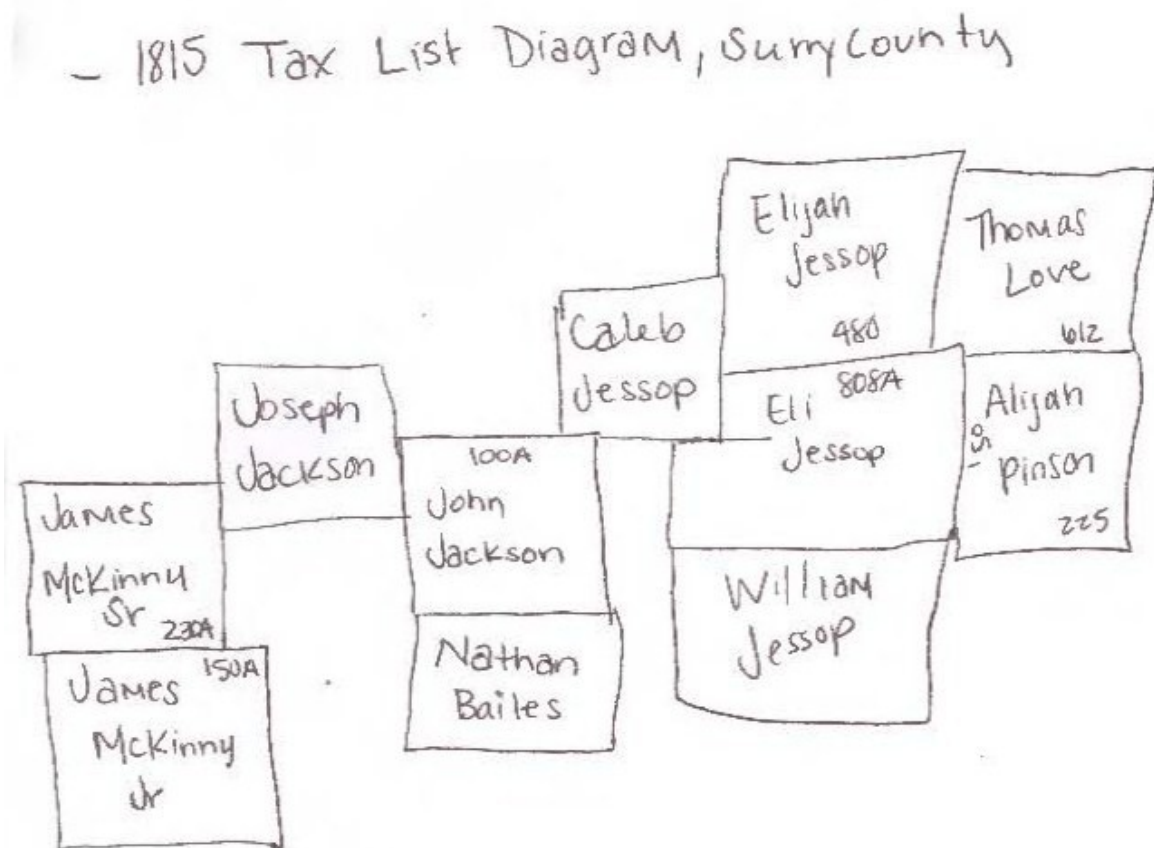
Quaker Connectedness: Land in Surry County

Part of the tight woven Quaker community that set Friends apart from other groups at Westfield is exemplified within the diagram below. Friends settled on the banks of Tom's Creek and Big Creek, as well as the nearby Dan River in Surry and neighboring Stokes Counties. Although the exact locations of Tom's Creek and Big Creek are not identified on the

⁴⁰ Hinshaw Vol. 1. For the Bond Family see Hinshaw Vol. 1; New Garden, 491; Center, 674; Deep River, 777; Westfield, 960. See also Hinshaw Vol. 6, 299. For the Grigg Family see Hinshaw Vol.1; New Garden, 498; Westfield, 963; Hinshaw, Vol. 5; Fairfield Monthly Meeting, 242. For the Hiett Family see Hinshaw, Vol. 1 Chestnut Creek, 968; Westfield Minutes to New Hope Monthly Meeting in Tennessee 963. 23 December 1797 Hannah and Children were granted charter to New Hope Monthly Meeting. 23 December 1797 Elizabeth Reece, sister of Hannah also granted charter to New Hope Monthly Meeting. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 1094. New Hope Monthly Meeting records indicate that 28 April 1798 Absolem and Eli, children Hannah were received on certificate from Westfield Monthly Meeting dated 23 December 1797. Other Hietts that migrated from Westfield to Chestnut Creek moved also to Fairfield Monthly Meeting in Ohio. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 5, 245 indicates at least seventeen families of Hietts migrated from Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting to that of Fairfield in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. One of the families included the same Absolem who moved to New Hope then to Chestnut Creek prior to moving to Fairfield with his children, David, Aaron, Cornelius, James, Hiram, Joseph, and Absolem, as well as his daughters with his wife Ann, including Phebe, and Hannah dated 27 April 1811. For the Sumner Family see: Hinshaw Vol. 1; New Garden 517, 575.

following diagram, the example of how tightly connected Quaker families were within the Westfield community during 1815 is demonstrated below. The connection of families such as the Jessops, Jacksons, and Beals (Bailes here), along with other individuals from Westfield, meshed together through strict Quaker practices (especially of endogamy) and formed a unique community full of kinship ties as well as religious kinship ties

Figure 4. 1815 Tax List Surry County.



The previous diagram indicates only a small portion of the Quaker families whose land connected. Many of the Jessops, Jacksons, and McKinnys, whose names are listed above, had

children who married into each other's families.⁴¹ The settlement patterns of other western Piedmont North Carolina, and southwestern Virginia meetings of Deep Creek and Chestnut Creek indicate similar patterns to those at Westfield, but not on as large scale or tightly cohesive community as Westfield.⁴² In the case of the Quakers, however, each family of Friends subdivided like all other groups of people leaving property to their children; but because of the nature of their stringent settlement, especially their marriage process, connecting Quaker lands maintained their intricate group cohesiveness as a religious community.

Familiarity with other people and especially family encouraged other Friends to migrate when economic improvement declined and especially when land holdings or land prospects decreased in areas where they previously lived. Friends looked towards improvement of their life, family, and a continuance of their Society when they moved. Migrants settled upon lands near those who shared the same religion, culture, and, in the case of the Westfield Quakers, former congregations.⁴³ The Society of Friends at the Westfield

⁴¹ Wells and Harvey, 1-6. See also: Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1, 953-970. Note: Nathan Bailes [sic] joined John Jackson on 349 and ¼ acres of John's land Joseph Jackson then joined John Jackson on 260 acres of Joseph's farm again, while he also joined James McKinny Senior on 230 acres of James's farm. James McKinny Senior joined James McKinney Junior on 150 of James Junior's farm. Eli Jessop joined William Jessop with 808 acres of Eli's, Elijah Jessop joined Thomas Love on 612 acres of Thomas's estate. Thomas Love also joined Alijah Pinson with 225 acres of Alijah's estate. Eli Jessop joined Alijah Pinson on 150 acres of Alijah's farm. See also: Linn, in the case of Joseph's Jessop's Will dated 1796, "his mill was left to his sons Joseph Jessop Jr., William, and John, while his wife was to live on the home plantation during her widowhood. Then the plantation was to be divided with son Eli once he reached 21 years of age. Caleb and Eli were both given 185 acres each on Tom's Creek; while 300 acres on Forbis Creek, 190 on Arches Creek, and 50 on Stock Fork were to be sold," 102. See also: Linn, John Burcham Senior's Will dated the 4 September 1811 which denoted that his son, "John was to have 70 acres of land in Grayson County, Virginia near Chestnut Creek adjacent to his brother Levi. Shubal was to have a 250 acre home place in Westfield adjacent to Jacob Jessop." Interestingly, "the 170 acres of land on the Northern portion of Tom's Creek was to be divided between his six daughters," 135.

⁴² Wells and Harvey, 16 and 46-47. Note that for Deep Creek Monthly Meeting for 1815 land patterns, only seven cases of Quaker land connecting was located. For example, John Bond joined Moses Brown with 525.5 acres on Deep Creek; Daniel Davis joined Jesse Huff with 612 acres on Deep Creek, David Huff joined Jonathan Brooks with 411 acres on Deep Creek, and Thomas Hinshaw joined Moses Adams with 157.5 acres on Deep Creek to name a few.

⁴³ Long, 126. Note that Long discusses instances of this practice, but Westfield and members who

Monthly Meeting advocated for a strong community relationship, seemingly exclusionist through marriages and Quaker tenets, and those connections continued as couples purchased huge tracks of land and connected each farm to other Quaker farms. As the nineteenth century progressed, more people migrated into Surry County and transformed the cohesive Quaker community at Westfield.

Causes of Population Increase in Surry County:

Contiguous land purchase initially allowed Westfield to be a unified Quaker community, but increased migration of other people into Surry County transformed the area and Friends found themselves looking for other economic outlets of land that benefited individual families, but, more importantly, the larger Quaker family of the Westfield Monthly Meeting. An increase in population in Surry County, North Carolina, ignited a tear in the virtually seamless Quaker community as non-Friends began to settle in the area of Westfield. The population of Surry County doubled according to census records from roughly 6,000 people in 1790 to almost 12,000 by 1820, not including the additional rise of slavery and slave use within the county.⁴⁴ The new non-Quaker settlers began purchasing tracts of land that connected to Quaker farms in Westfield.

The population rise partly developed because of an iron works act passed by the North Carolina Assembly in February 1788. The Iron Works Act allowed for a person to claim 3,000 acres of vacant land, deemed not fit for cultivation of crops. During a period of three years, a person who claimed land for the Iron Works Act was required to produce 5,000 weight tons of

settled there from New Garden Monthly Meeting, and then once again West most certainly practiced group cohesiveness in migrations. See also: Anscombe, 178. Anscombe notes "Prior to 1850 - Piedmont society consisted of about 50 inter-related families, who sought to maintain a definite pattern of life." This is exactly the same practice for western Piedmont areas like Westfield where the Quakers settled and families married other Quaker families and followed the tenets of Friends.

⁴⁴ Dowless, 106. Dowless notes that overpopulation and hope for a better way of life for them and their progeny encouraged these Quakers to search for better economic conditions

iron; if they did not produce 5,000 weight tons of iron, then the land was returned to the State. However, the individuals who achieved the 5,000 weight tons were then issued a warrant, a survey taken, and a grant was proclaimed to the individual for ownership of the land.⁴⁵

For example, on 1 July 1795, a land grant was issued to Peter Beller for 3,000 acres in Stokes County as a “bounty claim” for use of iron works agreeable to the act of Assembly passed at Fayetteville in 1788. His land that actually included an iron ore bank, bordered many families including Joseph Jessop on Big Creek, a branch off of the Dan River not far from the monthly meeting house.⁴⁶ On the same day, Henry Burcham, a Quaker, entered 50 acres in Stokes County as a place for iron works “Agreeable to the act of Assembly for that purpose.”⁴⁷ Within Surry and Stokes Counties, natural resources including lime and coal were discovered in large quantities.⁴⁸ The Iron Works Act prompted new non-Quaker migrants to move into Surry and Stokes Counties during the early nineteenth century because, if a family produced enough iron, their property bill for up to 3,000 acres was forgiven, and they developed a home with a stable economic livelihood.

Also, in Surry County, former North Carolina Revolutionary War veterans took their “bounty claims” that was promised by the North Carolina colony for service against the British during the war.⁴⁹ Many families who claimed their land bounty moved westward in North Carolina to locations where the Revolutionary War had not disrupted communities, and where fertile land was still in abundance. Until 1806, North Carolina marketed all land grants from

⁴⁵ Dr. A.B. Pruitt, *Abstracts of Land Entrys: Stokes County, North Carolina 1784-1795*, (1988), iii.

⁴⁶ Pruitt, 25 and 78.

⁴⁷ Pruitt, 27.

⁴⁸ Hale, 295. Quite interestingly Mount Airy, a location roughly thirteen miles from Westfield houses the largest open face granite quarry in the world. Although it did not really begin being extracted until the late nineteenth century, it demonstrates that natural resources of that caliber were present in an area near Westfield.

⁴⁹ Lloyd DeWitt Brockstruck, “Revolutionary War Bounty Land Grants,” Ancestry.com, http://www.genealogy.com/24_land.html (accessed March 28, 2013). See this article for more information on bounty claims by Revolutionary War veterans as rewards for military service.

the most western counties like Surry, including lands in Tennessee. Any grant for land in western North Carolina passed through the hands of Surry County surveyors during that time. Due to the increases in population in Surry County specifically, the attraction of abundant land and resources that drew Quakers into the Westfield area, attracted other migrants and it began to push the Quakers to move once again, this time further west to the Northwest Territory of Ohio.

Ohio Lands: Quaker Migration Westward

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 opened the territories in what became Ohio and Indiana for American colonists and other migrants. The new territory, besides not allowing any new slavery within the boundaries, would need to be organized into not less than three or more than five states, as well as a congressionally elected governor, judges, secretary, and an elected assembly when the population reached 5,000 free male inhabitants of full age.⁵⁰ When the population finally reached 60,000 in one territory, the future state developed a constitution to present to the Union with request for membership.⁵¹ Ohio became the first of the new states from the Northwest Ordinance, and the one where North Carolina Quakers from Westfield, Deep Creek, and Chestnut Creek Monthly Meetings settled.

The land of Ohio became divided into townships of six square miles, with townships then subdivided into sections with each containing about one-square mile, equal to approximately 640 acres.⁵² In 1799, a land survey of the Ohio territory concluded that, “the

⁵⁰ “Northwest Ordinance 1787,” 100 Milestone Documents, <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=8> (accessed January 30, 2013).

⁵¹ Northwest Ordinance 1787.

⁵² F.S. Benton, *The Statutes of Ohio of the Northwest Territory: adopted or enacted from 1788 to 1833 inclusive: together with the ordinance of 1787, the constitution of Ohio and of the United States and various public instruments and acts of congress: illustrated by a preliminary sketch of the history of Ohio* (Cincinnati: Corey and Fairbank, 1833-1835), 15.

<http://0-galenet.galegroup.com.wncln.wncln.org/servlet/Sabin?dd=0&locID=boon41269&d1=SABCPA8314201&srchtp=a&c=1&an=SABCPA8314201&df=f&s1=Land&d2=17&docNum=CY3808013963&h2=1&vrsn=1>.

region between the Miamies, from Ohio far up toward the sources of Mad River, became chequered [sic] with farms, and abounded in indications of the presence of an active and prosperous population.”⁵³ The multiple rivers around the locations of Fairfield and Miami Monthly Meetings equaled, and even elevated, the previous water access that Friends from Westfield held within their former community on the banks of the Dan River with the Tom’s Creek and Big Creek waterways. By settling in southwestern Ohio, Friends were able to preserve some familiar parts of their former lives in Westfield due to the water access and fertile soil.

Friends who settled at the Monthly Meetings of Miami and Fairfield specifically gained access to large river systems including the Great Miami River, the Little Miami River, and the Scotio River. Friends then built their homes and settled along the river banks in close access to their monthly meeting. As in North Carolina, the monthly meetings in Ohio became established directly by a waterway, either by a creek or a river, which promoted fertile, highly farmable land for Quakers who settled nearby.⁵⁴ Multiple creeks flowed off of the Little Miami, not including the fact that much of the stone within the creek was limestone, another topographical marker that allowed for profit for new settlers.⁵⁵ The exact location where

0&af=RN&d6=17&d3=17&ste=10&stp=Author&d4=0.33&d5=d6&ae=CY108013947 (Accessed March 1, 2012).

⁵³ F.S. Benton, 27.

⁵⁴ The two Ohio Monthly Meetings, Miami and Fairfield, lie directly adjacent to Clinton County in southwestern Ohio; Warren (Miami) and Highland (Fairfield) composed both sides of Clinton. Other monthly meetings that members from Miami and Fairfield migrated to afterwards included Fall Creek Monthly Meeting that formed in Clinton County, and Chester include: Caesars Creek, Clear Creek, Center among others that also formed in Clinton County. See also: C. Clayton Terrell, *Quaker Migration to Southwest Ohio* (Clayton Terrell, 1967), 30-44. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 5.

⁵⁵ J. C. Gilleland, *The Ohio and the Mississippi Plot: consisting of a chart of those rivers, representing their channels, islands, ripples, rapids, shoals, bars, rocks, &c. accompanied with directions for the use of navigators: to which is added a geography of the states and territories, west and south of the Alleghany Mountains* (Pittsburg: Butler and Lambdin, 1820), 74 and 75.

<http://0-galenet.galegroup.com.wncln.wncln.org/servlet/Sabin?vrsn=1.0&dd=0&af=RN&locID=boon41269&srchtp=a&d1=SABCP01323200&c=1&an=SABCP01323200&ste=11&stp=Author&dc=flc&d4=0.33&s1=Miami&docNum=CY101943837&ae=CY101943837&tiPG=1> (Accessed March 1, 2013).

settlers from Westfield migrated to along the Scotio and Little Miami Rivers, provided some marshy land extremely agreeable to fertile soil, highly suited for agricultural production and cultivation.⁵⁶ The land on the shores of the Miami River with multiple creeks that branched off provided Friends for enhanced economic opportunities quite similar to those that Westfield Quakers maintained early in the Monthly Meeting before migration into Surry County increased. The move to the Ohio Territory was provoked in part by the pull of land and a renewed community directed around Friends. Friends were able to create some semblance of their former lives from Westfield once they settled in southwest Ohio along the Little Miami River.⁵⁷

In Indiana, Whitewater Monthly Meeting became established by Friends from Miami Monthly Meeting in Ohio in 1809. Friends who had settled in Ohio, migrants from North Carolina, explored the Richmond area and carried back a good report of possible migration there.⁵⁸ Whitewater Meeting developed quickly because of the rapid growth of Friends in southwest Ohio meetings who eventually migrated across state lines in Richmond, Indiana. They established themselves there, in part, probably because of fear of overpopulation of the Miami area. Friends that moved to Whitewater became pulled by the idea of developing yet another Quaker community based upon Friends' tenets. Richmond became settled largely by Friends from North Carolina directly, but others came after a brief stay in Ohio.⁵⁹ Similar to locations around Tom's Creek, Big Creek, and the Dan River in Surry County North Carolina,

⁵⁶ Gilleland, 78.

⁵⁷ Andrew W. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana From Its First Settlement to the Present Time* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1872), 23. Note that between 1802 and 1805 Governor Harrison negotiated seven treaties with ten different Indian tribes of the northwest, acquiring from those tribes about 46 thousand square miles of territory.

⁵⁸ Opal Thornburg, *Whitewater: Indiana's First Monthly Meeting of Friends 1809-1959*, (Friends Historica Society of Swarthmore College, 1959), 4.

⁵⁹ Young, 29-30. Note that Jesse Bond in 1807 purchased land where Earlham College now is, he was a Friend from Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting in Grayson County in southwestern Virginia.

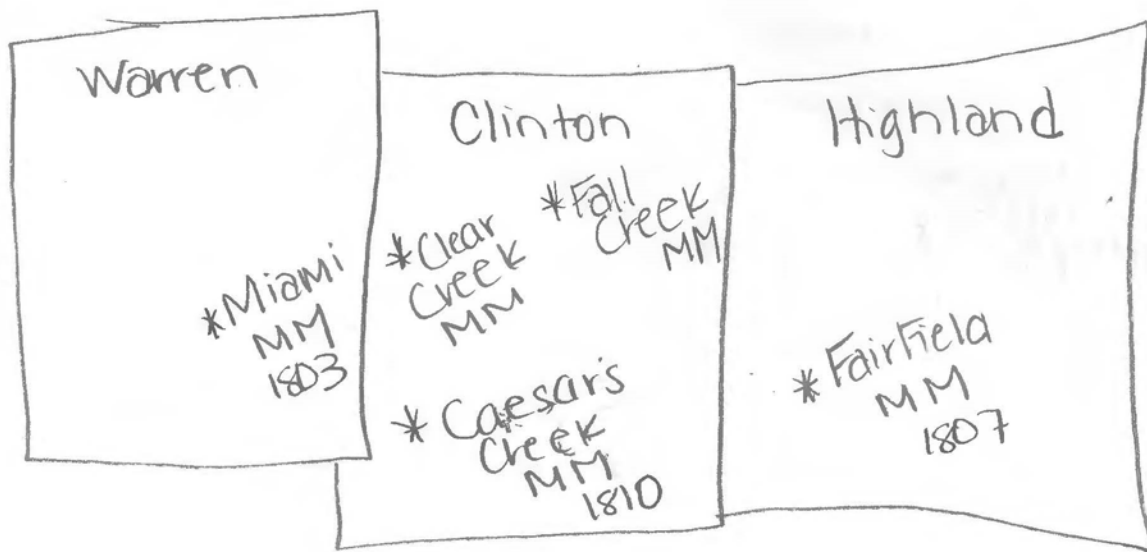
Whitewater Monthly Meeting in Indiana, like Ohio, provided multiple waterways including Whitewater River, and its three forks including Lick Creek where another monthly meeting developed later.⁶⁰

Subsequently, the geographical plans established by the Northwest Ordinance for Ohio especially, and due to the waterways and township sizes of six square miles, pre-established the locations for Quaker meetings in a sense as well. Most Quakers who migrated from the monthly meetings of Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek lived in North Carolina at a span of thirty miles between the three. New members at meetings in southwestern Ohio were located much closer than the former communities in North Carolina. Once members from those three meetings migrated west together, they settled in the vicinity of southwestern Ohio. It is likely that due to their migrations to the exact same monthly meetings in Ohio and Indiana the motivations for Chestnut Creek and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings were similar. Miami Monthly Meeting established in 1803 near Waynesville, in Warren County, Ohio. Lying only six miles east of Waynesville and Miami Monthly Meeting was Caesars Creek Monthly Meeting established in 1810, in Clinton County. Fairfield Monthly Meeting, established in 1807, located near the town of Leesburg in Highland County, parallel to Clinton County. Fall Creek Monthly Meeting was set off of Fairfield Monthly Meeting in 1811, and Clear Creek emerged in 1812, both of Clinton County as well.⁶¹ The following diagram indicates some of the monthly meetings as well as their date of establishment, where migrant Friends from North Carolina meetings settled in southwest, Ohio.

⁶⁰ Young, 331.

⁶¹ Hinshaw Vol. 5, 17, 147, 215, 295, 315.

Figure 5. Monthly Meetings in Southwest Ohio.



Each of those monthly meetings within the counties of Warren, Clinton, and Highland in southwestern Ohio were extremely similar to the adjacent settlement patterns of Friends from Chestnut Creek, Westfield, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings in North Carolina and southwestern Virginia. Those first few monthly meetings that developed in Ohio were in a relatively close proximity to each other, more so than the former thirty mile distance between the monthly meetings in North Carolina.⁶² Southwestern Ohio, specifically within Warren, Clinton, and Highland Counties, held pockets of Quaker settlers from North Carolina who migrated west in part for an increased economic livelihood among their brethren.

As for members from Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek Monthly Meetings in North Carolina and southwestern Virginia who migrated to the extremely similar environmental surroundings in Ohio, most settled in Fairfield and Miami Monthly Meetings.

⁶² The close distance of the Friends meetings indicate a strong desire to maintain a large Quaker community in the vicinity of Waynesville in southwest Ohio, while also building a new and profitable community of Friends economically.

From Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting in Grayson County, Virginia, out of the 116 families who migrated west during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, fifteen migrated to Indiana, ninety-seven migrated to Ohio, and four migrated to Tennessee with one back to Virginia.⁶³ Out of the members who migrated to Ohio, only sixteen families settled at Miami Monthly Meeting, while thirty-one settled in at Fairfield Monthly Meeting.⁶⁴ From the 161 familial migrations from Deep Creek Monthly Meeting in present day Yadkin County, North Carolina, sixty migrated to Indiana, and 101 families migrated to Ohio territory.⁶⁵ Twenty-five of the 101 families settled at Miami Monthly Meeting, while twenty-two families settled at Fairfield Monthly Meeting. Deep Creek differed from Westfield by having an abundance of families who migrated to Indiana, and a multitude of families who settled other places besides Miami and Fairfield Monthly Meetings in Ohio.⁶⁶ Out of the fifty-one families who migrated west from Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina, fourteen families migrated to Indiana, four migrated simply to the western territory, one migrated to Tennessee, and thirty-two settled in Ohio.⁶⁷ Nineteen out of the thirty-two families who migrated to Ohio settled at Fairfield, while ten migrated to Miami Monthly Meeting and the remaining three records only indicate a simple migration to the southwestern Ohio territory.⁶⁸ The land and the water access within the three counties of Warren, Clinton, and Highland in southwestern Ohio

⁶³ Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1.

⁶⁴ Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1802-1825. Note that others settled in other southwestern meetings including Center, Fall Creek, Clear Creek, Elk, and Newberry Monthly Meeting, and others settled at West Branch Monthly Meeting, in an area slightly further northwest than the counties of Clinton, Warren, and Highland. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1.

⁶⁵ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1

⁶⁶ Deep Creek Monthly Meeting Minutes 1793-1853. Note that over sixty families from Deep Creek Monthly Meeting settled in meetings other than Fairfield and Ohio, including some who settled at Elk Creek, West Branch, Clear Creek, and Elk. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1. Two of the records simply indicates the Ratliff family moving to Highland County Ohio from Deep Creek 1 October 1814, but records from Fairfield Monthly Meeting dated 25 February 1815, indicate that they migrated and settled in at Fairfield Monthly Meeting, and another monthly meeting within Highland County, see Hinshaw Vol. 5, 273 and Vol. 1, 996.

⁶⁷ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1

⁶⁸ Westfield Monthly Meeting Minutes 1786-1828. One of the records for Ohio territory claims a family of Pucketts migrated to Newberry Monthly Meeting in Ohio 1817, 9, 18. See also: Hinshaw Vol. 1.

promoted economic opportunities that became depleted in the early decades of the nineteenth century in North Carolina. The move led to a viable way for Friends from Westfield to re-create a renewed Quaker community as some of the leaders of Miami and Fairfield Monthly Meetings in southwestern, Ohio, a place full of abundant and fertile land for economic success and a good location to continue their Quaker tenets.

Conclusion:

Westfield Friends moved west and settled in the counties of Warren, Clinton, and Highland in Ohio and in Indiana because of the growing uncertainty of the availability of land for their families and for their Quaker community in Surry County, North Carolina. Their land, especially that in close proximity to the meetinghouse, was full, and the land outside that specific area began being developed and purchased by non-Quakers. The tight knit, exclusionist practices of the Quaker faith, especially through marriage and the generations of Friends children, rested within the family and with the Society. As more people moved into Surry County, less land was available for Quakers to purchase. The territories west of the Appalachian Mountains in Ohio and Indiana were free areas for Quakers to buy land and maintain their autonomy and their children's economic futures. The prosperity of the Society and economic independence continued within the new land boundaries in the adjacent counties of Warren, Clinton, and Highland. The migration of Westfield Quakers west simply developed in part because of the pull for more fertile land with water access. But equally important, Westfield Friends' migrated along with other Friends from Chestnut Creek and Deep Creek to create a renewed Quaker community based upon the tenets of Friends through land settlement.

Conclusion

The fifty families who left their homes and the Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina for better prospects in Miami and Fairfield Monthly Meetings in Ohio and Whitewater in Indiana did not migrate for one reason alone. Many of the Westfield families who migrated included weighty members who had already established themselves as prominent leaders within the Westfield community, both within the Meeting and in land holdings. Members of Westfield left the community on the picturesque banks of the Tom's Creek and Big Creek that flowed off of the Dan River for complex reasons including to marry their children to acceptable Quaker partners, to escape slavery within the state, and to increase their land holdings in close proximity to other Quakers and their meeting.

Members of Westfield Monthly Meeting migrated west and settled in the monthly meetings of Miami and Fairfield in Ohio in part to create a new Quaker community with a wider range of acceptable Quaker marriage partners. Once Friends from Westfield, along with those from Chestnut Creek Monthly Meeting, and Deep Creek Monthly Meeting from western North Carolina and southern Virginia relocated to the monthly meetings of Miami and Fairfield, in Ohio, Friends married less often outside the Society because there were more choices of partners for Friends to marry within. The decline in disownments for marriage problems, among other reasons for migrations, led to an increased number of Quakers in southwestern Ohio during the Antebellum period. Marriage within enabled a continuance of the Quaker tenets and maintenance of an even more cohesive Quaker community than had been between the three monthly meetings of Westfield, Chestnut Creek, and Deep Creek in the

North Carolina Yearly Meeting, because they combined with other Quaker migrants in the meetings of Fairfield and Miami and created renewed vibrant Quaker communities.

Another reason that prompted Quakers to migrate from North Carolina was the “slave issue” that historians such as Weeks and McKiever claimed to be the only motivating factor for migration. Although the North Carolina Yearly Meeting desired Friends to rid themselves of the institution of slavery within *all* monthly meetings, Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina was not as concerned with the institution as their ancestors from the abolitionist center at New Garden in Guilford County had been. Westfield Monthly Meeting clerks reporting back from yearly meetings indicated a desire for North Carolina Friends to cleanse their meetings of slavery within the minutes. Therefore, Westfield Friends understood the role of slavery as harmful to their Quaker philosophy. Besides the one family of Jessops who owned slaves, no other Friend is recorded specifically in tax records to have owned slaves. Westfield illustrates why single factors like slavery do not directly in themselves explain migration of many members from a monthly meeting like historians previously asserted.

Finally, land settlement and the desire for individuals and families to better themselves and become prosperous has been a historic trend in arguments for migrations. However, with the Westfield Quakers, it was not only for the betterment of individuals and their families economically, but for all Friends who migrated and helped establish renewed cohesive Quaker communities. Ohio and Indiana provided an abundance of cheap, fertile land, similar to that along the banks of the Tom’s Creek and Big Creek that flowed from the banks of the Dan River. The connection of Quaker farms along creeks and riversides allowed for the Friends community to be prosperous and grow both within the larger community of Westfield and the *Society*. Friends maintained their own community however, and once expansion in Westfield

became limited and population increased, Friends became pulled to other areas like Ohio and Indiana to establish new communities with land settlement. The migration of Friends from Westfield, however, was not based on desires for individual prosperity, because multiple farming families migrated into the same monthly meetings of Fairfield and Miami in Ohio, and Whitewater in Indiana. There they established similar environments as the one they maintained in Westfield with renewed Quaker communities.

The Quakers from Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina during the Antebellum period from 1786-1828 provided their families with a cohesive community based upon the tenets of Friends including marriage within the faith and adherence to the “slave issue” addressed by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and practiced community land settlement for both economic improvement and the development of a Friends community. The strong tenets Westfield Quakers adhered to, coupled with problems like population increases in Surry County during the first few decades of the nineteenth century, lack of marriage partners, and the decreasing availability of land for more Quakers to settle upon provoked Westfield Quakers to migrate to new locations. Ohio and Indiana provided Westfield Quakers with similar topography with river access and abundant and fertile land. Slavery also did not exist in the Northwest Territory, but marriage partners were more abundant due to the large number of Friends who moved to Miami and Fairfield Monthly Meetings in Ohio, and Whitewater in Indiana. Westfield Friends found outlets from the issues that plagued their former North Carolina community in Surry County, once settled in what eventually became a haven for Quaker migrants, in Ohio and Indiana during the Antebellum period.

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Vita

Ashley Ellen Humphries was born in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on April 17, 1989. She grew up in the Westfield community of Stokes County, North Carolina and graduated from North Stokes High School in 2007. After completing high school, Ashley attended Surry Community College where she was a member of the Volleyball team during the 2008-2009 season, and was awarded recognition nationally as a both an Academic All-American and a Distinguished Academic All-American. Upon receiving her Associate in Arts degree in 2009, she transferred to Appalachian State University and earned a Bachelor of Science degree in History Secondary Education in August of 2011. Immediately after graduation, Ashley began working on her Master of Arts degree at Appalachian State University. In the Spring of 2012, Ashley was asked to write an article with Dr. Phoebe Pollitt on Lucy Ashby Sharp, a nurse during the Spanish American War, which was published the Fall of 2012 in the *Tarheel Junior Historian* magazine. Ashley also served as co-author and the editor on another article, "Nursing in a Time and Place of Peril: Five Heroic North Carolina Nurses," forthcoming in *The Journal of Nursing Education and Practice*. Ashley was awarded a Master of Arts in History in May 2013. Upon graduation Ashley will pursue a career as a History teacher and continued to research and write about her Quaker ancestors from Westfield.

Ashley is a member of Phi Alpha Theta and Phi Gamma Mu. Her parents are Mike and Laticia Humphries from Westfield, North Carolina. She is also the middle child of two sisters, Whitney and Bethany.