Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History.

By STEPHEN B. WEEKS. Pp. xiv, 400. Price, \$2. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Extra Vol. XV.)

In its patient research among original records and rare books, its dispassionate statement of the facts ascertained, and its generally lucid style and orderly arrangement, this forms a valuable contribution to the institutional history of the old states of the South. Though Dr. Weeks is not a Friend, he has entered upon his study of the Friends' history with a large measure of sympathy, and has dealt with the subject in a manner which entitles him to their thanks.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading. It is not merely a history of the relations of the Southern Friends to the institution of slavery, but a practically complete history of the Friends in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

The chief features in the experience of the Friends in the South have been their beginnings, which were accompanied by more or less persecution; their growth, partly by immigration directly from England, but much more by that great south-moving stream of migration starting from Pennsylvania early in the eighteenth century; their various difficulties under the pressure of demands for military service, church tithes, etc.; their economic and social struggle with the institution of slavery; their great movement, about the beginning of the present century, to Ohio and Indiana; the injury done them by the divisions in the Society, in 1827; their almost complete ruin during the shock of the Civil War; and lastly their recovery of courage and revival of strength since that time. All these Dr. Weeks has dealt with very thoroughly, and the work done in his book furnishes a safe authority for future writers.

Elizabeth Harris, a Friend from London, visited Virginia in 1656,—the year when Quakerism first appeared in America, and Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, the pioneers of the society here, were imprisoned and expelled at Boston. Josiah Cole (or Coale), and Thomas Thurston came in 1657 on a religious visit, and from that time there were a number of persons holding Friends' views in the coast region of Virginia. They were numerous enough by 1660 to be persecuted by Governor Berkeley, and to be stigmatized by name, in a cruel act of the Colonial Assembly (probably copied from that of Massachusetts, 1658), which provided imprisonment, deportation, and other punishment for all those "commonly called Quakers." In 1672, about May, William Edmundson, being on a religious journey in Virginia, went into Albemarle, in the northeast corner of the present State of North Carolina, and there found Henry

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Phillips, a Friend, living on Perquimans River, where the town of Hertford now stands. By the labors of William Edmundson,—though he remained in that neighborhood but three days,—and those of George Fox, who visited this part of North Carolina a few months later, there were a number of converts among the settlers, and from this beginning the Society has had a continued existence in that state. In 1700, the Friends formed the largest body of Dissenters in Virginia and the Carolinas.

The movement from the northern colonies began about 1725. It started from Pennsylvania, showed first in Maryland, and had reached the Shenandoah Valley, at Hopewell, in 1732. Moving, later, into Southern Virginia, and thence to Surry, Stokes, Guilford, Alamance, Chatham, and Randolph Counties, North Carolina, it passed much diminished into South Carolina and Georgia. "This southward-moving tide of Quaker migration," says Dr. Weeks, "is almost identical in character, as it is in time, with the movement of the Scotch-Irish. It started from the same province, Pennsylvania; it moved over the same territory, and it has left its indelible impress on much of this territory. It did not have a southern wing coming in at Charleston, as did the Scotch-Irish; it did not spread over the whole country; but it also stood for education, morality and religion; it did not bring the sword, and it did not seek political advancement."

The greatest strength of the Friends in the four states was probably just before the Revolutionary War. They suffered in that convulsion—as is usual with them in such times—in two ways: by distress and loss of property, if they adhered to peace principles, and by severance from the Society if they took up arms. Dr. Weeks, with great industry, has formed very complete lists, and a tabular statement, of all the Friends' meetings in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee, which he ascertains ever to have existed. Altogether, he finds that there have been 257 "particular meetings," (*i. e.* separate places of worship), of which 178 have been laid down, and 79 continue. These 79 meetings are divided: Virginia, 16; North Carolina, 56, and Tennessee, 7. No meetings now remain in South Carolina or Georgia.

The opening of the Northwestern Territory to settlement caused a general and almost complete exodus of the Friends from the South to the new lands north of the Ohio. They literally fled from contact with slavery to enjoy the conditions of freedom. The movement fairly began about 1800, and continued for almost half a century. Dr. Weeks shows with precision its extent and character in his narrative, and in a table made from the minutes of 11 monthly meetings in Virginia, 15 in North Carolina and 13 in South Carolina and

Georgia, giving the number of certificates of removal in the period between 1800 and 1860. In these meetings, in the sixty years, there were 2178 certificates thus granted, of which probably two-thirds, say 1400, represented not individuals but families. Altogether, it is estimated that 6000 Friends of both sexes and all ages thus migrated between 1800 and 1860 from the four states to Ohio and Indiana. Of the 30 monthly meetings included in Dr. Weeks' table, 12 were ended outright by the departure of members, and later others were "laid down" because of their weakness due to this cause. In South Carolina and Georgia the exodus was complete, and the Society in those states ceased to exist. The movement was stimulated by exciting features. Large importations of slaves were being made by the rich planters, in anticipation of the limiting date (1808) in the national constitution, and the Friends' testimony against slavery daily became more unpopular and difficult of maintenance. Zachariah Dicks, a Friend of Cane Creek, North Carolina, who had been to Europe, 1784-87, visited the South Carolina meetings between 1800 and 1804. "He was thought to have also the gift of prophecy. The massacres of San Domingo were then fresh. He warned Friends to come out of slavery." His preaching produced, a local account says, "a sort of panic," and the Friends departed in a body. "They sold their lands, worth from ten to twenty dollars per acre, for from three to six dollars, and departed never to return." Their descendants may be found now by thousands in the central West and the newer states which are its children. Secretary Stanton was the grandson of Benjamin Stanton, a North Carolina Friend, and Secretary Windom is descended from the Spencers, who were Friends in eastern Virginia.

The Civil War, as has been said, almost destroyed the remnant of the Southern Friends. Since it closed, earnest efforts have been made to rebuild the Society, especially in North Carolina, and material progress has been made. Dr. Weeks calls it, in a chapter heading, "The Renaissance of North Carolina Yearly Meeting." Peace and the abolition of slavery have made conditions in which success has become possible.

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