

# Salem, the Pioneer Quaker Community of Iowa

by Louis T. Jones

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Submitted to the Department of History of the  
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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to The Faculty

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Graduate School of Arts

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of

Master of Arts

Department of HISTORY

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By

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*Approved Sept. 27, 1911.*  
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### STATEMENT

The preparation of this history of Salem, as "The Pioneer Quaker Community of Iowa", is planned as the first of a series of monographs, or as the beginning of a larger volume on "The History of the Friends in Iowa".

The sources in the preparation of this monograph have largely been the official records of the local society of Friends; the files of the "Salem News", the local news paper; what early pamphlets and family records there are preserved; personal conversations with the old residents in the community; and such other material as would throw light on the general life and manners of the people who founded the town.

The interest in such a monograph must necessarily be limited to those of the local community, and yet, as this Salem was the first settlement west of the Mississippi of that favored people, the Quakers, who have had so much to do with the shaping of the destinies of this nation, it is hoped that the work may be of some value in preserving the memory of that place from which there emanated an influence in the settlement of this great west.



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## CHAPTER I

### "Rise of the Community"

Salem, Iowa is one of those quiet little western towns which grew up in the early day, as population moved across the Mississippi river. Among the earliest settlers were many Quakers, who with their staid and quiet manners gave to the town its permanent stamp. Aside from the removal of a few of the older buildings, the town has changed little, either in population or appearance during the last thirty years. Here and there may still be seen the old pioneer houses, the first land marks on the then unbroken prairie. A few of the old time kerosene lamps, enclosed in glass frames and set on wooden poles, still give their dim light for the streets at night. The streets are not paved. The public square, comprising some two acres in the center of the town, is the scene of the annual old settlers meetings. In 1883 an "Association of Pioneers and Old Settlers" was formed to meet annually at Salem; and every year since its founding the regular sessions and celebrations have been held. The meeting time is usually the later part of August, and has become so popular that thousands of people come together from the surrounding country and many parts of the United States, to do honor to those sturdy souls who braved the hardships of a new country and made our great west what it is. At these annual celebrations the town is given over to the old time hospitality. The streets and buildings are decorated with a profusion of flags and bunting. "Welcome" and "Good Cheer" are met with on every hand. The stranger is made to feel at home. The public park is the center of interest. The crowds gather around a central pavilion to listen to prominent speakers. In conspicuous places

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within the pavilion are seated the most aged and well known citizens of the community. Poems in honor of the past are recited. Thrilling incidents of pioneer life are told by those who took part in them. Songs that once stirred the hearts in this lonely wilderness are sung by those who have long since lost control of their voices. Feats of the early days, and customs long forgotten are gone over. Tribute is fittingly paid to the aged living, and the noble dead are eulogised. Brass bands intersperse their music and add to the cheer of the happy throng. At the business session the names of the old settlers<sup>1</sup> who have died during the year are read. Officers for the Association are elected and plans are made for the next year's meeting.

One of the most marked characteristics of this community is the great age which so many of its citizens have attained. A few days acquaintance in the town and a stroll through the Friends' cemetery is like a revelation to the ordinary visitor.<sup>2</sup>

1. By "old settlers" is meant those who came to the community between 1846 and 1865.

2. The population of Salem has been about 500 for the last thirty years. At the present time it is estimated that a third of that number are over sixty years of age. After the Old Settlers Meeting in 1902 the ladies of the Congregational Church served dinner in the park, and among the guests of honor were the following persons:

Margaret Heaton, Big Mound, age 85  
 Rebecca Modson, Salem, age 83  
 John McVey, Salem, age 87  
 Daniel Davis, Hershey, Nebr., age 81  
 Nancy Harlan, Stockport, age 68  
 Lydia Reeves, Keokuk, age 88  
 Becca McDowell, Salem, age 75  
 Benajah Binford, Salem, age 82  
 Matilda Corsbie, Salem, age 78  
 Thomas Nicholson, Salem, age 82  
 David Collett, Salem, age 100  
 Mrs. Kate Pickard Rhode, Salem, age 67  
 Henry Judy, Franklin, age 86.

John Becker, Salem, age 81  
 Sara A. Brown, Salem, age 83  
 Samuel Maddock, Salem, age 84  
 Nathan Harlan, Stockport, age 81  
 E. Cook, Hillsboro, age 82  
 Mary S. Lewis, Salem, age 84  
 Isaac Memdenhall, Salem, age 86  
 Ann Binford, Salem, age 76  
 John Corsbie, Salem, age 80  
 I. S. Cook, Salem, age 91  
 Nathan Weeks, Salem, age 83  
 Abigol Hollowell, Salem, age 88

A number of reasons are assigned for this uncommon length of life. The fact that many of the early settlers came from North and South Carolina and were of hardy Scotch-Irish descent undoubtedly has something to do with it. Then, too, the rigor and simplicity of pioneer life no doubt produced a people of tough fiber who could withstand the wearing effects of time. The quiet, even manner of life of the Quakers also must have added its enduring qualities to the heritage of this favored people. At the present time only one railroad connects Salem with the outside world, a branch of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, with one combination train a day each way, north and south. The great rush of the modern business world, with its intense nervous strain, has been scarcely felt at Salem. The people continue to live in the even tenor of the old way. New ideas are measured with the old. Change and advancement are discountenanced. In the very atmosphere of the place one breathes the spirit of the past. As this quiet community is the mother of "Western Quakerism", and so well illustrates the life and work of this peculiar people, the story of Salem's activity and development may prove of interest.

All of the south-eastern part of the present State of Iowa was originally within the hunting grounds of the Sac and Fox Indians. Following the Black Hawk war, which takes its name from an aged Sac chief, Black Hawk, a treaty was made on September 12, 1832, by the terms of which there was ceded to the United States government by the above named Indians, a strip of territory in eastern Iowa which extended some fifty miles westward from the Mississippi river. This strip became known as the Black Hawk Purchase, and within it lay the present site of Salem.

When Missouri became a state in 1821 the territory included with-

to have laid out the town of Salem with a grape vine for a measuring rod. They named the town in honor of Aaron Street's earlier home, Salem, Ohio. The official survey of the town was made by the surveyor for Henry County, James M. Snyder, on March 30, 1839. The following is his statement concerning the plat of the town: "---the draft of the town of Salem, which is situated in Henry County, Iowa Territory, is laid off into 192 lots which are 140 1/2 feet in length, and 74 1/2 feet in width. The four main streets are each 82 feet wide, and the others each 66 feet wide, and the alleys are each 16 feet wide. The thirteenth block is the Public Square and is 18 rods square, containing 2 acres and 4 rods, exclusive of the streets on each side, and including them, 6 acres and 148 rods. All of the above named streets and alleys with the square are intended for public uses. All of the lines in said town are run with the variation 7 55 East." <sup>5</sup>

As the above town plat was a part of the land "entered" <sup>6</sup> by Aaron Street and Peter Boyer, it was necessary for them to dedicate the above mentioned Public Square and streets for public use in a legal way. Accordingly they appeared at Mount Pleasant before a Notary Public and made the following dedication:

5. Taken from an abstract to Salem real estate by Van Allan #2884 p. 6

6. When the early settlers first came to Salem the country was not yet surveyed. They staked off the land they wanted and built their cabin; expecting later to purchase of the government. This was called #entering the land". The first land sales that took place for this part of the country were in the fall of 1838. As was noted on page , so many of the Friends of Salem were at Burlington securing their land, that the Monthly Meeting had adjourned. If the one who staked off their lands were not present at the time of sale, any one might buy them in.



DEDICATION

Territory of Iowa, Henry County-Sct:

We, Aaron Street, Jr. and Peter Boyer of said County do give and grant for public uses the streets and alleys of the town of Salem of which the above is a correct plat as certified by J. M. Snyder, surveyor of Henry County.

Given under our hands and seals this 14th day of June,  
A. D. 1839.

Aaron Street, Jr., (seal)

Peter Boyer (seal)

Proprietors of the town of Salem.<sup>7</sup>

In the fall of 1836 a number of Friends from Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting of Friends in Indiana, Made a trip on horse back to the Black-Hawk Purchase to investigate it as a prospective place for settlement. They seemed to be well pleased with the country, and as a result the following May, 1837, Reuben Joy, Henry Joy, Abram P. Joy, Dr. Gideon Grazier, Stephen Frazier, Thomas Frazier, Lydia Frazier, Thomas Cook, and Levi Commack, all with their families, started from the neighborhood of Williamsburg, Wayne County, Indiana, to move to the Black-hawk Purchase.

Such westward moving caravans soon became numerous, as settlers moved into the new purchase. Henry Joy, one of the above mentioned men, leaves the following account of his trip: we had "seven wagons, considerable of stock, and a long tedious journey through Indiana, Illinois, and

7. Taken from an abstract to Salem real estate by Van Allen  
#2884 page 6.

into Iowa, and landed in Salem the 17th day of the 6th month and found Isaac Pidgeon and family, members of the Friends meeting who had been there about two years, remaining there on the same place until their death. Two other families of Friends were there but they soon moved back to Indiana----. In the town of Salem there were two families, not members, one in a cabin, the other in a "pole smoke house".<sup>8</sup> There was a stone house up and partly furnished; two other cabins up and covered."

In these days of modern travel we can hardly appreciate what such trips across the plains in the early days meant. It took courage to pull away from all of the ties of a settled home and face the dangers of an unsettled and uncivilized west, where the wolf and the savage roamed unrestrained over the broad plains. Usually two, or more, families traveled together for mutual consolation and protection. High wheeled, covered wagons of the schooner type were the usual means of conveyance. The slow plodding oxen, rather than the horse, proved to be the friend of the pioneer on these long trips. Many times the old story of the tortoise and the hare was reenacted in those days; for those who started off with prancing horses hitched to their heavy wagons found themselves passed by the more steady, patient oxen, long before the end of the journey.

In preparing for the trip the wagons were loaded with enough corn meal and smoked meat to last during the journey; the necessary cooking utensils were packed in; sometimes a few pieces of prized furniture were taken; the farm implements that would be used in breaking the prairie sod;

8. A "pole smoke house" was a small log house, usually used as a smoke house, for curing meat.

and sufficient grain for the first sowing completed the load. At night the whole company would camp together, and the camp fire would be lighted. Iron skillets and kettles would be brought from the wagons, and the evening meal prepared on the glowing coals. The toils of the day were soon forgotten around these cheerful campfires. In fact, there seems to be something about a campfire, with its ruddy glow, its crackling sparks and its ascending smoke, that cheers the heart of a tired traveler. When bed time came the women and children retired to the covered wagons, and the men rolled up in their comforts and blankets beneath. Usually one or more of the men remained on guard during the night to keep the cattle from straying, and to protect them from the wolves, whose desolate howl could be heard far and near. At early dawn the camp was astir. The morning meal was soon over and the caravan again moved off to the westward, leaving as the only mark of their last resting place, the smouldering embers of the camp fire.

Happy was such a group of people when they could say that they had reached the end of their journey; and happy was the settlement which could receive the new comers. They were taken in with a hospitality that has become proverbial. They were given the "white bread"<sup>9</sup> as long as it lasted, and made welcome until they could locate a claim and build their own log cabin.

About four weeks after the arrival of the above mention Joy and Prazier families, four more families came to Salem; among them Stephen Hockett, Sr. and Jr., and John Hockett. Two weeks after that came

9. In the early times "white bread" was scarce, due to the difficulty of obtaining good flour. White bread was served to guests; but when it gave out or was no longer served, the visitor understood that his welcome was at an end.



William Hockett, Nathan Hockett, Isaac Hockett and William Hammer, each with their families. From this time on Salem grew rapidly. About the middle of August, 1837, a conference of Friends was held at the home of Isaac Pidgeon on Little Cedar Creek, to choose a time and place for holding a regular meeting for worship. Henry W. Joy offered his home, and meetings were held there for about ten months, when a house was rented exclusively for worship.

As the plan of organizing new meetings in the Friends church has changed during recent years, in order to understand the organization and workings of Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends, to which we shall have occasion to refer frequently, it will be necessary at this point to explain the regular order of recognized meetings in the early days, and how they were set up. The lowest in the scale of church organization was the "Indulged Meeting". This meeting was organized by the Monthly Meeting at the request of Friends in a new community, and was placed under the care of a visiting committee which reported regularly to the Monthly Meeting as to its condition. The Indulged Meeting conducted no official business, and therefore kept no records. It was a meeting for worship only.

Next in order of organization stood the "Preparative Meeting", which had the right of recognized worship and conducted its own business relative to local affairs, keeping record of the same. Above this stood the "Monthly Meeting" usually composed of a number of Indulged and Preparative Meetings, and the author of them. The Monthly Meeting was the real working unit of the church. To this and through this meeting all business affecting the community came. It could receive and disown

members. It could set up and lay down subordinate meetings with the consent of the Quarterly Meeting. The ratio of apportionment to the members for the church expenses was determined by the Monthly Meeting. Above it and to which it was amenable, stood the "Quarterly Meeting". The Quarterly Meeting received all cases of appeal, set up new Monthly Meetings and attended to the business of the church on a larger scale, as the reports came from the several Monthly Meetings under its direction. In annual sessions Friends came from all parts of a given section of country such as New England, Pennsylvania, Indiana, or Iowa to consider and act upon those matters which concerned the work of the whole church in their particular section. These annual gatherings were termed the "Yearly Meeting". In 1902, the several Yearly Meetings of America united to form the "Five Years Meeting" which is to have more general superintendence of the whole field of Quakerism in this country. Each Yearly Meeting, however, holds final jurisdiction among its members in all cases whatsoever regarding church organization.

With the exception of the first two subordinate meetings, the above is still the plan of "Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends". The Indulged Meeting seems to have fallen into disuse in Iowa by 1865, as there is no mention made of it in the church "discipline" adopted by the Yearly Meeting of that year. The preparative meeting was abandoned in all those meetings which consisted of not more than one Subordinate Meeting by action of the Yearly Meeting in 1883, and since that time has practically disappeared in Iowa.

As Friends moved to Salem from various parts of the country, many

of them had their rights transferred from their own meetings to "Vermillion Monthly Meeting", Illinois, as the nearest established meeting to this community. Vermillion Monthly Meetings at that time belonged to Western Quarterly Meeting and it, in turn, belonged to Indiana Yearly Meeting. The Friends at Salem were becoming so numerous that in Ninth month, 1837, they made application to Vermillion Monthly Meeting for the establishment of a preparative meeting amongst them. The committee appointed to visit Friends<sup>10</sup>, on their request, did not reach here till Sixth month, 1838, by which time many more Quaker families had come, so they amended their request by asking for a Monthly Meeting. Both requests were granted, and on Tenth month, 7th, 1838, Salem Preparative Meeting was set up and the next day, Tenth month, 8th, 1838, Salem Monthly Meeting was properly authorized and opened.

The Monthly Meeting at once took up the matter of a regular meeting house and appointed a committee to secure one by renting it. In Twelfth month, the committee reported that they had secured an unfurnished house for "7% of the cost of the house for the year." The value of the

10 "From the reports of Vermillion Monthly Meeting it appears that Friends composing a settlement in Wisconsin Territory request the establishment of a meeting for worship on first and fourth days of each week, also a preparative and Monthly Meeting to be held near Salem, in Henry County, and to be known by the name of Salem----. Which request, after a time of deliberation, both men's and women's meeting united in noticing so far, as to appoint a committee to visit said Friends on account thereof, and after said visit, if the friends of said committee should be unitedly of opinion, that the honor of truth requires that said request should be granted; they are directed to attend to the opening of meetings therein named, at such times as may seem to them best." (Taken from the minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting of Friends held at Bloomfield meeting house, 8-11-'38.)



house was estimated at \$350; thus the rent for the year was to be \$24.50. The committee also reported the purchase of a heating stove<sup>11</sup> at the cost of \$33.81, which was paid for by subscription.

From this time on for a number of years, the emigration of Friends to Iowa was immense. Salem Monthly Meeting received certificates of membership from all parts of the East by scores.<sup>12</sup> In Fifth month, 1839 the five acre tract of land on which the present meeting house stands was purchased at a cost of \$25 for meeting house, school and cemetery purposes. At the same time came the proposal from Salem Preparative Meeting as recorded in the following minutes for Fifth month, 25th, 1839; (The Preparative Meeting also proposed the building of a huge log meeting house with two rooms 22 feet square each, a roof fixed with rafters and laths and covered with three feet boards. The house to be furnished off on as cheap a plan as can be to be made tolerably comfortable---.) A committee composed of Aaron Street, Clara Hunt and Peter Hobson was appointed to take care of the construction of the proposed building. The community watched with pride the rise of its first real church. The logs were brought from the neighboring timber. The usual "shutters" were placed between the men's and women's side of the building and the house was constructed according to the original plan. In Fifth month, 30th, 1840, the committee was able to report that the house was completed at a cost of \$340. This first meeting house stood between the present college building and the street.

11. Heating and cook stoves were very scarce in the west in those days.

12. From Vermillion Monthly Meeting alone, there were something over 200 certificates received, among which were 24 Fraziers, 32 Hocketts, 11 Hoskins, 10 Lewellings, 10 Pidgeons and 10 Emerys, etc.

As early as 1844 there was a movement set on foot to construct a larger meeting house, due to the rapid growth of the membership. By February of 1846 there had been \$1149 subscribed for a new meeting house.<sup>13</sup> The building committee reported a plan for constructing a brick structure 40 x 56 feet. After extended discussion of the matter it appears that Friends thought that this building would not be large enough and a plan was adopted to put up a frame structure 40 x 70 feet. Again the plan was changed and a brick building of the latter dimensions was built. This building was finally turned over to the Whittier College Association and in 1875, the present building, a frame structure of typical Quaker church architecture, was completed in November of the same year.

13. A subscription of this size in that day meant something; for at that time there was little money in the country. Smoked or cured meat was selling for only \$1.50 per hundred pounds and butter about four cents a pound, with other things accordingly.

## CHAPTER II

## "Manners and Customs"

In dealing with the manners and customs of the early days at Salem it will be necessary to give prominence to those customs peculiar to Friends as this was primarily a Friends community. "Denominational Colonies" were common in the early settlement of Iowa, and many are the incidents related by pioneer preachers of the several denominations in the state, of how they were opposed, and many times driven out as they undertook to establish their own church in a settlement of another denomination.<sup>14</sup> But such was not the treatment received by those of other religious persuasion who came to Salem. With the spirit of toleration which has always characterized the Quaker of history, these new comers were welcomed by the Friends and given a place in the community. The town and surrounding country remained strongly Quaker, however, until comparatively recent years, and therefore offer an excellent opportunity for studying this sect as they appeared in the new west.

Those manners and customs which have always marked the Quakers as a peculiar people have now largely disappeared, except in parts of the more conservative east. In the rapid growth of the new west the Quakers laid aside their peculiarities and have so mingled with all denominations that outwardly they are hardly distinguishable from other evangelical sects. In this movement they have both lost and gained. They have gained in that those deep fundamental spiritual traits which early characterized them have been unconsciously transmitted to the other denominations by the

14. See Iowa Conference of M. E. Church by E. H. Waring.

contact;<sup>15</sup> and they have lost in that the careful supervision which was once bestowed by the meeting at large upon the individual has disappeared.

When we look back fifty or a hundred years and see the sturdy old type of Quaker with his broad brimed hat and plain drab clothes, using the plain language of "thee and thou"; these peculiarities speak to us of a hardihood that was the product of deep convictions and uncompromising fidelity to the voice of conscience. The Quaker of the early day was the very emblem of truth itself. His word was as good as his bond. This fact has found expression in modern times in the labels used on many commercial products to designate their exceptional qualities.

To fully understand the type of Quaker which we may even yet see in Salem and occasionally meet among the older Friends in Iowa, we would have to review the long struggles of our forefathers against religious oppression in England. We would also have to trace the movements of this favored people as they undertook to work out their church and state in the New World, particularly in Pennsylvania. Although the Quakers have never been a great people in point of numbers, yet they have more who were influential in the early development of our country than any other denomination, and have left their permanent stamp upon our nation in the great questions of freedom of worship, slavery, temperance and international peace.

The Quakers who founded Salem brought with them the manners and

15. The total membership of the Friends Church in this country in 1910 was 100,072. The slow growth is shown by the fact that for the year 1910 only 447 members were added to the membership. The real influence of the church in this country is indirect; that is, by those who have been raised in Friends families carrying into other churches the good qualities of their own.



customs with which they were familiar farther east. Their code of morality, based on the Discipline of the Church" was the controlling factor in the community. In both public and private life they were rigid in their observance of Quaker principles, and any deviation from them on the part of the members was quickly dealt with. The following set of "Queries" or questions were read frequently in open meeting and answered in writing; and it was the business of the Elders and Overseers to see that they were strictly carried out in every home:

16

First Query--Are all our religious meetings for worship and discipline duly attended; is the hour observed; and are Friends preserved from sleeping and all other unbecoming behaviour therein?

Second Query--Is love and unity maintained amongst you? Are tale bearing and detraction discouraged? And where any differences arise are endeavours used speedily to end them?

16. The following are the Answers to the Queries as forwarded by Salem Monthly Meeting to Salem Quarterly Meeting, 5th month, 21st, 1859:

First Answer--All of our meetings for worship and discipline have been attended, and generally by most Friends; mid-week meeting sometimes small. Unbecoming behaviour in meeting not altogether avoided. Some care taken. The hour of meeting pretty well observed.

Second Answer--We believe many Friends are preserved in a good degree of Christian love one towards another, yet with many others there is a sorrowful deficiency in this respect. Tale bearing and detraction are discouraged. When differences arise endeavors have been made to end them. Some care taken in the above deficiencies.

Third Answer--We believe many Friends endeavor by example and precept to educate their children and those under their care, in the principles of the Christian religion, and in plainness of speech, deportment and apparel, to guard them against reading pernicious books, and from corrupt conversation, and to endeavor to encourage them to read the Holy Scriptures diligently. Yet with many others we fear there is a lamentable deficiency in the several particulars of this query.

Fourth Answer--As far as appears, Friends are clear of importing, vending, distilling, and the unnecessary use of all intoxicating liquors,

Third Query--Are Friends careful to bring up those under their direction in plainness of speech<sup>17</sup>, behavior and apparel; in frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures; and to restrain them from reading pernicious books<sup>18</sup> and from the corrupt conversation of the world?

Fourth Query--Are Friends careful to discourage the unnecessary distillation or use of spirituous liquors; frequenting taverns and places of diversion;<sup>19</sup> to keep in true moderation and temperance on account of births, marriages, burials, and other occasions?

Are poor Friends' necessities duly inspected, and are they relieved and assisted in such business as they are capable of? Do their children freely partake of learning to fit them for business? Are they and other Friends children placed among Friends?

17. By "plainness of speech" is meant the use of "thee and thou".

18. The early Friends were very careful of the books that their children were permitted to read. There was a standing committee, appointed by the Monthly Meeting, which was to inspect all of the literature that was brought into the community, before it was allowed to be circulated. In 8th month, 1839, Friends at Salem received the following list of books from Friends in Indiana, and they are characteristic of the kind of books usually read among Friends of that day: Evans Exposition; William Williams Journal; Examples of Youthful Piety, by W. Evans; Luiza Maw Memoir; Memorial of Marcissa Osborn, deceased; Testimony of the Society of Friends in America; Epistles of the Yearly Meeting of London; Baptism of Christ, by Job Scott; Charles Fisher's Expostulation With the Followers of Elias Hix; George Miths Farewell Address; Testimony of Joseph Cloud and Caleb Hovy; Pusieys Treatises; The Pupil of Nature, by Marie Hack; Samuel Fuller; Brief Hints to Parents; Gillises Reply to Hibbard; Im-mitation of Christ, by Thomas Kempis; Original Fragments of Maria Hock. Upon the reception of these books Peter Hobson was appointed to have the care of them, and to loan and receive them again.

19. "Places of diversion" were places of mere amusement such as theatres, circuses, dances, etc.

and of attending circus shows and other places of diversion. Moderation and temperance pretty well observed.

Fifth Answer--As far as appears Friends are preserved. The necessities of the poor and the circumstances of those who appear likely to require aid, are inspected and such employments as they are capable of, and some care is taken to promote the school education of their children.

Sixth Query--Do you maintain a faithful testimony against oaths, and hireling ministry;<sup>20</sup> bearing arms, training and other military service? Being concerned in any fraudulent or clandestine trade, buying or vending goods so imported, or prize goods, and against encouraging lotteries of any kind.

Seventh Query--Are Friends careful to live within the bounds of their income, and to keep to moderation in their trade or business? Are they punctual to their promises, and just in the payment of their debts? And are such as give reasonable grounds for fear on these accounts, timely labored with for their preservation or recovery?<sup>21</sup>

20. Hireling ministry was the system of paid preachers. Early Friends were particularly bitter against this practice; and even today Friends are very poorly paid.

21. The membership of the Friends Church are generally well-to-do financially, with very few who know real poverty. By far the majority are farmers; but those who have entered business have been almost always successful. This fact is largely due to the close watchfulness of the Monthly Meeting that members did not enter business beyond their ability to manage.

Sixth Answer--As far as appears Friends maintain a testimony against priests and ministers wages, against slavery, oaths, bearing of arms, and against all military services, against trading in goods taken in war, and against lotteries.

Seventh Answer--We believe Friends are generally careful to live within the bounds of their circumstances and to avoid involving themselves in business beyond their ability to manage, or in hazardous or speculative trade. They are mostly just in their dealings. A few not as punctual in complying with their contracts and engagements, and paying their debts as seasonably as desirable. When any reasonable ground for fear in these respects care has been extended to them.

Eighth Answer--We believe care has been taken to deal with offenders seasonably and impartially. In some cases perhaps not as seasonably as would have been best. Endeavors have been made to those who would not be reclaimed the spirit of meekness and love before judgment is placed upon them.

Eighth Query--Do you take care regularly to deal with all offenders in the spirit of meekness, without partiality or unnecessary delay, in order for their help, and where such labor is ineffectual, to place judgment on them in the authority of truth?"

In later times, four more queries were added touching the subjects of recording ministers, new meetings set up or laid down; schools under Friends management, the number of families and parts of families in the various meetings, and the number of families in which daily Scripture reading and devotion was maintained?

The number of disownments in the early day at Salem testify to the strictness with which these obligations were carried out. The first case needing care came up the 3rd of 12th month, 1838, when Salem Preparative Meeting complained of "Thomas Cook for getting into a passion and using unbecoming language". On the 12th month, 29th, 1838, complaint was made against Francis H. Frazier for "accomplishing his marriage contrary to Friends order." Committees were appointed to treat with each of these offenders. After a second visit to Thomas Cook the committee was able to report the following offering from him: "To Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends to be held the 26th of 1st month, 1839-- Whereas I have given way so far as to get into a passion and use unbecoming language, for which I am sorry and desire Friends to pass by my offence and continue me a member as long as my future conduct may render me worthy". This was the usual form of such offerings, although they varied in different cases. In 2nd month, 23rd, 1839, Francis H. Frazier gave his "offering" and was continued a member.

The next case arising within the membership of Salem meeting was



that of Henry W. Johnson who was reported as "receiving money that he believed to be counterfeit and offering to sell it as such".<sup>22</sup>

As was customary, a committee was appointed to visit him on the subject.

At the next meeting they reported that he "offered no satisfaction".

Another committee was appointed to visit him. These soon reported that they "had attended to the appointment without the desired satisfaction"--- and then the meeting united in "testifying against him". Another committee was appointed to "prepare a testification against him, inform him thereof and produce it to next meeting". This committee reported in 9th month, 28th, 1839 the testification as ordered, and it was read as follows: "Henry W. Johnson, who has had a right of membership in the Society of Friends has so far deviated from the good order thereof as to receive money which he believed to be counterfeit and offer to sell it as such, for which he has been treated without the desired effect; we therefore

22. The counterfeit money in which Henry W. Johnson was dealing seems to have been made by a group of men living in and around Salem. The old settlers relate how a prominent Quaker, Warner Davis by name, was out one evening hunting for a cow that had strayed some distance from home in the wild pastures, when he noticed a thin smoke rising from a slough; and upon approaching the place he saw a number of men at work making counterfeit money, most of whom he knew. He realized the danger of informing against such men, but his Quaker conscience was such that he felt that he must notify the officers at Mt. Pleasant. Late that night there was a disturbance among his cattle in the barn yard. He asked his son to go out and see what was the matter, but his son did not go. In a little while the disturbance was repeated and he got out of bed, put on his clothes and went out to investigate the cause. Just as he stepped off of the porch, some one struck him a blow on the head with a heavy club, which knocked him senseless. The family was aroused and took him into the house. The Doctor was called immediately, and it is said that when he came he was greatly concerned to know whether Mr. Davis had spoken since he had been struck. Upon being informed to the negative he seemed greatly relieved. Soon after this incident the doctor, along with a number of other suspected persons left Salem for the further west. This account is the common property of the community at the present time.

disown him from being a member with us." As was customary, still another committee was appointed "to inform him of his right of appeal" to the Quarterly Meeting, if he so desired.

During the period from 1840 to 1850, there were many such disownments. Among the most interesting of these cases was that of a certain man who was disowned for permitting a "marriage (ceremony) in his house" and "also for going in company with others who encouraged a prisoner to escape,-----and making contradictory statements about the same." Another case was that of John Frazier, who was disowned for "so far deviating from our well known testimonies as to argue in public debate to defend the principles of defensive war,-----also for asking for a pistol with the manifest intention to injure his fellow man, and for keeping a pistol and justifying himself in doing so." Still another case was that of a complaint from Cedar Creek Preparative Meeting against Samuel Wilson and Thomas Hockett for joining company "in drinking a dram and making an uproar around a house at night where a couple was that had consummated marriage that evening." Both of these men were disowned 1st month, 21st, 1843.

During the year 1843 there were a large number of disownments of those who had set up a separate meeting because of a split over the slave question. Cases of disownment for marrying contrary to the church discipline were also common about this time. In 2nd month, 28th, 1846, Milton Joy was disowned for playing cards and using profane language; and in 1847 Matthew Almond was disowned for dancing. Drunkenness and divorce were not tolerated in this firm religious community. Even the departure from the plain language and dress brought upon David Pearson the wrath of

the church in 1848. In our day of laxness along these lines we wonder why those of fifty years ago were so strict. They had been trained up under conditions greatly different from ours. The constant contact with the hardships of the early days had bred a people who had little or no sympathy with the luxury and pleasure seeking tendencies of today. When we occasionally come across such types of men who bring to us the spirit of the past we can but feel that in all of our boasted advancement we have lost something of sterling worth.

The first recorded marriage among Friends in Salem was that of Stephen Hockett and Ruth Pidgeon, in 1st month, 26th, 1839. The usual custom among Friends at that time was to get consent of parents, and then to appear before the Monthly Meeting and publicly declare their intentions. A committee was then appointed by both "men's" and "women's" meetings to investigate the applicants, "clearness of like engagements with others." Upon a favorable report of the committee and the restatement of their continued intentions of marriage, the Monthly Meeting gave its consent and appointed a committee to be present at the wedding to "see that good order be preserved, and produce the marriage certificate with an account of their case to the next meeting."<sup>23</sup>

23. The following is a copy of a marriage certificate; which marriage was consummated on 12th month, 22nd, 1852. "Whereas, Nathan H. Kellum, of the town of Marion, County of Lee, and state of Iowa, son of Samuel Kellum and Ann his wife, and Rachel Maxwell, daughter of Jacob Maxwell and Margarete his wife, (the former deceased) of the town of Jackson, County of Henry, and State aforesaid, have declared their intentions of marriage with each other before a monthly meeting of the religious society of Friends, held at Salem, in the County of Henry, and State aforesaid, and having consent of surviving parents, their proposals of marriage were allowed by said meeting.

These are to certify, to whom it may concern, that for the full

The marriage ceremony was very simple and unassuming. The wedding was held either at the bride's home or at the church; and in either case the ceremony was the same. Both the bride and the groom were dressed in the plain Quaker costume. At the time of the union both approached each other, united hands, and without the aid of the preacher repeated the following words; the man first: "In the presence of God and these witnesses, I take----- to be my wife, promising, with divine assistance, to be unto her a loving and faithful husband, until death shall separate us." And then the woman, in like manner, said: "In the presence of God and these witnesses, I take-----to be my husband, promising, with divine assistance, to be unto him a loving and faithful wife, until death shall separate us."

The simplicity of the Quakers forbade expensive entertainments, large companies and great feasts in connection with their weddings as being out of harmony with their ideas of moderation. As soon as the ceremony was

accomplishment of their said intentions, this Twenty-second day of Twelfth month, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand, Eight Hundred, and Fifty-two, the said Nathan Kellum and Rachel Maxwell appeared in a public meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, held at Salem aforesaid, and the said Nathan Kellum, taking the said Rachel Maxwell by the hand, declared that he took her to be his wife, promising, with divine assistance, to be unto her a faithful and loving husband until death should separate them, or words to that effect; then the said Rachel Maxwell did in like manner declare that she took the said Nathan Kellum to be her husband, promising, with divine assistance to be unto him a loving and faithful wife, until death should separate them. And moreover the said Nathan Kellum and Rachel Maxwell, (she according to the custom of marriage adopted the name of her husband) did, as a further confirmation thereof, then and there to these presents set their hands."

{Signed} Nathan H. Kellum

{Signed} Rachel W. Maxwell

The names of the witnesses were attached below:- The wife, Rachel Kellum, is still living, and her recollections of the past are strikingly clear and correct.



consummated the marriage certificate was produced, signed by those present as witnesses, and given into the hands of the Monthly Meetings Committee, to be recorded in the minute books of that meeting. Happy was the couple in those days who could then go to their own log cabin and begin house-keeping in the old fashioned way.

Another of the interesting customs among the Friends at Salem, inherited along with their many other peculiarities, was the custom of men and women sitting apart in meeting. Within the church there were usually a number of seats at the front that were raised above the general level of the audience, and facing it. This was called the gallery. These raised seats were for the elders and overseers, the acknowledged ministers, and the older and most prominent members of the meeting. A partition, called the shutters, which could be raised or lowered, usually divided the house into two parts, the one side for men and the other side for the women. During the business meetings this partition was closed and men and women conducted their church business separately and kept separate records of the same. When there was some important business of mutual concern, the "caretakers" would lower the shutters, and the meeting would precede united. In the regular meetings for worship the shutters were usually partly lowered, but the men and women still sat apart. Many interesting stories are related how strangers who were not familiar with Friends customs would sometimes enter the meeting house, men and women together. Soon some Friend from the gallery would come and sit down beside them, quietly notify them of the mistake and request that they conform to the rules.

At the meeting for worship there was no regular preaching. Occasionally some member or members would have a few words to say in the way of exhortation or prayer. Both men and women wore their hats on their heads all during the service, except during vocal prayer. At such times the men would rise, remove their hats and remain standing till the prayer was ended when they would again take their seats. That preaching was done was delivered in a long, monotonous, sing-song manner by some local or traveling minister. Many times, however, there would not be a word said from the time of opening till the time of closing. Organs, or music of any kind was unknown among this simple folk. Even singing in meeting was prohibited. One interesting incident is related, how a certain individual, who was noted in the surrounding country for his good voice, one day broke forth into singing in meeting. The old folks seemed shocked and horrified. They stood it as long as they could, until the head of the meeting arose and ordered four men to take the offender out. They took him by the hands and the feet and carried him out of the church and deposited him beneath a tree where he completed his song and then went home. When it was time for the meeting to break the member who "sat at the head of the meeting" would shake hands with some one near him; then the members in general would arise, shake hands and go home. For many years Harvey Derbyshire occupied this favored position.<sup>24</sup> It must not be thought that

24. Harvey Derbyshire was one of the greatest preachers that Salem produced. He was born in 1798 and came to Salem during it's early settlement. As stated above, for many years he sat at the head of the meeting; that is, until the split came between the progressive and conservative elements in the church, in 1872. At that time he went with the conservative element, who built a small church in the west part of town, and there he continued at the head of the meeting. It is related there he continued to preach until he was so feeble that he could no longer stand up, but delivered his sermons while sitting in his chair. He died at the ripe old age of 87 years, 5 months and 6 days, and now lies buried in the Friends' burying ground at Salem.

such meetings were any less spiritual than those of today. Many old people leave testimony to the fact that the "Holy Spirit" was so manifest in those moments of silent worship that hearts were melted in the presence of God. No eloquence of men was required under such conditions: but the living example of godly men and the unmistakable presence of Jehovah gave proof of the faith that guided them.

The traveling ministers of those days also deserve mention, as Salem produced some very remarkable ones. Among the most noted of these were Thomas Frazier and Elwood Ozbun. As stated above, Thomas Frazier, in company with a number of others, came from Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting, Indiana, to Salem in May of 1837. It seems that while on one of his long preaching tours Thomas Frazier had come to this part of Iowa as early as 1835; and, liking the country, he had decided to settle here. He entered, and later bought something like a thousand acres of timber land and a thousand of prairie land in the neighborhood of Salem, paying the usual price of \$1.25 per acre for it.<sup>25</sup> While his home was at Cherry Grove he made

25. Thomas Frazier located his land on the proposed route of the "Agency Road", which was to be run from Burlington to Agency City, at that time most western Government Indian Agency in Iowa. When the surveyor undertook the survey through this part of the country he was going to put the road about a mile north of Thomas Frazier's land. Upon hearing of the plan Thomas sent one of his sons on horse back to Iowa City with a complaint to the Governor. The boy made the trip to Iowa City (a distance of some 60 miles) and returned in 48 hours, bearing a dispatch from the Governor to the surveyor which read as follows: "Locate that road where Thomas Frazier wants it, and no where else". As a result of this, the road was made to run right through the Frazier land; and Thomas is said to have enjoyed many hearty laughs over the incident, shaking his portly sides, as he related it in later years.

many long and extended trips to all parts of the United States and Canada. His only remaining child, Benajah, a man now over eighty years of age, relates how he has seen his father start off on those long trips with his great coat rolled up and strapped on behind his saddle, with a change of linen in his saddle bags, to be gone for months at a time. At such times the mother would be left at home with her five little children, and with the farm to care for. In those days, when the clothes were all to be made by hand, and whatever was used in the house was the product of home labor, her burden must have been heavy and her sacrifice great. She managed, however, with the help of her boys to conduct the farm and make it possible for Thomas to bear his own expenses on all his journeys. At one time when he came home after some months of absence he found over 1100 bushels of wheat in the bins, ready to be hauled to the market. He is said to have traveled in every State that was in the Union at that time; and among such trips was one of two years spent in preaching in the South.<sup>26</sup>

After coming to Salem he continued his preaching tours, and there are many such records on the minutes of Salem Monthly Meeting. Before starting on these religious journeys, these traveling preachers usually secured from their own Monthly Meeting a minute, signifying that they were acknowledged ministers in good standing; and a committee was appointed to accompany them or to see that they were well cared for.

26. While on one of these long preaching trips in the east, Thomas Frazier was taken sick and had to return home. Upon his arrival he immediately took his bed; and after many weeks of struggle with a wasting fever, he passed away.



They usually went from place to place, appointing such meetings as they could secure amongst Friends and others, in churches, schoolhouses, and private homes. They seldom stayed more than a day or two at each place. They exhorted here, and tenderly reprov'd there as they went on their way. The sermons among Friends in that day were of no set form, were spoken without notes and were many times two or more hours long, and were delivered as the "Spirit gave utterance" regardless of who listened or slept.

Conditions have so changed in our country today that we can hardly appreciate with what gladness these simple messengers of love were received. There were no daily mails, no telephones, and few newspapers to bring the people of our great west into touch with the outside world; and the commonest wayfarer was hailed with delight as the bearer of the latest news from community to community. Thus these ministers traveled from place to place until they felt clear in their consciences that the work the Lord had laid upon them was done, when they would return home and give an account of their ministry to their Monthly Meeting and return the minute granted them.

One other custom among these early Friends should also be mentioned,--that is the regularity of church attendance. These sturdy pioneers seldom missed a regular or special meeting of the church, let the weather be never so severe and the roads never so heavy and rough. They would hitch up to the "big wagon" and all go to church from the oldest to the youngest.<sup>27</sup> It was no uncommon thing for Friends to drive many miles

27. There are few references to any meetings being postponed. In 11th month, 24th, 1838, however, so many of the men were at Burlington buying the land they had entered that the Monthly Meeting was adjourned.

across the unbroken prairie to church in those days. Even in the busy days of harvest time these God-fearing people would lay aside their regular work and all attend the "mid-week meeting", there sit in silence many times, waiting upon the Lord for his benediction, and then return to their labor.

Among other things, the older Friends who came to Salem insisted upon the plainness of dress; but as the younger generation came on there was some deviation in this line.<sup>28</sup> The cloth used in making the men's clothing was all home made. The coarse wool would first be spun and then woven into cloth. For the better clothing this coarse cloth was sent back to the mills in Indiana to be "fulled". The men wore medium long coats with little or no collars; the whole suit usually of a plain drab color. Their hats were usually the old broad brimed Quaker type, although

28. The changing conditions of this period are reflected in the following address, prepared by the "caretakers" of Indiana Yearly Meeting, to which Salem at that time belonged, as a result of the deviation of the crowds attending those annual gatherings. The address was directed to be read in all of the subordinate meetings and consequently came to Salem. It runs as follows:

#### ADDRESS

We who were appointed to attend the Yearly Meeting, to promote the good order thereof, and to report of our care to our respective Quarterly Meetings, have attended to the object of our appointment, and having frequently conferred together during the time of the Yearly Meeting, believe that the object for which we were appointed, should claim the serious attention of Friends at home; they should be careful not to encourage those to attend our Annual Meetings, who seem disposed to slight the order of our society, by a course of willful and reproachful conduct, such as running in and out of doors unnecessarily during meeting hours; exhibiting therein a restless disposition, painful to the minds of concerned Friends, and disorganizing to the meeting; and who are disposed to collect into companies for passtime, in conspicuous parts of the yard.

Besides the more reprehensible practice in some in visiting, during meeting hours such places in town as we calculate to corrupt the morals of the visitors, and to bring reproach upon the Society. Notwithstanding the exertions of the caretakers the present year, together with concerned friends to preserve the order and decorum of our assemblies, as prescribed by the limitations of truth, we are constrained to say, that

a few of the tall beaver hats were being worn.<sup>29</sup> The women's garb was also of a drab color but of a finer material. On their heads they wore a black, grey, or even white bonnet, somewhat resembling the sun bonnet of today. The simplicity and neatness of the Quaker garb has become proverbial. Few of the men, among Friends wore beards, and the ministers almost never. John Y. Hoover, a prominent minister in the Friends church, tells of an incident which occurred at Salem. In the spring of 1866, he and a young companion, Jesse R. Townsend by name, attended Salem Quarterly Meeting and while there young Townsend feeling spoke a few words in "Seventh day meeting". After meeting they took dinner with an old man, a minister with whom John Y. Hoover was well acquainted. After dinner when they were all resting in the sitting room by the big, old fashioned fire place the aged minister turned to Townsend and said: "I believe thee said a few words in meeting this morning; I want to tell thee that I have no faith in a gospel that comes through hair." Townsend, who was of a timid disposition, seemed greatly confused as he wore a short beard on the under side of his face in the old fashioned way. Hoover replied in his stead: "Does thee think Jesus and his disciples wore beards." After a moment's reflection the

while we are duly impressed with the belief that many friends regard the present as a highly favored meeting, some of us have had painful reflections on witnessing in a number of the youth a spirit of insubordination, which we believe can only be corrected by a course of parental care at home, together with more prompt and efficient labors of subordinate meetings. One cause of particular embarrassment to us, arises from the deviation of many of our members from the plainness of our profession in dress, it being difficult for the caretakers to distinguish here, between members and those that are not, particularly when such are dressed after the fashions of the world, and closely connected in company and conversation near to the meeting house doors.

Signed on behalf of the committee,  
(Signed) Joshua Baily.

29. See Harvey Derbyshires Picture.

old man said that from the standpoint of history he supposed they did, and the subject was dropped.

In order to fully understand the people of Salem it is necessary to study the home life of the pioneer. Quakers who early settled there. The houses were, of course, log cabins, of one or two rooms, and of the usual pioneer appearance. The sheds and barns, too, were of hewn logs. The covered well, with its bucket attached to a long rope or chain, which in turn was fastened to a windlass for drawing the water was common. The long tedious journey across the plains had prevented these pioneers from bringing much furniture with them, and whatever was used in their new cabins was largely the product of their own hands. The beds were many times made of poles inserted into holes bored into the wall logs, and supported by stakes driven into the dirt floor. Cords, or thongs of leather, stretched between these poles, served as springs. As is now true on our western frontier in western Kansas and Nebraska, bed bugs and flees were abundant in those pioneering days. The big open fireplace was the common heritage of every cabin. From the lug-pole in the chimney placed high enough to be well out of reach of the flames, swung the "trammel", a long hook or series of hooks from which swung the steaming kettle, close to the coals. A few people, among these Quakers had small iron boxes, called "dutch ovens" that they used in baking, by covering them over with hot coals. Most of the baking, however, was done in the old time iron pots and skillets. These were the days of "Moffitts Pills" and "Phoenix Bitters".<sup>30</sup>

30 Two of the most common patent medicines used by the pioneers for malaria fever, etc.



The typical Quaker home life might be seen in the evening. After the day's work was done and the evening meal cleared away, the family usually gathered around the cheerful fireplace. The mother and girls would spend the evening spinning or knitting, while the father or one of the boys would read aloud from such Quaker literature as "George Fox's Journal", "The Life of William Penn", or the memoirs of the earlier Quakers. Thus the principles of Friends doctrine was taught to the children and the effect is quite apparent in Salem today. Such reading was done by the light of home made lard candles. When nine o'clock came "it was time for all honest folks to be in bed". The ashes in the fireplace would be well banked around the fire log for the night and the whole family would then retire, to be sung to sleep by the lonely howl of the wolves.<sup>31</sup>

The children in these Quaker homes were brought up in the strictest manner.<sup>32</sup> Obedience to parents and reverence for religious things were the first two lessons to be learned. Whatever may have been the mistakes of these parents in their mode of silent worship, both at home and at church, when the child mind was craving to have religious truths explained on it's own level, it is quite evident that the children raised in these homes grew to be sound in mind and body, and firm in the Christian faith.

As will be shown in a later chapter, Salem was the mother of Quakerism in southeastern Iowa, and when the Quarterly meeting rallied around,

31. One of the old settlers relates the custom of her father who always put salt around the wick of a candle to make it burn slowly, and then place the candle in the window to guide any weary traveler to his door for rest.

32. The exceptional strictness of parents at Salem is largely due to the fact that many of these pioneers came from North and South Carolina where in their contact with the slaves "the lash was the law."

Salem was the place of great activity. Hundreds came here from all directions and for many miles. The older people relate how they had to make beds on the floor for the women, and have the men to sleep on the hay in the barn in order to accommodate the multitudes of visitors who came to attend these meetings. Then was the time for the great corn pone,<sup>33</sup> and the fresh boiled ham. These simple people gave themselves over to hearty fellowship at such times, and to the worship of their God who was transforming this wilderness into a veritable garden of good things.

The same care for details which marked Friends in other respects also marked them in their care for the church membership. It was common among Friends, and therefore customary at Salem, to consider the children born to Quaker parents as having birthright membership in the church. In case of outsiders desiring membership with Friends, they were to apply to the overseers of the church, who presented the matter to the Preparative Meeting. The application was there discussed in open meeting and in case the party appeared to be a desirable member the request was forwarded to the Monthly Meeting. A committee was there appointed to visit the applicant and question him or her as to their belief relative to Friends doctrines. If this examination proved satisfactory they were received into membership. When once a member they remained so until they united with some other denomination or were disowned by their own meeting.

The idea seems to have grown up among the early Friends at Salem that a member could not resign his membership, even at his own request.

33. A corn pone was a large loaf of corn bread baked in such a way that it did not dry out. Being baked in so large a cake it retained a certain delicious flavor not obtained when baked in small quantities.

In 10th month, 1867, Thomas C. Frazier and his family respectfully tendered their resignation of membership to Salem Monthly Meeting. The following month William Thatcher did the same. Committees were appointed to visit these members on the subject. After having the case under advisement for about six months the committee reported that "In their judgment this meeting (Salem Monthly Meeting) has no jurisdiction in the case." The matter was accordingly referred to the Quarterly Meeting; and this in turn, being unable to reach a decision, forwarded the subject to the Yearly Meeting for judgment. At the Yearly Meeting held in 1868 the case was taken up and after careful consideration the following decision was rendered; and forwarded to Salem Quarterly Meeting: "We are united in judgment that each member has an undisputed right to resign that membership. And it is the privilege and duty of Monthly Meetings, either with or without extending care, as may be judged best, to accept and record such resignation---".

As Salem Quarterly Meeting grew in extent and many members moved westward, an attempt was made to keep in touch with them by correspondence. A committee was appointed by the Monthly Meetings to open up correspondence with such absent members and keep them informed as to the work done by the home church, and to encourage them to Christian labor in their new fields .

Another important work of these Salem Friends at Salem was their spread of the Scriptures. A standing committee of the Monthly Meeting saw to it that every family in the community was supplied with a copy of the Bible; and then took care to inquire as to the frequency with which it was read, sending their regular reports to the Monthly Meeting. This practice had a marked influence upon the community; and it is very noticeable even today.

The simplicity of these Quakers was maintained even when it came to the time of death. All Friends were enjoined to adhere to the testimony against affixing monuments of any description to graves, for the purpose of distinction, one above another; and "to avoid the imitation of the custom of wearing mourning habits, and all extravagance on account of the interment of the dead." Consequently many of the graves in the older part of the burying ground are now unknown and all traces have disappeared.<sup>34</sup> Plain stones of suitable size to contain the name, age and date of decease were permitted; but "these were never to be more than two feet in height."<sup>35</sup> There are many such rough slabs of stone in the north end of the burying ground, and being of native limestone they have so weathered and crumbled that the letters and figures are seldom legible. The burying grounds belong to the Monthly Meeting and the buying of private lots has not been permitted. Others than Friends, however, might be buried here by the consent of the trustees.

34. Records of all births, deaths, and places of burial were kept in the early days; but this custom seemed to be too laborious in later years and has consequently been abandoned. The old records of the places of burial have been lost, and consequently lead to some confusion as to where some bodies lie in the cemetery. The form of entry of births and deaths was as follows:

#### Births

Names of the children :	When born :	Names of the Parents :	Their residence :	Notes :
:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:

#### Deaths

Names of the Deceased :	When Deceased :	Age :	Where buried :	Late Residence :	Notes :
:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:

One marked feature of this quiet community deserves particular attention. Along with the strict training in the Quaker homes we would naturally expect too, the principle of temperance. By the number of disownments cited above, it is apparent that the spirit of the Queries was carefully enforced. The law of the home and the church became the law of the community; and everything found out of harmony was unhesitatingly dealt with. At one time the attention of the Monthly Meeting was called to the growing tendency toward profanity on the streets of Salem. A committee was appointed to consider the matter. Tracts were printed and distributed which condemned the degrading practice; and offending parties were visited and "labored with".

Salem is one of the few towns that can make the proud statement that there has never been an open saloon within its limits. As set forth above, in the Fourth Query of the church discipline, Friends were enjoined to avoid the "the unnecessary distillation or use of spirituous liquors." They had seen enough of its evil effects in the east and did not intend that this curse should be repeated in their new home. There are occasional references to cases of drunkenness in the minutes of Salem Monthly Meeting; but these were the exception, and only made the convictions of the majority in the community the stronger. The story is related, how in the early day, a few men thought they would establish a saloon in Salem in spite of the moral sentiment of the town. They secured a lot and brought three loads of lumber for their building. When they arrived at their chosen spot they found two old Quaker ladies with their plain bonnets on their heads, sitting quietly in their chairs on the lot, busy with their knitting. When asked how long they were going to stay there, they replied:-



"Just as long as necessary". Before sundown, it is said the lumber moved away, and no attempt has since been made to build a saloon.

Since that time, however, a number of attempts have been made to secure licenses to sell liquor in connection with drug stores; but conditions were made so uncomfortable for the offenders that they soon moved away.<sup>36</sup> One such attempt is related as almost succeeding, when the mothers of Salem arose in a mass and circulated a remonstrance and when it was completed the names attached made a roll nine feet long.

When the question of a prohibitory Amendment to the State constitution was before the people of Iowa in 1880, the Friends at Salem took vigorous action in the matter. Temperance addresses were delivered all over the County under the direction of the Monthly Meeting's "Temperance Committee", and over 1800 tracts on the subject were distributed. Letters were written to the State Senators and Representatives, urging them to use their influence to the adoption of the amendment. The principle established in those early days have born fruit, and today the people of Salem are remarkable for their temperate habits.

36. It is said that when any stranger moves to Salem they are visited and asked to explain their object in coming. In the interview they are given to understand that the community will not tolerate the sale of intoxicating liquor.

### CHAPTER III

#### "Negroes and Indians"

The Quaker doctrine of equality of man, regardless of "race, color or previous condition of servitude", has been well exemplified in their dealings with the American Indian and the "people of color" in this country.<sup>37</sup> In the early settlement of Pennsylvania it seems that some Quakers held slaves, but a movement against the practice amongst them may be traced as early as 1688. This sentiment grew until in 1776, the same year of our "National Declaration of Independence", a declaration of independence for all slaves held by Friends in "Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting and Monthly Meetings were---- directed to exclude from membership all Quakers who refused to comply."<sup>38</sup> Not satisfied with the progress made within their own society for the abolition of slavery, Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, in connection with the "Abolition Society of Pennsylvania", of which Benjamin Franklin was President, in 1796 presented a memorial to the United States Congress to use its constitutional powers to promote mercy and justice towards the negro.<sup>39</sup> As the Quakers moved westward from Pennsylvania into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois they carried with them this same attitude toward slavery. It is also very noticeable that the settlers from South Carolina, North Carolina,

37. In the Quaker records of Salem the negroes are always referred to as "the people of color".

38. A Quaker Experiment in Government" Sharpless Page 31-33

39. This memorial brought forth the second discussion of the slave question in United States Congress.

and Virginia, who came into this same region, were also heartily opposed to slavery.<sup>40</sup> Many of them had been slave holders and they so deplored the institution that they disposed of their human chattels and moved into the free chattel territory of the above-named states.<sup>41</sup> From these two classes, the Quakers of Iowa, and particularly the settlers of Salem, came.

Amongst the earliest settlers at Salem were two families from Virginia who had with them an old darkey mammy that had been in the families for years. They expected to keep her at Salem as a slave; but finding that the laws of the Territory of Iowa would not sustain them in this, and that the public opinion in this Quaker community was so strong against slave holding, they took the old woman to a slave state and there sold her, receiving in exchange "a beast of burden and the remnant of an old store".<sup>42</sup> These same families continued to give trouble by catching fleeing slaves and returning them to their masters for bounty. On one occasion they are said to have received over \$200 for the return of a company of negroes they had traced to an old barn in the neighborhood. The work of these obnoxious people was put a stop to in rather a striking way. As a certain prominent Quaker lay dying, he had one of these men called to his bed side. He pictured to him in such a convicting manner the awfulness of his deeds that the work immediately stopped.

40. Determined from obituaries of old settlers.

41. At one time before the war, North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends held in charge over 3,000 slaves which had been willed to it by Quaker planters who wanted to get away from slavery; and who could not feel free to sell their slaves. As the laws of their States prohibited the freeing of slaves, they thus legally disposed of them, the Yearly Meeting merely holding the deed to such slaves.

42. "Reminiscences of Rachel Kellum", Western Work, April 1908, p. 4-5

Some of the most prominent families in Salem and surrounding country contrived in every conceivable way to aid the fleeing negroes northward to Canada. Many accounts come down to us how they secreted these people of color away in blind closets, attics, under the floors, in dark cellars, in fodder shocks, weed patches, hollow logs and all sorts of places. One incident is related how two Quakers spent all day, from early morning until late at night, thrashing out some wheat by hand and piling up the straw on an old rail pen, under which they had some negroes concealed. The Missourian slave hunters frequently went along the nearby road, and could see these Quakers at work, but never once suspected the presence of slaves there. Thus they toiled until dark, and, as soon as it was safe to do so, in the darkness of night these slaves were hurried on to the "next station on the underground railroad" at Denmark, and there put into the hands of the Congregationalists.

One old man relates how his father acted as "conductor" on the underground railroad and transported fleeing slaves from his place to the next station. He would keep them hidden until he had a number on hands and then he would start off at night with his big wagon "heavily loaded" with grain sacks (filled with bran) and negroes beneath them) on his way to mill. At some point along the route he would dispose of his human freight and continue on his way to the friendly miller."

Many other methods were used, and it became the custom of the slave hunters to enter the stables and examine the horses to see if they were sweaty or tired in the morning, as evidence that their owners had been

out on such trips .<sup>43</sup> The children of such families were taught to answer no question of any kind for a stranger, but always refer them to father or mother.

There is an old time two-story stone house in Salem, about half way between the present Friends Church and the center of town, which belonged to a prominent Quaker by the name of Henderson Llewelling. This house, in the early day, was the largest and most commodious in all the surrounding country . The walls are nearly two feet thick. Great chimneys make it possible to have a large open fire place in every room. A stone extension to the rear of the main part comprises the dining room, kitchen and store rooms. In the middle of what was once the dining room floor, is a trap door that served as an entrance to a large opening beneath the floor separate from the main cellar, and this opening was fitted up especially for hiding slaves. The dining room table usually rested over the trap door and hid it from view. Many times, escaped slaves could be traced as far as this old stone house, but there all further trace disappeared. The slave hunters would search it from top to bottom but could find nothing.

Stung by the constant failure to secure their slaves, in 1848 the Missourians came in force to Salem determined upon its destruction.<sup>44</sup>

They approached the town on horse back by the road from the South, and as they came near they spread out, thus surrounding the town so that no one

43. In those days nearly all of the grain, hogs, and market produce were sold at Keokuk or Fort Madison; and was, of course right on the Quakers way to Denmark, the next fugitive slave haven.<sup>45</sup> After hauling their products such distances, they usually got only enough cash to pay their taxes, and took the rest in trade. So successful were these Quakers in

44. This force is variously estimated from 72 to 300.



could come in or go out. All of them were well armed and were prepared for trouble. They proposed to search every "nigger stealing house" in Salem, and if their slaves were not given up, they were going to lay the whole place in ashes. Many amusing and thrilling incidents are related as to what happened in those few hours. It is said that when a band of them came to the home of the old Quaker preacher, Thomas Frazier, they found him and his family at dinner. They came tramping into the house cursing and flashing in their arms and demanding their "niggers". They insisted that he go with them to the attic and to the cellar while they searched for the slaves.<sup>45</sup> In his quiet manner, Thomas replied that he did not know that he had any particular business in either the cellar or the attic just at that time, but if they so desired, they were at liberty to search them alone. He then invited them to sit down and have a bite to eat. Thomas Frazier, that morning, had had a number of fugitive slaves on his place, but hearing of the approach of these hunters, he had early sent them away to a place of security.

It is also related that when a band of the Missourians came to the home of Dr. Shriner in search of their slaves, he met them at the door with a loaded pistol in his hand. He informed them that there were two

eluding the vigilance of the Missourian slave catchers that very few of the slaves who ever reached Salem were ever retaken to slavery. It is said that the Missourians became convinced that there must be an "underground passage" from Salem to Canada, through which these slaves were taken.

45. The old settlers say that these Missourians would never enter a dark place alone in search of their slaves. They knew the danger of being shot and would not risk it.

entrances to his house, one at the rear which was locked and barred, the other was the one in which he ~~was~~ standing, and that any one who undertook to enter there would have to crawl over his dead body. They wisely made no attempt to enter. One reckless young man came galloping down the street and when hailed by two of the invaders, he showed signs of fight. They seized his horse by the bit and knocked him to the ground with the butt end of a gun. They then dragged him to their headquarters at the hotel and swore they were going to take him to Missouri for trial.<sup>46</sup> Just how the town was cleared of the Missourians is somewhat in dispute.<sup>47</sup> The facts are, however, that they left Salem without slaves, white prisoners or even burning the town, and they seemed glad to get away.

46. To be taken to Missouri for trial meant sure conviction and in those days of agitation, almost sure death.

47. One of the oldest and most reliable citizens of Salem states that word had reached Salem before the arrival of the Missouri mob, and that a messenger had been sent to Mt. Pleasant, about ten miles away, for the sheriff. When he arrived he found that the Missourians had their dinner cooked and on the table at the hotel. "The sheriff gave them just fifteen minutes to leave town. They swore that they would have their dinners. He said that one blast of his bugle would bring on the company of well trained men, and if they came they would come to shoot, and shoot to kill. Now, gentlemen, you have your choice, to clear the town in fifteen minutes or take the consequences. They went----grabbing what dinner they could carry." This account was published in a Friends paper, "Western Work", April, 1908, pages 4,5.

Another old settler, who was a boy and lived in Salem at the time of the raid, states that Johnathan A. Frazier was sent on horseback to notify the abolition settlement at Denmark, some twenty miles away, and they immediately came to Salem in a mass, having suspected such an attack. When the Missourians saw them coming up the dusty road, they took horse and fled.

Although the sentiment of the community in general was so strong against slavery, yet in 1842, there came a split in the Friend's meeting over this very question. The main body of Friends believed in aiding the negroes quietly and as extensively as could be done without laying themselves liable to the penalties under the fugitive slave law.<sup>48</sup> A few more radical members who abhorred slavery so intensely that they would not compromise with it in any shape or form broke away from the church and set up a distinct meeting, terming themselves the "Abolition Friends".<sup>49</sup> Thomas Frazier, Aaron Street, Ellwood Osborn and Henderson Llewelling were the prime promoters of this movement. They built a new meeting house a short distance from the main church and there conducted their meetings and discussed the question at will.

This Abolition church grew rapidly, drawing nearly all of its membership from the main body of Friends. The moral convictions of these sturdy souls must have indeed been keen to be able to bring them to the place where they would separate from the church they loved. But we can see reflected in this movement at Salem the same mighty conviction settling

48. Many of the most prominent members of the main body were at this time "busy conductors" on the underground railroad. They did their work quietly and judiciously in spite of some opposition among the membership. This accounts for the fact that the minutes of the monthly meeting are silent on the subject except for the disownments due to "disunity".

49. It will be remembered that this was about the same time that the "Abolition Party" as a political party was coming into prominence. Elijah P. Lovejoy had been murdered at Alton, Illinois and his printing press destroyed by pro-slavery men. William Lloyd Garrison had for years thundered against slavery through the pages of his "Liberator". Wendell Phillips' fiery oratory too, had added fuel to the flames and by 1842 abolition sentiment was sweeping the North.

down upon the whole North "that slavery was morally wrong and must not be perpetuated". The recognized church at Salem tried to get these dissenting members to return to their rights in the usual manner, but when they would not do so, they were disowned. In a period of three years, or by 1845, there had been over fifty such disownments of the most prominent members recorded. The "Separatists" as they were termed, bought a plot of ground of some four or five acres adjoining the Friends' cemetery on the South and built a fence between the two and used it for their burying ground.<sup>50</sup>

An incident occurred in the summer of 1848 that well illustrates the work of these bold Abolition Friends. On June 8, of that year Salem was stirred to its depths because of an attempted rescue of some Missourians of nine escaped slaves who had been concealed in the community. According to the sworn testimony of witnesses in the trial over the case as conducted in the United States District Court at Burlington, Iowa, in the June term of court 1850, it seems that about June 2, 1848, nine slaves made their escape from Ruel Daggs, a slave owner of Clark County Missouri. George Daggs, his son, and a man by the name of McClure started northward to hunt them. At Farmington, some twenty-five miles to the south on the Des Moines river, they fell in with a man by the name of Slaughter, who consented to help them in the search.

50. This burying ground was bought by Salem Monthly Meeting in 1862 for \$20. By that time the abolition meeting had died out and most of the Separatists had either died, moved away, united with other denominations or re-united with the Friends church.

A certain Methodist preacher who had been at Salem wanted to go to Farmington to keep an appointment at that place for Sunday, June 4. Eli Jessup hired John Pickering's horses and took him there in a carriage. On the return these horses were hitched to a wagon with a canvass covering. The above mentioned slave hunters noticed fresh wagon tracks a short distance out of Farmington and followed them. Slaughter caught up with the wagon where it had stopped near some bushes about half a mile out of Salem and rode into town with three young men who had driven it. The next day Daggs, McClure and Slaughter were hunting around the bushes where the wagon had stopped and they found a black man, a yellow man, three women and four children, and immediately laid claim to them as being their slaves,<sup>51</sup> and were going to take them back to Missouri. Almost immediately upon the discovery, Elihu Frazier, Clarkson Frazier, (Thomas C. Frazier), William Johnson and others appeared and objected to the taking of the negroes. The news spread like wild fire in Salem and nearly the whole town turned out. The missourians were bound to have their slaves; but the crowd was just as determined that they should not have them. One of the slave hunters took hold of the yellow man, and was going to lead him away when someone jerked him loose. One man was heard to say that he would wade in Missouri blood before these negroes should be taken. The mob moved towards Salem. As they came by Henry Dorlands schoolhouse he came out and upon

51. The names and description of the escaped slaves as given by the owner Ruel Daggs was as follows: Sam, aged 40 to 45 years; Walker, a yellow man,

aged 22 to 23 years; Dorcas, Sam's wife; Mary, Walker's wife; Julia, 18 years old; Martha, under 10 years; William a small boy, and two younger children not named. The men were valued at from 900 to 1,000 dollars and the woman from 200 to 300 dollars. This description suited exactly the negroes found at Salem.



learning what was the matter he mounted a pile of boards and gave a speech, proposing that the slaves be taken before the Justice of the Peace, Mr. Gibbs, and if they were proven to be the property of the claimants, that they be allowed to take them back to Missouri. The proposition seemed agreeable and the crowd moved to Mr. Gibb's office. The office proved too small for a general hearing and the case was taken to the Abolition Church. Albert Button<sup>52</sup> and Aaron Street acted as attorneys for the negroes. The claimants were required to show their authority. Being unable to do so, Justice Gibbs said that these negroes were as free as himself, so far as he knew, and that he therefore had no jurisdiction. A show of legal procedure was made by the attorneys by reading something from the supposed statutes of Iowa.<sup>53</sup> Much talking was done and a great deal of sympathy was shown by the women in the crowd. One man went around with a pistol hanging half way out of his pocket, declaring that he would use it if necessary. The black man got up and walked out of the house. He was assisted to mount a horse nearby, and one of the negro children was handed to him. One man by the name of Paul Way jumped on his horse and started off toward his home to the north with this expression: "If any body wants to foller me, let him foller"; and the negro followed. Both horses were "in a canter" and were out of sight in a few minutes. Three more of the negroes soon disappeared. The remaining four, two women and two children, were taken back

52. Albert Button was what they used to call a petti-fogger--that is a one horse lawyer.

53. The trial as held at Burlington is reported from notes kept by George Frazee, a member of the barr, and published in the Salem News, in its weekly issues running from Febr. 9 to Apr. 27, 1893. The opening statement of the case will be given in note 54.

to Missouri. In the following September, suit was brought by the owner Ruel Daggs, against Elihu Frazier, Thomas Clarkson Frazier, John Comer, Paul Way, John Pickering, William Johnson and others of Henry County, Iowa, for the purpose of recovering the amount of \$10,000 compensation, for his escaped slaves. The case was postponed until June of 1850, when it was tried in the United States District Court at Burlington, as stated above. This was the first case tried in Iowa under the United States Fugitive Slave Law.

All during the period between 1850 and 1860 the people of Salem were keenly alive to the great questions that were shaking this country to its very foundations. Having been in intimate contact with slavery and its attending evils, as many of the early settlers had, they had little

54.

District Court of the United States.

Southern Division of Iowa. Burlington, Iowa, June term, 1850, Jon. J. J. Dyer, presiding.

Ruel Daggs, plaintiff, vs. Elihu Frazier, et als defendants. Trespass on the case.

D. Rorer, Esq., council for plaintiff. J. C. Hall and J. T. Mortan, Esqs., for defendants.

This was an action of trespass on the case, instituted in September, 1843, by Ruel Daggs, of Clark County, Missouri, plaintiff, against Elihu Frazier, Thes. Clarkson Frazier, John Comer, Paul Way, John Pickering, William Johnson and others of Henry County, Iowa, defendants, for the purpose of recovering compensation for the services of nine slaves who escaped into Iowa from Missouri, and were afterwards assisted to elude the control and custody of plaintiffs, agents, by the defendants or some of them.

The declaration contained six counts,---the first two alleged that slaves were rescued from the plaintiff or his agents. The third and fourth, that they were harbored and concealed, so that they afterward escaped from, and were entirely lost to the plaintiff; and the fifth and sixth, that the plaintiff was hindered and prevented from recovering his slaves by the acts of the defendants; and the amount of damage claimed was \$10,000. Plea, Not Guilty.

Etc., etc.

sympathy with Stephen A. Douglass' "Squatter Sovereignty" idea. They had watched the trend of events in Kansas with anxious eyes, for they dreaded the creation of another slave state near the border of Iowa, and some of Salem's people went there to take a hand in preserving Kansas for the Union. When John Brown passed a few miles north of Salem many hailed him as a great hero. All could see the trend of events and were prepared for the issue.<sup>55</sup>

All through this turbulent period the Quakers and others continued their work on the underground railroad, and even during the years of the Civil War slaves entered the army, so that in 8th month, 14th, 1861, Salem Monthly Meeting had to make the following report: "----our testimony against bearing arms and military service has not been maintained by some of our members."

When the draft was resorted to in this part of Iowa a number of Friends were called into service. Those who refused to do military service on religious grounds had the choice of serving in army hospitals, or paying \$300 for a substitute in such hospital. Most of those drafted paid the required \$300, but some entered the army and served out their term of enlistment.

55. As early as 1842 a certain Quaker by the name of Joseph D. Hoag, came to Salem. He brought with him about 500 head of sheep, that he had driven all the way from western Pennsylvania. The following winter his father, Joseph Hoag, a prominent minister of Vermont, came to be with his son. In this way the people of Salem came into contact with this remarkable old man, and became acquainted with his vision of the coming Civil War, which he frequently related while at Salem. His statement of his vision is given as follows in his Journal, page 378-380:

"In the year 1803, probably in the eighth or ninth month, I was one day alone in the fields, and observed that the sun shone clear, but that a mist eclipsed the brightness of its shining.

As I reflected on the singularity of the event, my mind was struck into a silence, the most profound I ever remember to have witnessed, for it seemed as if all my faculties were laid low, and unusually brought into deep silence. I said to my self, "What can all this mean"? I do not recollect ever before to have been sensible of such feelings."

In 10th month, 12th, 1864 the attention of the Monthly Meeting was called to the fact "that some of our members are drafted." A committee composed of Willet Dorland, Elwood Osborn, Thomas Sciveter, John H. Pickering and Isaac T. Gibson was appointed "to give such advice and relief in the case as they may think proper." The members upon whom the draft had fallen were Henry McMillan, Alfred Bedell and William Adell. All three received their discharge, however, by the payment of the accustomed \$300 each. Henry McMillan furnished the means for his own relief; but the others, being unable to meet the expense,<sup>56</sup> the above mentioned committee borrowed the sum of \$550 at 8% interest in order to release them and Salem Monthly Meeting assumed the debt.<sup>57</sup>

56. William T. Adell paid \$50 on his release.

55. continued

And I heard a voice from heaven say, "This thou seest, which dims the brightness of the sun, is a sign of the present and coming times. I took the forefathers of this country from a land of oppression; I planted them here among the people of the forest. I sustained them and fed them, and they became a numerous people; but they have now become proud and lifted up, and have forgotten Me, who nourished and protected them in the wilderness, and are running into every abomination and evil practice of which the old countries are guilty; and I have spoken quietude from the land, and suffered a dividing spirit to come among them. Lift up thine eyes and behold!" And I saw them dividing in great heat. This division began in the Church in points of doctrine. It commenced in the Presbyterian Society, and went through the various religious denominations, and in its progress and close the effect was nearly the same; those who dissented, went off with high heads and taunting language; and those who kept to their organized sentiments, appeared exercised and sorrowful. And when this dividing spirit entered the Society of Friends, it raged in as high a degree as any I had before discovered, and, as before, those who separated, went with lofty looks and taunting sentencing language; those who kept to their ancient principles, retired by themselves.

It next appeared in the free lodges of the Masons, and it broke out in appearance like a volcano, in as much as it set the country in an uproar for a time. Then it entered politics throughout the United States, and did not stop, until it produced a Civil War, and abundance of human blood was shed in the course of the combat. The Southern States lost their power, and

The interest of the people of Salem in the negro did not end with the Civil War. As soon as hostilities had ceased some of the Friends pushed their work into the southern states, and began establishing schools for the "freedmen". In November of 1865 Anna H. Stinsman expressed the desire in Monthly Meeting to have the privilege of "laboring as a teacher among the freed people" of the south. Two months later, in January of 1866, Charlotte Woolman and Lorenzo Llewelling expressed the same desire and it was not long until a thriving school among the negroes in Missouri had grown up under their care, and most encouraging reports came to Salem of the work.

#### 55. continued.

slavery was annihilated from their borders. Then a monarchical power arose--took the Government of the States--established a national religion, and made all societies tributary to its expenses. I saw them take property from Friends to large amounts. I was amazed at beholding all this, and heard a voice proclaim, 'This power shall not always stand, but with this Power, I will chastise my church until they return to the faithfulness of their fathers. Thou seest what is coming on thy native land for their iniquity and the blood of Africa; the remembrance of which has come up before me. This vision is yet for many days.' I had no idea of writing it down for many years, until it became such a burden to me, that for my own relief I have written it.

Joseph Hoag."

Some prominent Friends think that the part of the vision relative to the "Monarchical form of Government" was not in the original vision, but was added by relatives after the death of Joseph Hoag, and in preparation for the printing.

57. The following are the payments that were made on the money borrowed by the Monthly Meeting for the relief of its members from the draft. Each of the Preparative Meetings were assessed according to the ration of apportionment. There seems to be some discrepancy which is not accounted for in the minutes.

Time of Payment		Salem	Chestnut Hill	Valley	Balance Due
Month-Day-Year	:	:	:	:	:
10 12 '64	:	:	:	:	\$600
3 15 '65	:	:	\$ 31.50	\$ 87.50	481
4 12 '65	:	\$5.05	3	6.30	466.65
5 17 '65	:	3.75	:	:	462.90
6 14 '65	:	4.15	:	:	458.75
11 15 '65	:	8.20	:	:	450.55



One remarkable trait about Salem is the fact that although the people there have done so much for the black people and the history of the place is so closely associated with their concern yet there has never been a single negro family make Salem their home; and very few in the surrounding country. At the close of the war, however, there was a slave owner who bought a farm in Marion Township, Lee County, about nine miles south west of Salem and willed it to his slaves. He had no family, so stayed with them until his death, when one of the oldest of the negroes, Jack Homer took charge of the farm. He and his wife were respected in the community for their thrift and industry. His son, Jacob Homer took charge of the farm at his death, and was as well respected. Jacob and his wife were converted under the preaching of a Friends minister, John Fry, and they were taken into membership of the Friends Church at Chestneut Hill. Judy Homer, his wife, later became a very reliable member of the W. C. T. U. at Salem. They have both died since and lie buried in the Friends Burying ground there.

Even today as one saunters through the quiet Friends burying ground there remains reminders of the awful days of the Civil War. Even though those faithful people proclaimed a message of peace in the very face of

57continued.

1 - 17 - '66	:	:	\$1.25	:	:	\$449.20
2 - 17 '66	:	5.00	:	1.70	:	442.50
4 - 11 '66	:	8.27	:	:	:	434.23
6 - 6 '66	:	3.30	:	:	:	430.93
2 - 6 '67	:	7.58	:	:	:	473.35
4 - 10 '67	:	:	:	:	37.00	386.35
5 - 8 '67	:	:	25.10	:	:	361.25
10 - 9 '67	:	160.00	:	:	:	201.25
11 - 6 '67	:	24.00	:	:	:	177.25
12 - 11 '67	:	60.00	:	:	:	117.25
2 - 8 '68	:	10.35	:	:	:	106.90

Last Payment Recorded.

a war that shook the foundations of our great Republic; when their fathers and sons came back from the blood scenes in the south, they received them, and at death gave them a resting place in the sacred soil of their peaceful burying ground. There were others, also who had given their lives for the cause of humanity in the south land and could not return. But they were not forgotten. Under a large evergreen tree which moans its notes of sorrow as the winds of both summer and winter play in its drooping branches, there stands a wooden obelisk bearing the following inscription: "To the unknown dead, 1861-1865".

As the years went on the custom of observing "Decoration Day" was adopted by the people of Salem; but it did not meet the approval of Friends generally. When the old soldiers and towns people undertook to observe the usual ceremonies over the graves of their dead, the matter was brought to the attention of the Monthly Meeting and the following sentiment was recorded in the minutes for 6th month, 4th, 1881: "Reference being made to the liberty being taken by the people on two occasions on what is called Decoration Day of having military ceremonies, consisting of marching, firing of guns, and martial music over some of the dead who are buried in our grave yard, the meeting was united in believing a Christian protest against the practice should be issued." The expression of this sentiment seems to have been sufficient for the quiet of this sacred spot has not since been broken in this manner.

The work of Salem Friends among the Indians is not less interesting than their work among the negroes, although it is somewhat less tangible. Due to the Black Hawk Purchase of 1832 the Indians had largely been moved westward by the government before Salem became a settlement. There were still some few Indians roaming about and they occasionally came through in bands,

but they never remained long.

The same sympathetic relations which were engendered between the Indians of Pennsylvania and the Quakers found expression in this far off western settlement. The famous painting represented William Penn, surrounded by Indian chiefs in the act of open and frank land purchase, speaks of the policy the Quakers have always maintained toward their "red brothers". As the Indians reflected on these land purchases of Penn at their leisure, they saw nothing to repent of and everything to admire, and they preserved inviolable the terms to which they had solemnly agreed. "The instinctively felt the honorable intentions of 'Onas' and handed down from generation to generation the belts of wampum which ratified the treaties and the words of kindness and interest they heard from his mouth in the conference between them. These traditions still exist in the west, and a band of Quaker Indians in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) is a testimony to their validity."

In 11th month, 12th, 1851, Thomas Stanley reported to the Monthly Meeting at Salem that he had felt impressed for some time that he should "go among the Kansas Indians for the purpose of instructing them in the art of agriculture and civilization." A committee was appointed to confer with him on the subject and report in 12th month, that they recommended that he be left at liberty to attend to the concern, provided he was accompanied by some friend. In 2nd month, 18th, 1852, two friends, John Hockett and Enock Beard volunteered to accompany him and at the Monthly Meeting in 3rd month they were furnished with the following document: "To our brothers, the Kansas Indians, and all whom it may concern"--"Brothers, our dear brother Thomas Stanley, believing it required of him by the Great Spirit to pay you a visit,

in order to confer with you on a concern, which has for a long time rested with weight upon his mind, of endeavoring with your consent at some future time, to give you some instruction in the arts of agriculture, and civilization and in the doctrines of Christianity as way may open and as he may be able to do, and as may appear right in further feeling the mind of the Great Spirit-----  
 Brothers, we hope you will kindly receive our brothers (John Hockett and Enoch Board who are also recognized and approved on this trip) whom we greatly love; and----whom we desire may be enabled, under the direction of the Great Spirit to do you good---. And should our brothers, when they come home, inform their brethern, the Quakers, that it is your wish that our brother, Thomas H. Stanley should reside among you for a season, and their brethern-----and your great father at Washington approve thereof, it is his purpose to come and live with you for a time.-----

Signed---Clerk of Salem Monthly Meeting.

At the following Monthly Meeting held in 4th month, 14th, 1852, the above mentioned persons gave their report of their trip among the Indians. They stated that they had met the Kansas Indians at Council Grove on 3rd month 27th, and after a "suitable pause" had their credentials read and interpreted to the Indians. The Indians expressed themselves as pleased with the prospect of having a missionary come to them as they had previously requested one from the Friends and receiving no reply, thought their request had been forgotten. After this first visit the matter seems to have been dropped, however, as there is no further action recorded until 3rd month, 1857, when Thomas Stanley again expressed a desire in Monthly Meeting to "spend some time amongst the Kansas Indians-----" "After a time of solid deliberation

thereon" the meeting decided to liberate him for the service and to give him a copy of the minute granted him in 2nd month of 1852. Thomas Stanley soon took up the work among the Indians, who gladly welcomed him and the following year his brother James Stanley, and his family moved among the same Indians.

About ten years later the Friends at Salem became more widely connected with the work among the Indians of the West by their connection with the "Central Superintendency". "In 1868, a number of the Yearly Meetings of the Orthodox Friends appointed a committee to confer to see if there was anything more they could do to befriend the Indian and advance them in civilization. The committee met in Chicago in 12th month, 1868 and petitioned Congress not to transfer the care of the Indians to the Military Department, as proposed by a bill pending in the House of Representatives-----. The committee again met in Baltimore and concluded to visit General Grant. The President received the committee kindly and requested the names of Friends whom he might appoint as Indian agents. During the interview he remarked, "If you can make Quakers out of the Indians, it will take the fight out of them. Let us have peace". He also requested them to suggest someone for superintendent of the Central Superintendency which had charge of the wild tribes in Kansas and Indian Territory. Enoch Hoag of Muscatine, Iowa, received the above appointment of superintendent accordingly, and under him were appointed a number of Friends as Indian agents, among whom was Isaac T. Gibson, one of the most prominent members of Salem meeting<sup>58</sup>. By the last of 1873 so many Salem Friends were actively engaged in this work that the Monthly Meeting appointed a committee "To correspond with such of our members as are in the Indian country, with the view of strengthening the bond of Christian

58. "Our Red Brothers", Laurie Tatam, page 22-23.

friendship between us."

In 1879, due to some friction and difficulties with the new Government Commissioner of Indian Affairs under President Hayes, the Friends resigned their control of the Central Superintendency. This resignation lessened somewhat Quaker official influence in Indian affairs; but many workers continued to go out to the various agencies. One feature of the work of Friends among the Indians should here be noted. It had been the practice of most Indian agents to charge heavy fees for their services but the Friends did such service without charge. One Friend, by his good management saved a certain tribe over \$9,000,000 receiving no compensation for it and making no charge. Hundreds of Indians were converted and became Friends, among them the murderous and savage Modocs. Several Monthly Meetings are now kept up among the Indians and officered by them. In this great work among the Indians of the west, the Friends at Salem had a very important part and even today some of their members are spending their energies trying to lift these savages to better living.



## CHAPTER IV

### "The Quakers and Education"

There is probably no one settlement of Friends in this country where the effect of an educational institution in the community is so apparent as that of Salem, Iowa. With the rise of the church in that locality to its most progressive stage came the rise of Whittier College, and when Quakerism began to lose its control of the community at large the college began its decline. In order to understand the growth of this school it is necessary to trace the rise of the Friends Church in southeastern Iowa.

We have seen that Salem Monthly Meeting was founded in 9th month, 1838. About the same time other Quaker settlements were being made in the new west. In 3rd month, 30th, 1838, a group of Friends at "Lower Settlement", sent a request to Salem Monthly Meeting for the privilege of holding a meeting for worship and "an Indulged Meeting on first and fifth days in each month." A committee was appointed to visit the Friends making the request---and to report to next meeting. The committee visited the community as directed and reported in 4th month, 1839 that they had "attended to the appointment to middling good satisfaction, though the way did not open to grant their request". In the fore part of the year of 1841, the community had increased sufficiently to justify the opening of such a meeting and it was accordingly accomplished.

At the regular Monthly Meeting held in 10th month, 26th, 1839, attention was called to the growth of another Friends community about twenty-five miles north-east of Salem. A committee was appointed to visit them "for their help and encouragement." As a result a request was presented the next

month for a Preparative meeting to be known by the name of "Pleasant Prairie."<sup>59</sup> Conditions seemed not to justify such a meeting until about 1841, when it was opened and became known as Pleasant Plain. This new community grew so rapidly in numbers that it soon became a Monthly Meeting, and by 1848, was a Quarterly Meeting.

In 12th month, 1839, the same month that Cedar Creek and Pleasant Plain are mentioned as requesting the establishment of meetings, a similar request was presented to Salem Monthly Meeting by Friends living five miles to the east; and in 1st month, 25th, 1840, an Indulged meeting was granted them, to be known as East Grove. In 1844 East Grove became a Preparative Meeting, but due to the removal of so many of its members farther west it soon afterward died down and was abandoned. Other Quaker communities grew up as the years passed by, until Salem Quarterly Meeting was one of the largest in this country. Among these were Richland, about 35 miles to the northwest, and authorized to be opened in 6th month<sup>7th</sup>, 1842; Chestnut Hill, a meeting some 4 miles to the south of Salem in Lee County, and set up in 12th month, 1848; Cedar Creek, 4 miles to the northeast of Salem, opened in 2nd month, 1851<sup>60</sup>. In 11th month, 1852, a meeting was set up in Keokuk County, by the name of Walnut Creek. Friends of Muscatine requested the opening of a meeting there

59. The records are somewhat confusing at this point. Both West Plain and Pleasant Prairie ~~were~~ mentioned, and apparently they were the same meeting.

60. In 8th month, 1852, Cedar Creek became a Monthly Meeting and in 11th month it reported a request of Friends for a meeting in the northern part of Iowa, and another in southern Minnesota.

in 4th month, 1852, and it was accordingly done; in 1851, Spring Creek, near Oskaloosa in Mahaska County, and South River in Warren County were set up as Preparative Meetings. In 1852 there came a request for a meeting among Friends at Oskaloosa. At the same time was presented a request for a meeting in Marshall County, and still another in Harden County. In 1860, Pilot Grove and Spring Dale, in the vicinity of Salem were opened. Oak Ridge, about 7 miles to the northwest was opened in 1864. In 1868 Gilead Monthly Meeting, about 60 miles to the south in Missouri, was attached to Salem Quarterly; and, finally, Hickory Grove, about nine miles to the west, was set up in 8th month, 1887.<sup>61</sup>

With such far-reaching influence it is natural that a people who had always stood for a guarded religious and mental training for all classes, should go to work to building up a college where their children might have the blessings of a liberal education under the care of the church. Wherever the Friends have located the church and school-house have gone hand in hand.

Hardly had their little log church been built, until a similar school-house was erected. In 8th month, 1839, a committee on education was appointed "to look after and encourage the opening of schools." A year later this committee reported that they had "had a school in operation at Salem nearly five months in the year." In 7th month of 1841 the following report of the Education Committee is recorded: "We have attended to the object of our appointment and have employed teachers and kept up schools in the different neighborhoods the past year as follows : at Salem, 8 months; at Cedar Creek, 3 months; at Pleasant Plain, 3 months; and we find the state of the concern with-

61. A number of the above meetings later became Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, while some went down and were abandoned.

in our limits to be about as follows:

First--There are 212 children of suitable age to go to school.

Second--There are none of our children educated in Monthly Meeting Schools.

Third--There are 185 of our children who have received education the past year in schools taught by Friends.

Fourth--There are nine of our children who have received education the past year that are not taught by Friends.

Fifth--There are none of our children who are growing up without education.

Sixth--We have no Monthly Meeting schools.

Seventh--There are four meetings of Friends that have no Monthly Meeting Schools.

In 1845, a Friend by the name of Reuben Dorland came to Salem from Poughkeepsie, New York. He was a well-educated man and well prepared for educational work. He saw the opportunity for a prosperous school, and soon set about the construction of a building in the north part of town at his own expense, which he named "Salem Seminary". His belief that Salem was a good place for such a school proved well founded, for by 1851 he had an enrollment of 322 students. Courses were given in the following subjects: spelling, grammar, geography, history, astronomy, mechanical philosophy, chemistry, physiology, intellectual philosophy, moral philosophy, mineralogy, botany, mercantile correspondence, elocution, algebra, surveying, geometry, bookkeeping, ---etc. The school year was divided up into two sessions of 22 weeks each; and the tuition charges ranged from \$4 to \$8 per session, payable at the end of the session. The faculty consisted of the Principal, Reuben Dorland; and three assistants, Philip Strahl, Robert King, and Ruth A. Holaday.

Towards the close of the year, 1851, Reuben Dorland's health began to fail, and he started for California to recuperate, and to better prepare himself for the great work that lay before him. On the way to California he died on board ship, 3rd month, 4th, 1852, and was buried in the ocean. The work of Reuben Dorland was taken up by Thomas Tostevin and wife, Cyrus Bedee, Dr. Farr and others; but none of them had the personal interest of the founder in the school, and before long it went down, the building being turned into a private dwelling. For the next two or three years, schools were held in private homes, and among the most prominent of such was the school conducted by Anna C. Darlington.

These few years without a well organized school made so apparent the crying educational need of the community that the matter was taken up in Salem Preparative Meeting in 8th month, 1854 and the "subject of building a school-house on our (the Friends) grounds, to be under the care of our society", was thoroughly discussed. Subscriptions to the amount of \$282 were presented to the meeting at the time. "A building committee was appointed-----to hold out voluntary subscriptions-----and to have the work in progress as fast as funds are obtained." A brick house, 25 x 30 feet was built a little to the east and north of the present Whittier Academy building. Luther B. Jordan took charge of the school, and under his management the building proved too small for the number of students requesting admission. A large room was rented and fitted up, over the Emporium on the north side of the square. Here Elwood Macy and his assistants taught. This place, also, prove insufficient, and the need for increased facilities was so apparent that the Quarterly Meeting took the matter in hand. By 1865, Salem Quarterly Meeting had reached its greatest extent; the Monthly Meeting alone recording 1128 members.<sup>62</sup>

At the close of the Quarterly Meeting's Educational Committee's report in 1866, it was recommended that "Salem Quarterly Meeting should have a well organized school under the care of Friends---to be known as Salem Quarterly Meeting School of Friends." A committee was appointed to take the matter into consideration. In 5th month, 1867, the committee reported that they had "united in organizing a joint stock company for building up a school and have drafted an article of incorporation". The company received the name of "Whittier College Association", in honor of John Greenleaf Whittier, who took stock in the association to the amount of \$50.

On 9th month, 12th, 1867, school was opened in the premises of the former school on the church grounds. John W. and Mary C. Woody were secured to take charge of the school and a successful term of 12 weeks, with 36 students was conducted. For the school year of 1868 the Board of Directors planned larger things. They issued 16 scholarships, which were to be sold at \$50 each, the proceeds amounting to \$800 to be expended in "furnishing the house and pro-

62.

The membership of Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends for successive years was as follows:

Date	Families	Parts of Families	Males	Females	Total
5-17-1865	153	101	528	519	1,047
8-12-1871	156	97	584	544	1,128
8-14-1875	132	84	352	360	712
8-4-1880	85	71	281	284	565
8-8-1885	82	114	266	285	551
8-13-1887			189	208	297



curing the necessary chemical and philosophical apparatus to place the school in a condition----that the confidence of those who place their children in it shall not be misplaced."

The success of the enterprise was greater than the most hopeful had expected. Enthusiasm developed with the growing success, and Salem felt that it now had an institution within its borders of which it might well be proud; and the town again began to take on the appearance of a college town, as it had in the days of Reuben Dorland's school. Students began coming in from all directions, not only from the local community but from all parts of the west. In 1869 the enrollment reached 200, not counting the Normal Session of six weeks. A school prayer meeting was organized to be held one evening in each week and to be conducted by the students. This student meeting proved to be a powerful source of good among the young people.

By 8th month, 1874, Whittier College had so outgrown its accommodations that the President of the Board, Henry Dorland, presented to the Salem Monthly Meeting a proposition "to modify the west end of the meeting house as would adapt it to the use of both the college and the meeting----and full consent was given." These changes soon proved not to be sufficient to meet the growing demands of the institution, and the Board of Trustees then requested that "all the building occupied by Salem Monthly Meeting be leased to the Board to be held and used for college purposes, on conditions that the Board furnish the Meeting with a house equally as commodious as the present building." The meeting united with this request and gave its consent.

As early as 1872 there was a movement started to secure an endowment of \$15,000, "for the future needs and growth of the school----and to appeal to Friends in the east for aid." Elwood Osborn was sent to New England and other

parts of the east to solicit funds for this cause, but met with little success. Report was made to Quarterly Meeting in 11th month, 1872, of the intention to erect "a more commodious building----as soon as the sum of \$15,000 be raised." The subject was continually pressed among Friends in this part of the country, there was little subscribed. When the hard times of 1876 struck the west, the endowment proposition for Whittier College received its death blow, and from that time till the present it has struggled along, depending on tuitions and small gifts to keep it running.

The real effect of the financial depression was not seriously felt by the school until about 1878. In 8th month of that year the statement was recorded by the Quarterly Meeting that "the school, depending largely on local support, like all business amongst us, suffers from the effects of the two past unfruitful years and the financial depression; yet,-----our expenses have not exceeded our means of support." By the winter of 1880 the enrollment had decreased to 58. At the opening of the fall term of 1882, however, an increase had come and the enrollment stood at 94. Due to unexpected expenditures at that time, the treasurer was compelled to borrow \$700 dollars and mortgage the property of the college for that sum in order to open up. The outlook was promising, however, and as the school began to build up, new hope seemed to take hold of the community. Plans were being laid for larger growth and influence. New improvements were to be undertaken. The Quarterly Meeting was considering the proposition of becoming a stock holder and really making it a Quarterly Meeting school, and thus become responsible for its financial success. Just at this most hopeful time all was blasted by a most unexpected disaster. Early in the morning of 12th month, 4th, 1885, the people of Salem were awakened by the

ringing of the school bell. The cry of "fire" went through the community like an electric shock. Men ran to the burning college, but the flames had gained such headway that nothing could be done. The building and nearly all of its contents were consumed. As the students and the people of the town walked around the smouldering ruins of this institution which had meant so much to them a common feeling was expressed by all; "Whittier College must be rebuilt". We must admire the spirit with which not only the Quakers but the whole community took hold of the task before them. The subject of whether or not conditions would justify the Quarterly Meeting in assuming the task of raising the necessary funds for rebuilding the institution was much discussed in that body in 2nd month, 1886. A committee was appointed to canvass for that purpose and in 5th month they were able to report \$400 subscribed.

The spirit of the students under these adverse circumstances is most admirable. The President reported in 5th month, 1886 that "all the students enrolled, continued in school although the accommodations in the meeting house were so different from what they had been in the college building". In the conflagration, nearly all of the text books used by the students had been consumed. The publishers of these text books were informed of the calamity and they "kindly and gratuitously replaced them."

By the spring of 1887 sufficient funds had been subscribed to justify the Board of Directors in commencing the construction of the new building. In order to prevent any question from arising in regard to the title to the property on which it was proposed to erect the new building, the subject was presented at Monthly Meeting in 6th month, 1887, and the meeting directed its Trustees to

sign a Quit Claim Deed on behalf of the Meeting and deliver the same to the Board of Trustees of Whittier College. The building erected at this time is the one now standing, a substantial brick structure, two stories high, and well suited to school purposes.

Due to a combination of circumstances Whittier College has never regained the growth and influence it had before the fire of 1885. Of recent years the management has abandoned the idea of a real college course of study, and is conducting the institution more along the lines of an Academic or High School standard. Among the most important of these causes of its decline is the fact that Quakerism itself has lost its former control of the community. As is shown by the membership recorded for 1865, or at the time when steps were being taken for the founding of Whittier College, up to 1887 when the college was burned, there is a loss from 1047 to 397 for Salem Monthly Meeting alone. This striking loss was due largely to the migration of Friends farther west, and to the other more progressive denominations drawing into their ranks the younger people of the community.

Other minor causes for the decline of Whittier College may be found in the presence of a local High School; other schools of the same grade in the neighboring towns; and Penn College, at Oskaloosa, which is more centrally located and more accessible to Friends at large over the Yearly Meeting, and to which it belongs. When Whittier College was at its height it had a monopoly, not only of its own locality, but the patronage of all Iowa Friends. When these conditions changed the financial support it once enjoyed was withdrawn, and with this lack of support came decline. Whittier Academy, as it is now called, is still doing a noble work for the young people of the community.

Even in the presence of our modern public school system, with all of its many advantages, the need of the denominational schools is not yet past. As long as there is a demand for true moral and religious training, so long there will be a need for such institutions, where instinctive ideas may be taught and propagated. As was mentioned in the opening of this chapter, there is probably no one community among Friends in this country where the effect of an educational institution in their midst has been so apparent as at Salem, Iowa. With the rise of the community, came the rise of the school, and with the decline of the school came the decline of Quakerism in that locality. Whittier College has had a most important part to play in the making of the history of Salem and its people. Among the older and middle aged one can scarcely find a man or woman in the surrounding country but what has, at some time, attended the College or Academy. Those who have not had the privilege of actually studying there have been surrounded by the educational and cultural influences which it has produced, and have unconsciously imbibed something of its blessings.

Although the rapid progress and modern business rush of the outside world is not apparent in this quiet community, still there is to be felt on every hand, a gentler, more refined spirit than is observed in those newer communities of our great west, where the people have quickly come together, and their time has been wholly given over to the gaining of wealth. A visit to a coal mining or factory community, where education has been neglected makes apparent the effect of such an educational institution as it works with successive generations. And it is also apparent that only as a community maintains its educational institutions can that community hope to advance. Auch has been oft repeated history, and it is to be hoped that, with their

noble institutions, and the glorious history of their past, the people of Salem may yet take their place in the modern needy world.

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- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| Sa I Prep I | Salem Preparative Meeting of Friends<br>12 month, 5th, 1849 to 8 month, 6th, 1856   |
| Sa I Prep 2 | 10 month, 6th, 1871 to 4 month, 28th, 1880  |
| <hr/>       |   |
| Sa I Prep W | Salem Preparative Meeting of Women Friends<br>9 month, 17th, 1864 to 4 month, 30th, 1879  |
| <hr/>       |   |
| Sa 2 F I    | Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends<br>10 month, 8th, 1838 to 3 month, 28th, 1864  |
| Sa 2 F 2    | 4 month, 18th, 1846 to 8 month, 14th, 1850  |
| Sa 2 F 3    | 9 month, 18th, 1850 to 12 month, 13th, 1854   |
| Sa 2 F 4    | 1 month, 17th, 1855 to 5 month, 18th, 1864  |
| Sa 2 F 5    | 6 month, 15th, 1864 to 9 month, 6th, 1879   |
| Sa 2 F 6    | 10 month, 4th, 1879 to 5 month, 11th, 1892  |
| Sa 2 F 7    | ( This volume is still in the hands of the clerk<br>of Salem Monthly Meeting, but has been con-<br>sulted, and it covers the ground to the pres-<br>ent time) |
| <hr/>       |   |
| Sa 2 Wo I   | Salem Monthly Meeting of Women Friends<br>10 month, 8th, 1838 to 12 month, 14th, 1849   |
| Sa 2 Wo 2   | 1 month, 16th, 1850 to 2 month, 18th, 1863  |
| Sa 2 Wo 3   | 3 month, 18th, 1863 to 4 month, 5th, 1879   |
| <hr/>       |   |
| Sa 3 F I    | Salem Quarterly Meeting of Friends<br>2 month, 19th, 1859 to 5 month, 14th, 1870  |
| Sa 3 F 2    | 11 month, 12th, 1870 to 2 month, 11th, 1888   |
| Sa 3 F 3    | ( Still in hands of the Quarterly Meeting Clerk)  |
| <hr/>       |   |
| Sa 3 Wo I   | Salem Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends<br>5 month, 28th, 1848 to 3 month 19th, 1864   |
| Sa 3 Wo 2   | 6 month, 18th, 1864 to 11 month, 8th, 1879  |

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(Publisher not given)

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Numerous personal letters and about five hundred obituaries were also collected and used in this work.

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