

A MEMORANDUM
ON
ALBEMARLE COUNTY
QUAKERS

PAMPHLET

FOR
1715 C1

A MEMORANDUM ON FOUR QUAKER PRESENCES IN
ALBEMARLE COUNTY, SCATTERED OVER TWO AND
A QUARTER CENTURIES, AND SOME PERSONAL
CONNECTIONS WITH THE LAST TWO

by

Charles E. "Chic" Moran, Jr.

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1994

Prefatory note: Because of a high degree of informality of the Third Quaker Presence and until 1967 of the Fourth Presence there is little in the way of records of our activity until the arrival of the Jehle family in late summer of 1959. Dieta Jehle immediately began keeping track of those who attended, and she still has these lists. I am indebted to Mary Hosmer Lupton and her daughters Sarah and Vicky for their recollections of the first years of the Worship Group which initiated the Fourth Presence. Jay Worrall provided most of the information on Robert Warner Lewis, whose family must have constituted an important, if not the only, component of the Second Presence. But for the professional editorial experience and help of Werner Janney this account would suffer from many more shortcomings than it does. It must be borne in mind, however, that much of what appears after the initial date of 1938 until the 1960s is a reconstruction from a not-too-reliable memory.

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The first appearance of Quakers in what became Albemarle County is definitively set forth in an article by Jay Worrall in Vol. 40, 1982, pages 25-44, of The Magazine of Albemarle County History. In this article Jay tells the story of the arrival in 1742 (the year before the birth of Thomas Jefferson and two years before the creation of Albemarle County by cutting it off from Goochland County) of Christopher and Penelope Clark and their family and dependents in the neighborhood of present-day Keswick. This is in sight of where Jay and Carolyn themselves lived. The Clarks established Clarksville, a name which still appears on the 1875 map of Albemarle County by Major Green Peyton. After holding meetings for worship in their home, in 1748 the Clarks built the Sugar Loaf Meeting House, one of the earliest houses of worship in the County. Sugar Loaf Meeting was a Preparative Meeting of Camp Creek Monthly Meeting in Louisa County, from whence the Clarks had come. Sarah Clark, a daughter of Christopher and Penelope, married an Irishman, Charles Lynch, who had come to the Colony under an indenture to Christopher Clark, and Charles became one of the magistrates of Albemarle County when it was organized in the winter of 1745, and he was an early, if not the first, owner of Pen[n?]ⁿ Park.

Patriarch Christopher Clark had moved so many times during his life that it is perhaps not surprising that just a dozen years after settling on the edge of the Chestnut Mountains, now known as the Southwest Mountains, he picked up one last time, in 1754, and moved to Bedford County, where his family was instrumental in establishing South River Meeting.

John Woolman visited the Albemarle Quakers in 1745, and returned again in 1757 after most of the Clarks had left for Bedford County. Did John stay with Sarah Lynch Terrell, Christopher and Penelope's granddaughter, who continued to live in Albemarle for a few more years? It would seem likely that he did.

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We cannot say for certain that there were no Quakers remaining in Albemarle County after the departure of Sarah Terrell for Bedford County, where she rejoined the remaining members of her parental family, but there are no evidences of such presence after her departure until the early 1880s, with the Second Quaker Presence.

In the early fall of 1980 Vivian D. Herbert, the Administor of the Unclaimed Property Division of the Virginia State Treasury, turned over to me a book with the title of Views of Christian Doctrine Held by The Religious Society of Friends, Being Passages Taken from Barclay's Apology, with the Desire on the Part of the Editor to Present in Smaller Compass, but Unchanged, the Truths Set forth in His Work, and Some of His Arguments in Their Support. Philadelphia, 1882. The interesting thing is that penned on the title page of the book is the following: "Friends Circulating Library, Charlottesville, Va./Robert W. Lewis,/Librarian, /4.30.83"

The clear implication of this inscription is that there was something of a Quaker presence in Charlottesville in the first half of the 1880s. The beginning of a review of Charlottesville newspapers during the early years of the 1880s has turned up nothing so far, but the review

will be continued. The book itself is still in my care, and has not, I believe, been accessioned by the Meeting Library.

The deep and wide ranging research by Jay Worrall into the history of Quakerism in Virginia reveals that Robert Warner Lewis (1839-1885) was the son of Robert Walker (1808-1874) and Sarah Craven Lewis (d. 1874). His paternal grandparents were Thomas Walker Lewis (1763-1807) and Elizabeth Meriwether (1771-1851). Among his great grandparents were Nicholas Meriwether (1729-1808) and Mary Walker (1742-1824), a daughter of Dr. Thomas Walker of Castle Hill. In this connection, we see that Robert Warner Lewis's great, great grandfather, Nicholas Meriwether, Sr. was the business partner of Christopher Clark, the founder of the First Quaker Presence in Albemarle County. The immigrant forebear of Robert Warner Lewis, also a Robert Lewis, was a Quaker who settled in the Isle of Wight County in the late 1600s.

Robert Warner Lewis was raised at Castalia, originally a part of the Castle Hill plantation, and he married his cousin Elizabeth (Lizzie M.) Minor ca. 1863. Their eight children were Annie Laurie, Laurence, Hunter, Mary, Robert W., Jr. (b. 1876), Roy (b. 1878), Elizabeth Shelton (b. 1881), and Clovis (b. 1883). Father Robert joined Richmond Friends Meeting 14 February 1883 and Elizabeth and the four youngest children joined Richmond on 2 March 1884.

It would appear, then, that over half of the Lewis family were mainstays of a Worship Group in Charlottesville, probably from 1882 or 1883 until the death of Robert in 1885. On 18 March 1885 Elizabeth and her four younger children resigned from Richmond Friends Meeting and re-joined the Episcopal Church.

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The third known Quaker Presence in the Charlottesville-Albemarle area began in the winter and spring of 1938. Werner Lutz Janney, a graduate student in English at the University of Virginia, and a member of Goose Creek Meeting in Lincoln, Virginia, was earning a part of his livelihood by working as an assistant in the Periodical Room of the University Library which, in those years, was still in the Rotunda. I was a graduate student working on a Master's thesis based on British periodicals of the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th centuries, so had a speaking acquaintance with Werner but did not know him well enough to know that he was a Quaker. One evening, when we were the only people in the Periodical Room, Werner accidentally knocked over and messed up a stack of 3 x 5 catalogue cards that he was sorting. Instead of some other expletive his reaction to his fumble was, "Gosh, I'm glad I am a Quaker!"

Werner's identification of himself as a Quaker caught my immediate attention. I had been raised by an independently thinking Virginia plantation lady, my mother, Katharine Minor Fontaine, who was married to a steady conservative who was the offspring of a line of Virginia backwoods and mountain people. Kitty Fontaine, whose husband, Charles E. Moran, was a lieutenant in the local Monticello Guard during World War I, had reacted in a very negative way to the destruction and brutality of the war in Europe, and had early on conveyed that reaction to me.

As an undergraduate student in the University of Virginia I had done my major in international relations, and was working on a Master's in

Modern European History, and so was much conditioned by the 1914-18 tragedy in Europe. My objective was to study the structure of international relations, with particular attention to the possible application of the federal principle to the major nations of the world, or the building of an international federation based on the precepts of municipal law.

Werner Janney was the first live Quaker I'd ever met, and getting to know him introduced me to Quakerism and opened up a wholly new vista of human relations. As for so many, Quakerism appealed to me as the faith community to which I already unknowingly belonged.

Some time in the late winter or early spring of 1938 Werner and I began meeting in Quaker worship, and before the end of the school session there were one or two other students meeting with us in the Board Room of Madison Hall, then the University of Virginia YMCA. I also went with him to sessions of the Potomac Quarterly Meeting. The more I saw of Quakers the more I felt at home among them, and so in 1939 I applied to Friends Meeting of Washington, then usually called Florida Avenue Meeting, for membership and was recorded there.

The 1938-39 session at the University opened with our extracting from the Registrar's Office the names and addresses of those students who indicated that they were Quakers, or had a preference for Quakerism, and the worship group at times had perhaps as many as eight attenders, but more usually from four to five. The worship sessions were, I am told, held regularly on First Days though I was not present regularly because I was teaching in Culpeper County and did not get back to Charlottesville but about every other weekend or so.

Students at the University in the 1939-40 session were of course much influenced by the imminent passage of the 1940 Draft Act, and there was a not surprising increase in attendance. With the passage of the Draft Act, requiring the registration of all men of eighteen years and up, it was clear that some provision needed to be made to support the young men who were accorded conscientious objector status by their draft boards, as the draft act left it up to the three historic peace churches, the Brethren, Mennonites, and Quakers, to clothe, feed, and provide medical care for anyone given a 4-E classification and ordered to report for conscientious objector duty, work of "national importance" under civilian direction.

The 1940-41 academic session found a number of people wishing to identify themselves with the anti-war Quakers--some Quakers and some not--and so the Worship Group initiated a fund to contribute toward the maintenance of any of its members who might be drafted into the Civilian Public Service, the alternate service for COs. The effort took the name of the Mutual Aid Fund, and the movement spread to a couple of other communities in the State, of which I remember Lynchburg in particular.

Apart from Werner Janney, my memory fails to bring up any other names of members of the Worship Group than that of Margaret McCulloch, a member of Montclair, New Jersey, Friends Meeting who had taught a number of years at LeMoyne College in Tennessee, and who fell into the habit of taking her sabbatical leaves to come to the University of Virginia to study philosophy. Margaret was a pillar of sense and of strength in the Worship Group and much marked its pattern of growth and activity. She took another sabbatical at the University in 1958-59.

By the academic session of 1940-41 the Worship Group was quite active and still meeting in Madison Hall, and had taken on the name of the Young Friends of the University of Virginia. We composed an epistle "to Friends everywhere" and sent it to the Yearly Meetings in the United States and I think to London Yearly Meeting, expressing our solidarity with all who took exception to participating in war.

The session of 1941-42, of course, saw the involvement of the United States in the war when Pearl Harbor was attacked on 7 December 1941. Werner and I both were inducted into Civilian Public Service in the summer of 1942, and so became the beneficiaries of the Mutual Aid Fund which we had initiated and supported for a year or so. Margaret McCulloch had returned to her job at LeMoyne, and participation in the Worship Group had probably dwindled to zero by the session of 1942-43, thus bringing to an end what might be described as the Third Quaker Presence in the Charlottesville-Albemarle area. The non-draftable supporters of the Mutual Aid Fund continued their testimony until the end of the war, and the balance in the fund when we COs were released was distributed among us. I remember receiving a check for \$125 which enabled me to make a trip up the East Coast as far as Boston and back to visit my CPS Friends and friends.

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The Fourth Quaker Presence in this area, resulting in the Charlottesville Friends Meeting of today, goes back to 1952, after a gap of about nine years. Werner Janney and I were released from CPS in the Spring of 1946, and

Werner soon went to Washington, D.C., where he worked in Lowdermilk's rare book store. Later he was on the editorial staff of the American Psychiatric Association, after which he spent the next 25 years or so as an editor on the staff of the National Geographic Magazine. I went on an assignment with the American Friends Service Committee in Europe.

Returning to Charlottesville in August of 1948, I found that the Quaker Worship Group of a few years earlier was entirely gone, and that a very progressive congregation of Unitarians, initially under Henry Wilder Foote but by 1948 under Malcolm Sutherland, was firmly established and meeting every Sunday in the Chapel of the University of Virginia while its own building was projected, designed, and built. I tied in with the Unitarians, becoming a Sunday School teacher for a time. Fermine Waddill Colvin, with her brother Grattan and sister-in-law Amy, were also active with the Unitarians, and Fer and I were married by Malcolm Sutherland in the University Chapel in a Unitarian ceremony with Quaker overtones in May of 1949.

In the Summer of 1951 I left the library assistantship I had taken, upon return from Europe, with my old friend and next-door neighbor Jack Dalton, University of Virginia Reference Librarian, and launched into an effort in printing and subsistence farming. Unitarian Minister Mack Sutherland alerted me to the presence of a fellow printer, Keith Brahe Wiley of Earlsville. Keith had set up a small printing shop to produce and publish a revised edition of his own book on Black Angus cattle, a scholarly consequence of his farming activity, and we joined forces for some jobs like producing the programs of the Tuesday Evening Concert series which started about this time.

The association with Keith naturally put me into touch with his family, Mary Louise Hosmer whom he had married in 1940, and their two daughters Sarah and Victoria. At the time of her marriage Mary had been much concerned with the devastation taking place in Europe and later in the Pacific. Sarah Hosmer Wiley was born one month before the attack on Pearl Harbor embroiled the United States in the conflict already ongoing, and as the war progressed the circumstances of the times led the Wileys to host at their home, Wakefield, a group which studied the Bhagavad-Gita and meditated.

This direction of thought led Mary to the Quakers and their historic Peace Testimony, an interest sharpened by her wish for a Christian association for Sarah and Victoria Brahe (who was born in 1944). As the nineteen-fifties opened Mary was confronted with a need for hip surgery, and though her application for membership in Florida Avenue was at first turned down, Washington Friends referred her to Cambridge Meeting near Boston where she was going for the surgery in Massachusetts General Hospital. While hospitalised Mary was visited by Friends from Cambridge Meeting, including George Selleck, its Executive Secretary. After the Wileys and my family became acquainted in the first years of the fifties Fer and I and the four Wileys attended a meeting at Florida Avenue. This occasion was a factor leading to a beginning in 1952 of monthly gatherings for worship after the manner of Friends in Keith's and Mary's historic old Earlsyville home with just the two families, four Wileys and four Morans, the youngest Moran, Ginger, having been born just that year.

In the absence of any records touching on the early years of the Charlottesville Worship Group, we fall back on my unreliable memory, which has been corrected and augmented by Mary, Sarah, and Vicky. When we endeavor to reconstruct the sequence of events, these highlights come to mind: We met at Wakefield only a few times, perhaps three, maybe even as many as five times, during the fall of 1952 and the winter of 1953, never more often than monthly and likely with some omissions because of weather. Probably some time in the spring of 1953 did we go back to Madison Hall, the scene of the Third Quaker Presence, meeting in the old unconstructed East Wing. Recollection of the fact that daughter Ginger attended in a bassinet suggests that this locale was early in 1953, when Ginger was well less than a year old. In addition to the Wileys and ourselves, we were joined by the mother and sister of the University Adviser to Students (a reconstructed euphemism for the old title for the Dean of the University), Benjamin Franklin Dewees Runk. Dee Runk's mother was a Philadelphia Quaker, and his sister Betty Runk Kayan supported their mother by accompanying her to the meetings of the Worship Group.

It is thought that Bill and Elizabeth Grey of Staunton began attending at this time. Bill was a psychiatrist on the staff of Western State Hospital and Elizabeth a social worker. Their marriage, which included a difficult adoption, ended tragically with a divorce and Elizabeth's early death. By this time, the mid-1950s, we were meeting weekly for worship.

In 1955, upon the opening of the Graduate School of Business Administration, the Worship Group received a boost when Forrest Keller, on the new GSBA faculty, began attending. Forrest

was initially active in the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Unitarian Church, but when he discovered the Quaker group he switched over, and opened the way for us to use one of the Sunday School rooms in the Unitarian Church for Meeting for Worship. This site for the Meeting lasted only briefly, and we soon returned to Madison Hall. At times attendance at worship was quite sparse: I remember meeting in the West Wing of Madison Hall with Forrest Keller only, when we reminded each other that when two or three are gathered together in worship there God is also.

In the winter of 1959 the members of the Worship Group thought to try a little advancement and planned an open dinner meeting, to be held in one of the private dining parlors of the newly opened Newcomb Hall, with Ralph Rose as the visiting speaker on Quakerism. Notices in the Daily Progress and the Cavalier Daily resulted in the adherence of Florence Stein Buenfil and her two children Rosita and John. Florence had brought the children down from New York to get away from what she regarded as the stifling environment of the big city, and had left her husband Samuel behind to carry on as best he could with commitments there.

Then in mid-Spring of 1959 I had a telephone call which, when I answered, went something like this: "My name is Herbert Jehle, and I am a Quaker and am moving my family from Lincoln, Nebraska, to Charlottesville, and understand there is a Quaker Meeting there." My explanation that what we had was an unaffiliated worship group did not deter Herbert, and by September the whole family, Herbert, Dieta, Eberhard, and Dietrich, were established and taking an active part in the group, while Herbert taught at George Washington University in Washington

and came home on weekends. Gratefully, I relinquished the clerking chore to Dieta probably some time in 1963, and she continued with this responsibility until Fourth Month 1967.

Shortly before the arrival of the Jehle family, however, the Worship Group had its first sadness. Florence Buenfil probably had a serious heart condition before coming to Charlottesville, and in midsummer was scheduled for open heart surgery. She died on the operating table, with Forrest Keller and me feeling utterly helpless in his office in Monroe Hall as the surgeon explained on the phone that the operation simply did not go as expected; the heart chamber which normally takes over functioning during such surgery just did not do so. We did not even have husband Sam's address in New York, but through Mike Donovan, Rector of Christ Episcopal Church in Charlottesville where John Buenfil was an acolyte, he was somehow notified and immediately came to take the children who were staying temporarily with Fer and me and our children when we were living on Chelsea Drive.

The place of gathering for the Worship Group continued to be old unmodified Madison Hall until not long after the arrival of the Jehle family in Charlottesville in 1959. Then the University entered into a contract with the YMCA, a private corporation which owned the property, to rent Madison Hall and remodel it for University purposes. This resulted in the displacement of the Worship Group, and the University took responsibility for providing a meeting place. The early 1950s were not marked by much agitation or causes célebres on the Grounds of the University, and the Administration felt uninhibited in permitting the Worship Group to meet in the West basement Oval Room of

the Rotunda, then a part of the office space of the University Architect. It is interesting to note that while Thomas Jefferson was the author of the Virginia Statue for Religious Freedom and was labelled an atheist by some on this account, he was anything but antireligious, and approved the use of the Rotunda for religious services. The Worship Group's presence in the Rotunda probably marked the first such use by a religious body since the opening of the University Chapel in the early 1890s.

The YMCA Board Room, which until the remodeling of Madison Hall, had been in the center of the second floor, was moved to the West Wing basement, and the Worship Group moved into the new space. At least one room adjoining the Board Room provided for the First Day School which, by that time in the early 1960s, had a half-dozen or so children from three or four families.

It was in this period, the early 1960s, that the family of Lothar and Ingeborg Belck learned of the Worship Group and began commuting on First Days over from Waynesboro where they lived and where Lothar was an engineer with the DuPont Company. The three Belck daughters, Marianne, Helga and Sigrid, boosted the size of the First Day School, and very shortly the parents expressed the desire that the family become affiliated with the Religious Society of Friends. They explicitly wanted to be associated with Charlottesville Friends. For them to become members of the Society, it was necessary for the Worship Group to seek establishment as a Monthly Meeting, and so approach was made to Baltimore Yearly Meeting which, in due course in the early fall of 1962, sent Edmund Cronin, Joseph Wetherald, and Asa Moore Janney as a Clearness

Committee. The report of this Committee was favorable, with the consequence that all five Belcks were recorded as the first members by application, and those Friends with recorded membership elsewhere requested transfer to the new Charlottesville Monthly Meeting. Dieter Jehle and Eberhard and Dietrich were transferred from the Chicago 57th Street Meeting, and Herbert from Cambridge, Massachusetts, and our son Ned and I were transferred from Friends Meeting of Washington. At this juncture Fer and Ginger, who with Ned had joined me in recorded membership in Florida Avenue, were baptised by Ted Evans, Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

The recommendation of the Clearness Committee to establish Charlottesville Monthly Meeting was minuted by the Potomac Quarterly Meeting at a spring 1963 session and by Baltimore Yearly Meeting the summer of that year.

It should be interjected here that when the Charlottesville Worship Group was established as a Monthly Meeting, it did so as a constituent of Baltimore Yearly Meeting through the Potomac Quarterly Meeting rather than through the Virginia Quarterly Meeting because of its members' personal connection with the former rather than with the latter. Five years' association with the Potomac Quarter showed that it was thriving, but learning of the need for some new vitality in the Virginia Quarter, we decided in 1967 to switch our connection to the Yearly Meeting through Virginia Quarter rather than Potomac Quarter. Though we no longer regularly saw Friends from Adelphi, Washington, Bethesda, Goose Creek, Winchester Centre, or Hopewell, we found ourselves associated with the historic old Meetings of southeastern Virginia--Bethel, Corinth, and Somerton--whose collective origins

went back to the visit of George Fox to the area in 1672, and with Richmond and Roanoke-Blacksburg Meetings, the latter for which I had served as a clearness committee for the Yearly Meeting.

Though there are no extant minutes of the Charlottesville Monthly Meetings during the first few years, the business sessions were often held in our home at The Terraces on Shamrock Road. One such occasion stands out in memory when the Zeiss family, later among the founders of Harrisonburg Friends Meeting, were present.

The newly established Charlottesville Friends Meeting continued to gather in the relocated Board Room of the University of Virginia YMCA, Madison Hall, from 1962 until the next major member influx, that of the arrival of the Worrall family, all seven of them, from Petersburg, in 1966. The impact of this event, both in numbers and in general community participation, led the Meeting to the conclusion that while it had been a University attached entity up to that point, the need for larger quarters clearly dictated a move. Jay Worrall, as the Director of the Community Action Organization, was in a position to know of the weekend availability of a house on Sixth Street, SE, that his program was operating as Hope House, a neighborhood center. The move to Hope House was accomplished and the Monthly Meeting minutes, available for most of the time henceforth, reflect the gathering for Third Month, 1967, to be in the new location.

Because the details of Meeting development, personalities, and moves are noted in the Monthly Meeting minutes from 1967 on, I shall only quickly review the places which served as our homes between 1967 and the present. Jay

Worrall's Community Action Organization found it needed more space than was available in the former residence on Sixth Street, SE, and so leased a warehouse on the corner of Garrett and Second Streets, SE, from C. H. Williams Co, dry goods merchants. The Meeting at this point took over the rental of the Sixth Street house so that we could continue to use it, at \$25 a month rental. After some months, however, as I recall it, Tom Joseph, always one to be concerned for those in need, knew of a homeless family, and as a consequence the Meeting decided to vacate the the Sixth Street house and let the needy family have it, and we should move to the new Hope House in the Williams warehouse on Garrett Street. This was accomplished, and we met for a season in a circle of chairs in the midst of a lot of space and an overhead hot-air blaster, until a contract was worked out with the Janey Porter Barrett Day Nursery on Ridge Street. About this time also the Meeting used the Westhaven Community Center for a brief period. The Barrett Center provided satisfactory facilities for a decade, until the numbers of both adults and children had outgrown it, so after a dozen years and much searching around in the latter two, Jay Worrall spotted 1104 Forest Street and way opened for its acquisition and remodeling for our uses.

November 1990

Chic Moran

Born Feb. 17, 1913, to Katharine Fontaine and Charles Edward Moran Sr., in Charlottesville, he was the eldest of their four children. He was homeschooled until 6th grade and then, in 1925, attended the newly opened Venable School for 6th grade. He subsequently attended Charlottesville High School and Christchurch School. He received his Bachelor's degree in Political Science and his Master's degree in History from the University of Virginia.

In his younger days, Chic had quite a reputation as a seeker of adventure and a prankster.

He received a BA from UVA in 1936 in International Relations and a Masters degree in 1938 in Modern European History.

Chic was principal of Blue Ridge School in 1941-42, where he taught 6 subjects.

As a conscientious objector during World War II, Chic performed public service domestically and in Europe after the conclusion of the war. He worked on reconstruction projects in France and Poland under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee.

In 1948, Chic began a 30-year career at the University of Virginia as a reference librarian at Alderman library, Director of Printing, and served as the University's Oral History Officer after which he retired in 1979.

He married Fermine Waddill Colvin in 1949, and had two children, Charles Edmond Catchings Moran and Virginia Anne Kimber Moran. He also has three grandchildren, Eileen Colvin Cating-Moran, Francis Julian Moran Lantry and Edward Baird Moran Lantry, all of Charlottesville and Albemarle County.

Chic Moran was part of a Quaker Worship group in the 1930's, and helped start the Charlottesville Friends Meeting in the 1960's. He has served as clerk of the meeting on and off. He has been active with the City Teen Club, the Ivy Creek Foundation, and has served as charter member, past president, and secretary of the Albemarle County Historical Society"

He played seven instruments, was active in the square dancing and country dancing societies locally, and sang a beautiful baritone. On Friday, May 19, 2000, Chic Moran was proclaimed the first Tandem Friends School Elder.

Chick Moran died early Sunday morning, November 16, 2002.

COLOPHON

The author composed the text for this booklet on a Kaypro 2 computer left to him by the late Robert M. Hubbard, and he also pasted up the pages to camera-readiness.

The plate-making, press-work, and bindery were done by Copy Cat under the overall supervision of Barry Breeden. The text paper has a 25% rag content.

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