

## THE GREAT SCHISM AMONG AMERICAN FRIENDS:

### “HICKSITE” QUAKERS VS. “ORTHODOX” QUAKERS

*To be a Christian  
is to be Christ-  
like.*



As we know, a great mysterious split occurred among American Friends early in the 19th Century. The followers of Friend Elias Hicks got ahold of a clerk's table by one pair of legs, and the opponents of Friend Elias Hicks got ahold of that clerk's table by the other pair of legs, and the unity of that table was no more.

Henry David Thoreau, in his jottings, made various invidious remarks against Quakers, but also, we discover, he worshiped with Quakers. If you check out the circumstances of this, you discover that all of Henry's negative remarks are in regard to the Orthodox Friends, and you discover that Henry worshiped with the Hicksites. Evaluating Henry's reaction informs us of what this great mysterious split had been all about.

The Quakers had just freed themselves from involvement in human enslavement, a blot on our national history, by manumitting their black slaves, and these people who had used to worship with their masters had set up their own churches such as the AME church. Some of the newly purified whitebread Friends, such as Friend Moses Brown, then went off on a tangent of Quietism that amounted to racial apartheid: race was an ongoing problem in America, admittedly, but for them from then on it was going to be a "not our problem" problem. "Don't bother us, we're worshiping God here." These were the Orthodox. After the Civil War, a whole lot of white Americans imitated them and the result



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was Jim Crow segregation, another blot on our national history. Meanwhile, however, other of the newly purified Friends, such as Friend Lucretia Coffin Mott, had been going off on a different tangent, one of concern and of interracial involvement, that amounted to integrationism or to what was then known as "amalgamation." These were the Hicksites. For these Hicksites, the answer to the question "Am I my brother's keeper?" was simply "It is what it is." The two groups of Quakers, going in very opposite directions in regard to America's number one problem, greatly got on each others nerves, and it seems to have been this that tore the Religious Society of Friends into two pieces. Thoreau chose the Hicksites (this maybe was the right choice).

**"NARRATIVE HISTORY" AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,  
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



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1774

Friends were beginning to encourage one another to bring their African-American servants to meeting for worship, to see to their education, and to arrange special meetings for them.

The New York [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of Friends was beginning to ban its members from owning [slaves](#) but Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was noting “a great unwillingness in most of them to set their slaves free.” In his Jericho meeting for worship on Paumanok Long Island in this year, he spoke for the first time.

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) appointed a committee to recommend new laws that would “tend to the abolition of [slavery](#).” Friend Thomas Hazard III of the [South Kingstown](#) monthly meeting, and Friends Moses Farnum and Thomas Lapham of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting, were on this committee.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





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1781

Fall: Friend [Elias Hicks](#), after making his way home from a missionary journey to the Vermont border in which he had had to impress his way past army deserters who had turned bandit, came down with a debilitating fever. While in his delirium, he made himself believe that he had received a call from God to go testify in a location on *Paumanok* “Long Island” at which traveling [Quaker](#) ministers were currently being abused. Then, while he was convalescing from this fever, he had a vision in which he was making this visit which had been commanded, and in this vision he came to a town which he did not recognize and felt that he needed to give testimony. When he cried out, a black man took him into a different part of the town, and pointed out to him a place where he could hold his meeting and give his testimony.

“Mum Bet” or “Mumbet” was in her late 30s at this point, and she and her younger sister Lizzie were [slaves](#) in Stockbridge MA. Their owner attempted to injure Lizzie and, amazingly, Mumbet was able to persuade the town’s lawyer, a Mr. Sedgwick, to solicit the protection of the court. Not only were they awarded damages of 30 shillings, not only was the Stockbridge [slaveholder](#) forced to pay court costs of 5 pounds, 14 shillings, and 4 pence, but also, the court awarded “Mum Bet” or “Mumbet” her [manumission](#) papers and she was able to assume the free name of Elizabeth Freeman.

She would do domestic work for wages in the Sedgwick home for the remaining years of her life, and would gradually made herself into what the white family would come to acknowledge as “the main pillar of the household.” When she would die  she would be buried in the Sedgwick family plot, in Stockbridge Cemetery on Main Street, and her tombstone would be engraved to read:

SHE COULD NEITHER READ NOR WRITE,  
YET IN HER OWN SPHERE  
SHE HAD NO SUPERIOR OR EQUAL...  
GOOD MOTHER FARE WELL.<sup>1</sup>

1. Consult Arthur Zilversmit’s “Mumbet: Folklore and Fact,” *Berkshire History*, Spring 1971, Volume I, Number 1, Arthur C. Chase’s *THE ASHLEYS – A PIONEER BERKSHIRE FAMILY*, a booklet published for the Colonel Ashley House, and pages 47-49 of Lillian E. Preiss’s *SHEFFIELD, FRONTIER TOWN* for the story of Mumbet of Ashley Falls and Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



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...the citizens of Massachusetts had been concerned with their own state constitution, which was adopted in 1780 and contained many of the features later incorporated into the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Since Colonel Ashley was a prominent lawyer and an influential Southern Berkshire resident, it was only natural that his home would be the scene of many discussions about the document. In his household there was a young slave woman, affectionately called Mumbet, who, with her sister Lizzie, had been purchased as a child from Mrs. Ashley's family, the Hogaboams of Claverack NY. As she waited on the Ashley family, Mumbet overheard many of the conversations about freedom and liberty.

One day in a fit of anger Mrs. Ashley was about to strike the younger girl with a heated shovel. Stepping between the two, Mumbet received the blow intended for her sister; then, resentful of the injustice, she left the house. Persuading a fellow slave named Brom to join her, she hastened to the home of Theodore Sedgwick, Sheffield's leading lawyer and a friend of Colonel Ashley's. There they sought his assistance in obtaining their freedom. In answer to Sedgwick's question about how she ever got such an idea, she replied that in listening to the talk about the Bill of Rights, "she never heard but that all people were born free and equal, and she thought long about it, and resolved she would try whether she did not come among them."

Intrigued by the "palpable illogic of slavery at a time when Massachusetts was engaged in a fight for freedom from imperial regulation and control," Sedgwick accepted the case. The suit for freedom of the two slaves, Brom and Bett vs. Ashley, was heard in August 1781 before the County Court of Common Pleas in Great Barrington. Colonel Ashley pleaded that the Negroes were his legal servants for life, but the plaintiffs, represented by Sedgwick and Tapping Reeve, a distinguished lawyer of Litchfield, Connecticut, won their case. The jury found that the Negroes were freemen illegally detained in servitude by the Ashleys and assessed damages of thirty shillings against the defendants. Mumbet was awarded compensation for her services from the time she was 21 years of age. Ashley decided to withdraw the appeal, for he was still tainted by the opprobrium clinging to him as one of the "obnoxious seventeen" rescinders of 1789.

Welcomed cordially into the Sedgwick family, Mumbet, taking the surname of "Freeman," remained with the Sedgwicks for the rest of her life as a beloved friend and helper. Catherine Sedgwick, late a popular novelist, wrote of her: "One should have known this remarkable woman, the native majesty of her deportment.... Mumbet was the only person who could tranquilize my mother when her mind was disordered -the only one of her friends whom she liked to have about her- and why? She treated her with the same respect she did when she was sane. As far as possible, she obeyed her commands and humored her caprices; in short, her superior instincts hit upon the mode of treatment that science has since adopted."

When Mumbet died in 1829, she was buried in the Sedgwick plot in Stockbridge near the center of the family circle. Her epitaph, written by Charles Sedgwick, reads: "She was born a slave and remained a slave for nearly thirty years. She could neither read nor write, yet in her own sphere she had no superior nor equal. She neither wasted time nor property. She never violated a trust, nor failed to perform a duty. In every situation of domestic trial, she was the most efficient helper, and the tenderest friend. Good Mother, farewell." Mumbet's case was one of the most important





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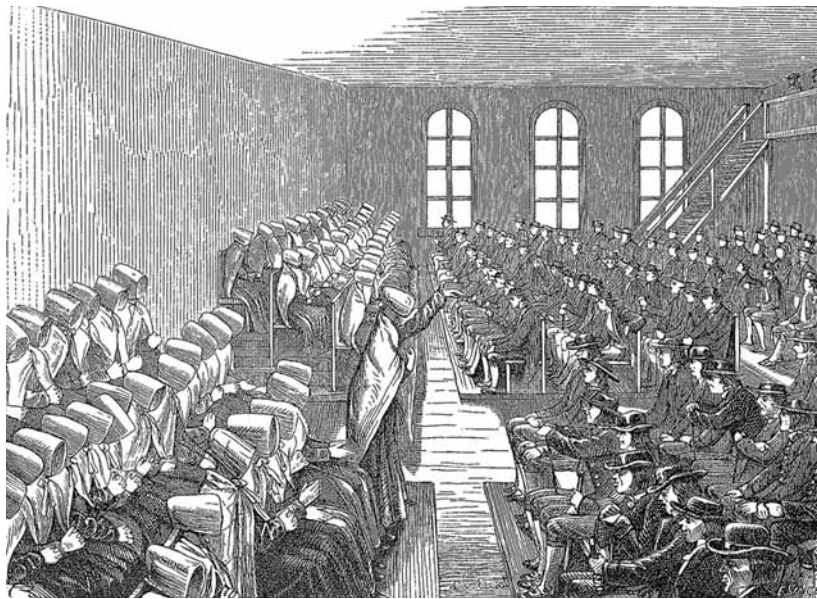
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1782

When the infant [Edward Hicks](#)'s mother Catherine suddenly died, his father Isaac suffered an emotional as well as a financial collapse, and he and Jane, a former slave of the family, were abandoned. Friend Elizabeth Lewis Twining, who had been "Kitty" Hicks's very close friend, was shocked to discover the fate of Kitty's child when she visited the house of Thomas Janney, where Jane was working, and adopted him. We don't know what happened to Jane — perhaps she continued to work for Thomas Janney.

Meanwhile the infant Edward Hick's older relative, Friend Elias, having recovered from his fever and his delirium, attempted to make the visit to the area of Paumanok Long Island at which traveling [Quaker](#) ministers were currently being abused — the one of which he had had his vision in the previous year. He found the very



town, a place 50 miles out to which he had never before traveled but which he recognized. There he went in the direction that the black man had pointed in the dream, and over the objections of his traveling companions he rode up to a house and was making arrangements to use a warehouse that they had just constructed — when in walked a black man. Also, when informed of the proposed Quaker meeting this black man "leaped for joy"

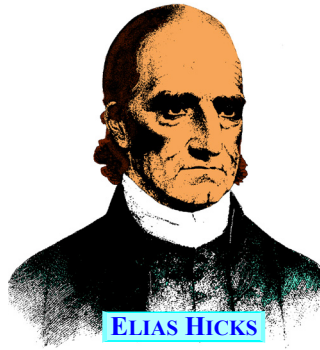


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and hurried off to spread the news.



**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?  
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.  
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**





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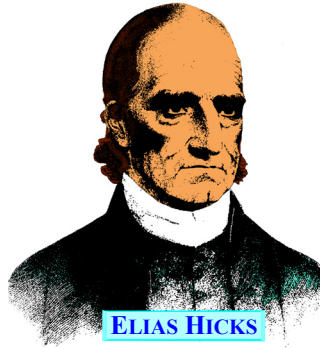
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1794

A [Quaker](#) organization was established on *Paumanok* “Long Island,”

*“We, the subscribers,  
do hereby associate and unite  
into a Society of Charity  
for the relief of poor  
among the black people,  
more especially for  
the education of their children.”*

Friend Elias subscribed an initial \$50.<sup>00</sup> and this was, so far as is known, the first organized effort of the Society of [Friends](#) in providing scholarships for black children. Needless to say, the Quaker education being funded was segregated no more by gender than by race.



ELIAS HICKS

In this year, there having come to be so many Quakers on [Nantucket Island](#), a 2d meetinghouse was established on Broad Street at the northern end of the island — where for about two years a number of families had already been meeting for worship in private homes. This new group would be known as the “Nantucket Northern District Monthly Meeting” and would be in existence until 1829 (when it would be laid down to the original Nantucket Monthly Meeting in the municipality of [Nantucket](#)).



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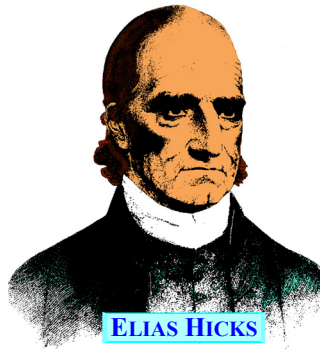
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1800



By the turn of the 19th century “virtually all” Quakers had manumitted all their slaves — except in some obscure cases in which slavemasters were still attempting to

*“stout it out”*



(to use one of Friend Elias’s favorite idioms), such cases continuing

*“under care”*

as local meetings labored continually with the individuals in question and the very special conditions that had created each such case.



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In the first years of the new century a very distinct costume was worn by the Quakers. Not only were all colours but grey and brown and white eschewed by strict members of the sect, but black was considered worldly. Everything they wore was of the best quality, most durably made and most neatly adjusted. Beaver hats with brims especially broad were worn by Quaker men for the greater part of the century. In the words of an English essayist:

*"A Quaker's hat is a more formidable thing than a Grandee's,"*

and

*"Broad Brim"*

is one of the most familiar soubriquets by which members of the Society of Friends are known. Short clothes were worn by more than usually conservative Quaker gentlemen throughout the thirties.... The coat is cut high, but is made without a collar and the plain buttoned waistcoat is also high and collarless.... Only one to the persuasion born could master the subtle differences in the garb of the two factions, the Orthodox and [Hicksite](#) Friends. To the worldly eye the most obvious distinction seems to be that the Orthodox Quakers wear unorthodox garments, while the followers of Hicks dress in ordinary apparel.... The Orthodox members were at one time so strict in matters of dress that even buttons were forbidden as unnecessary ornaments. It has been narrated that on one occasion a Friend was publicly rebuked at a Meeting in Philadelphia for a breach of this regulation, whereupon the spirit moved Nicholas Waln, a famous preacher of his day, to remark that

*"if religion consisted of a button, he did not care a button for religion."*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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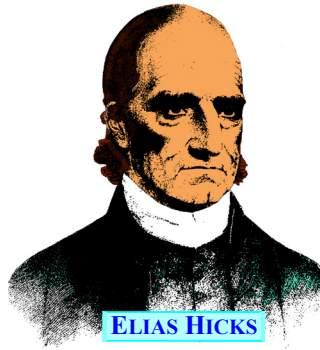
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1811



On *Paumanok* "Long Island," [Friend Elias Hicks](#) published "Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and the Use of the Produce of Their Labor."

SLAVERY



*"You are never tempted by a devil  
without you,  
but by a devil  
within you."*



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# OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, AND ON THE USE OF THE PRODUCE OF THEIR LABOUR.

ELIAS HICKS<sup>2</sup>

## PREFACE

Whereas, I some time past published certain observations on the Slavery of the Africans and their descendants, and on the consumption of the produce of their labour, comprehended principally in nineteen Queries and Answers, the design of which was to impress on the minds of my friends and fellow-citizens, and others concerned, as far as might be, by fair reasoning, a full sense of the abhorrent cruelty and unrighteousness of holding our fellow creatures in bondage, and wresting from them, by violence, the produce of their labour; which being well received by many, and affording reason to hope they were profitable to some, I was induced to believe a second edition might be useful.

I have, therefore, revised the original, and endeavoured to compress it as much as the subjects would admit; and have added some quotations froth at, anonymous pamphlet, published some time since in England, which arc so correspondent with the before mentioned observations, as to have a tendency, in my opinion, to elucidate and enforce them.

I shall only add, as a farther apology for the present edition, that the evil still continues: that there are still slave holders, and consumers of the produce of the labour of slaves, wrested from them by violence.

And as the slave holder can have no moral right whatever to the man he styles his slave, nor to the produce of his labour, he cannot possibly convey any to a second person by any transfer he can make: for, having nothing but a criminal possession himself, he can convey nothing to a second person but the same possession: and should this possession be continued through a line of transfer to the twentieth person, still it would be nothing more than the same criminal possession that was vested in the first possessor, and would convey no moral right whatever. And should any other person come forward, and, by the same mode of violence and power that was exercised by the first possessor, in reducing the man he styles his slave to the abject state of slavery, and by which he violently took from him the produce of his labour, forcibly take from such twentieth or more remote possessors the slave and the produce of his labour, the right of such person, in point of equity, to such slave and the produce of his labour would be just equal to the right of such remote possessor; as neither of them could have had any more than a criminal possession: and whether that possession is obtained by violence or by transfer, (if the person who receives it by transfer is informed of the criminal circumstance,) it can make no possible difference, except that one is protected by the indulgence of a partial law of the country we live in, and the other is not. By which undeniable proposition, it appears, that when any man becomes possessed of a slave, or the produce of his labour, wrested from him without his consent, whether it be by transfer or otherwise, any other person who has power so to do, may, by violence, take from such possessor, such slave

2. LETTERS OF ELIAS HICKS, INCLUDING ALSO OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, AND ON THE USE OF THE PRODUCE OF THEIR LABOUR. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Chapman, 1861. (Essay first published 1811; from the 2nd Edition, 1814.)





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and the produce of his labour: and when he has in that way obtained possession thereof, he has as good a right to such slave and to use the produce of his labour as the former; and the former can have no just cause to complain of such usage, as he is only paid in his own coin. For, although the first possessor committed the act of violence, when he took from the man he styles his slave his liberty, and compelled him to work, and by the same cruel force, took from him the produce of his labour; yet, every purchaser of such slave and the produce of his labour, if he is apprized of the criminal circumstance attending it, is as guilty as the first perpetrator: and should such slave and the produce of his labour pass through the hands of twenty persons, all knowing at the time of transfer the criminal circumstances attending, each would be guilty of the entire crime of the first perpetrator. This being assented to, and I conceive it is incontrovertible, I have a hope that this edition may produce a good effect, and tend to raise up many more faithful advocates in the cause of this deeply oppressed people, who may be willing to suffer every necessary privation, rather than be guilty of the least thing that may, in any degree, possibly strengthen the hands of their oppressors. I therefore recommend this little treatise to the candid and impartial consideration of the reader, and subscribe myself his sincere friend,  
ELIAS HICKS.

**OBSERVATIONS, &C.**

The slavery of the Africans and their descendants, has become so established by long continuance, and the force of an unrighteous custom, that many persons consider the practice not only admissible, but consistent with justice and social order.

But I am led to doubt the possibility of any rational, moral person being thus circumstanced, unless he is first greatly blinded by selfishness and partiality; as I consider it a matter of fact, obviously clear to every rational, contemplative mind, that neither custom nor education, nor any law of men or nations, can alter the nature of justice and equity; which will and must, essentially and eternally, rest upon their own proper base, as laid down by the great Christian Lawgiver, Viz. "Therefore, all things, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Hence, I conceive, it is a most necessary and important christian duty, for all those who are either directly or indirectly concerned in the slavery of their fellow creatures, seriously and impartially to consider the manner and way in which the slavery of the Africans was first introduced; and by what means it has been so long continued; not doubting, but that every upright, impartial mind, by a full examination into the subject, will readily discover, that it was first introduced by fraud and force, and continued by an unjust and tyrannical power: and will, therefore, be induced to restore to them their just and native rights, as free men, which no law nor power of men or nations ought to deprive them of without their consent.

It is generally acknowledged, by the people of every enlightened country, and particularly by those who believe in revelation, as testified of in the Scriptures of Truth, that man is a moral agent, (that is, free to act, with the restriction of accountability to his Creator,) agreeably to the declaration of the prophet Ezekiel; through whom, Jehovah, in his benignity and justice, claims the right of sovereignty over the children of men: "All souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the Father bear the iniquity of the son!" This Scripture testimony, perfectly consonant with reason and justice, not only proves, that every man is to bear his own iniquity, but that he also stands fully indemnified thereby, from all the iniquity of his predecessors; and likewise fully establishes man's free agency: and, of course, proves, that every moral agent born into the world, (whatever the conduct and situation of his parents may have been) is born FREE: upon which undeniable truth, I shall found the following Queries and Answers:

Query 1. Were not the people of Africa, at the time when the Europeans first visited their coasts, a free people, possessed of the same natural and unalienable rights, as the people of any other nation?

Answer. They certainly were: for, when the Europeans, whether by fraud or force, or by purchase from those who had stolen or taken them prisoners in war, became possessed of a number of the people of Africa, and by violence reduced them to the wretched and degraded state of Slaves; at the same time it would have been as



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right and as consistent with equity and moral justice, for the Africans to have done the same by them, had it been in their power: by which undeniable proposition, it is evident, that the slavery of the Africans is the product of mere power, without any possible plea of right: and that the same power of force, fraud, and tyrannical cruelty, that was exercised in. reducing the people of Africa at first, to the miserable and wretched state of slaves; has, in like manner, in a continual state of war been exercised on all the descendants of those unhappy people that are hold as slaves, from generation to generation, down to the present day: it being all undeniable truth, that no rational creature can be any longer a slave, than while the force of war is operating upon him; and as before proved from Scripture, and moral justice, that every child of an African, born in America, or elsewhere: is born free: therefore, he suffers the same cruel force of fraud and power while continued under the galling yoke of slavery, as was exercised on his predecessors.

“The lust of power, and the pride of conquest, have doubtless produced instances far too numerous of man enslaved by man. But we, in an enlightened age, have greatly surpassed, in brutality and injustice, the most ignorant and barbarous ages; and while we are pretending to the finest feelings of humanity, are exercising unprecedented cruelty. We have planted slavery in the rank soil of sordid avarice: and the product has been misery in the extreme. We have ascertained, by a course of experiments in cruelty, the least portion of nourishment requisite to enable man to linger a few years in misery; the greatest quantity of labour, which, in such a situation, the extreme of punishment can extort; and the utmost degree of pain, labour and hunger united, that the human frame can endure. In vain have such scenes been developed. The wealth derived from tho horrid traffic, has created an influence that secures its continuance; unless the people at large shall refuse to receive the produce of robbery and murder.”

Q. 2. Under what name or descriptive mode of property are the slaves to be considered, in relation to tile man who holds them as such?

A. The slaves being taken by violence, either directly or indirectly, contrary to their own wills, and in direct opposition to all the power of self-defence, which they are capable of exerting, whether they are taken prisoners of war or stolen, or decoyed on shipboard by the slave merchant, and then forcibly confined and carried off; it must be acknowledged, they are taken in a state of war, and considered by the captor as a prize: therefore, the only true title and description of property they can possibly bear, is prize goods.

Q. 3. Is not the produce of the slave's labour likewise prize goods?

A. It certainly is; for the man, who, by mere power and violence, without any just plea of right, not only holds them slaves, but takes from them in the same cruel and arbitrary manner, the proceeds of their labour, without their consent, thereby places himself in a state of continual and actual war with his slaves. And, moreover, as the stealing or taking a man by violence, and depriving him of his liberty, and reducing him to file wretched and helpless state of a slave, is the highest grade of felony, and is done purposely to profit by the slave's labour; therefore, the produce of the slave's labour is the highest grade of prize goods, next to his person.

Q. 4. Does the highway robber, that meets his fellow-citizen on the highway, and robs him of all the property he has in his present possession, and then leaves him at liberty, without injuring his person, commit as high an act of felony, as he that steals or buys, or takes a man by violence, and reduces him to the wretched and degraded state of a slave for life?

A. No! in no wise. Which answer is founded on the self evident proposition, that it is more criminal to rob a man of his liberty and property, than only to rob him of his property.

Q. 5. Does it lessen the criminality and wickedness of reducing our fellow creatures to the abject state of slavery, and continuing them therein, because the practice is tolerated by the laws of the country we live in?

A. No! by no means. Because, every rational creature knows, or ought to know, that no laws of men or nations can alter the nature of immutable justice. The criminality remains as great in all cases of slavery, when inflicted without any criminality of the individual made a slave, under the sanction of law, as when it is not; and in some cases, greater: as in the instance of those governments, where they are not only guilty of the cruelty and oppression of reducing, by mere power, without any possible plea of right, their fellow creatures who have equally a right with themselves to liberty, and the purchase of redemption by a Saviour's blood, to the abject



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and wretched state of slaves, but are adding sin to sin, by making and continuing cruel laws to hold them still longer under the galling yoke.

Q. 6. Would it be right and consistent with justice and equity, for the legislatures of the several states, and others concerned, to make laws entirely to abolish slavery in their respective states?

A. It would, doubtless, be entirely right, and perfectly consistent with equity and justice to make such laws; and nothing, I apprehend, can exculpate them from the charge of bloodguiltiness short of so doing: as, no doubt, many of the poor victims of slavery suffer daily to the shedding of their blood, under the hands of some of the cruel men who pretend to be their masters, because they do not at all times immediately submit to their cruel and arbitrary wills.

Q. 7. Would it not give just occasion for those who still have slaves in their possession, and especially to such as have lately purchased them, at a dear rate, to complain of wrong in thus taking from them, without their consent, what they esteem as their real property?

A. The making and enforcing, such laws cannot possibly give just occasion for any such complaint; as it is impossible for any man to gain any just property in a rational being, as a slave, without his consent; for, neither the slave dealer nor the planter have any moral right to the person of him they style their slave, to his labour, or to the produce of it; so, they can convey no right in such person, nor in the produce of his labour to another; and whatever number of hands they may pass through, (if the criminal circumstances appertaining thereto be known to them at the time of the transfer,) they can only have a criminal possession; and the money paid either for the slave or for the produce of his labour, is paid to obtain that criminal possession, and can confer no moral right whatever; and if the death of the person called a slave, be occasioned by the criminal possession, the criminal possessor is guilty of murder; and we who have knowingly done any act which might occasion his being in that situation, are accessaries to the murder, before the fact; as by receiving the produce of his labour, we are accessaries to the robbery after the fact. Therefore, I conceive, it must appear clear and agreeable to truth and justice, that a man who should dare to be so hardy as to buy a fellow creature, whose liberty is withheld from him by violence and injustice, ought not only to be obliged to set him free, and to forfeit the purchase money, but likewise to make full satisfaction to the person he had injured, by such purchase.

Q. 8. As the Legislature of the State of New York has passed a law, declaring that every child, born in this state of a woman held as a slave, shall be free, the males at twenty eight years of age, and the females at twenty-five; can such a law be considered as doing full justice to that injured people?

A. Although such might have been the unjust bias, that too generally prevailed on the minds of the inhabitants of this State, at the time of making the law alluded to in the query, that it was the best step the Legislature could then take; nevertheless, in my opinion, it fell very far short of doing them that full justice to which they are entitled; for, as all children born of white women in this state, are free at the age of twenty-one: and eighteen years, according to their sex, and as the Africans and their descendants are not here in their own wills, nor agreeable to their own choice, but wholly in consequence of the will and pleasure of the white citizens of this State; therefore, it is impossible, in point of justice, that any disadvantage or penalty should attach to them, as a consequence of their being here: but as free born men and women, they have a right to demand their freedom at the same age as other citizens; and to deny them of it, is depriving them of their just right.

Q. 9. What measures can be adopted by the Legislature and citizens of New York, in order to exculpate themselves from the guilt of that atrocious crime of holding the Africans and their descendants so long in slavery?

A. The least that can be done, in order to effect the salutary end contemplated by the query, would be to declare freedom to every slave in the state, and to make provision by law for the education of all minors that are in a state of slavery; compelling their masters, or those who have the charge of them, to instruct them so as to keep their own accounts, and that they be set at liberty, the males at twenty-one and females at eighteen years of age: and further, that some lawful and reasonable step be taken, to compensate such slaves as have been held in bondage beyond that age, for such surplus service.

Q. 10. By what class of the people is the slavery of the Africans and their descendants supported and



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encouraged?

A. Principally by the purchasers and consumers of the produce of the slaves' labour; as the profits arising from the produce of their labour, is the only stimulus or inducement for making slaves.

"The laws of our country may indeed prohibit us the sweets of the sugar cane, and other articles of the West Indies and southern states, that are the product of the slave's labour, "unless we will receive it through the medium of slavery; they may hold it to our lips, steeped in the blood of our fellow creatures, but they cannot compel us to accept the loathsome potion. With us it rests, either to receive it and be partners in the crime, or to exonerate ourselves from guilt, by spurning from us the temptation. For let us not think, that the crime rests alone with those who conduct the traffic, or the Legislature by which it is protected. If we purchase the commodity, we participate in the crime. The slave dealer, the slave holder, and the slave driver, are virtually the agents of the consumer, and may be considered as employed and hired by him, to procure the commodity. For, by holding out the temptation, he is the original cause, the first mover in the horrid process; and every distinction is done away by the moral maxim, That whatever we do by another, we do ourselves.

"Nor are we by any means warranted to consider our individual share in producing these evils in a trivial point of view: the consumption of sugar" and other articles of slavery "in this country is so immense, that the quantity commonly used by individuals will have an important effect."

Q. 11. What effect would it have on the slave holders and their slaves, should the people of the United States of America and the inhabitants of Great Britain, refuse to purchase or make use of any goods that are the produce of Slavery?

A. It would doubtless have a particular effect on the slave holders, by circumscribing their avarice, and preventing their heaping up riches, and living in a state of luxury and excess on the gain of oppression: and it might have the salutary effect of convincing them of the unrighteousness and cruelty of holding their fellow creatures in bondage; and it would have a blessed and excellent effect on the poor afflicted slaves; as it would immediately meliorate their wretched condition and abate their cruel bondage; for I have been informed, and reason naturally dictates to every one who has made right observations on men and things, that the higher the price of such produce is, the harder they are driven at their work.

And should the people of the United States, and the inhabitants of Great Britain, withdraw from a commerce in, and the use of the produce of slavery, it would greatly lessen the price of those articles, and be a very great and immediate relief to the poor, injured and oppressed slaves, whose blood is continually crying from the ground for justice, as their lives are greatly shortened, and many of them do not live out half their days by reason of their cruel bondage.

"If we as individuals concerned in purchasing and consuming the produce of slavery, should imagine that our share in the transaction is so minute, that it cannot perceptibly increase the injury; let us recollect, that, though numbers partaking of a crime may diminish the shame, they cannot diminish its turpitude; can we suppose, that any injury of an enormous magnitude can take place, and the criminality be destroyed, merely by the criminals becoming so numerous as to render their particular shares indistinguishable? Were a more grievous, still more deeply afflicting. All nature is forced to yield, when the husband is separated from a beloved wife, and a wife from a beloved husband, who had been for many years the joy of her life, and whom she had expected would have been the strength and comfort of her declining years; but now, alas! they are torn asunder, like bone from bone: a heart-rending separation takes place, without a small indulgence of taking a sympathetic farewell of each other, or the possibility of indulging the most distant hope of seeing each other again.

We behold the fond children, with ghastly look and frightened eyes, cling to their beloved parents, not to be separated from them, but by the lash of their cruel drivers, who make the blood to start at every stroke on their mangled bodies. We next, with heavy hearts and minds overwhelmed with pity, follow them to their destined labour in the plantation field, and by the morning dawn, we hear them summoned to their daily task, by the clashing of cowskin scourges in the hands of their hard-hearted overseers. And should any of them, in consequence of fatigue and loss of strength, fall a little behind their fellow sufferers: they are immediately



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reminded of it by the lash of their cruel drivers. But here I must stop, as it is too much for nature to pursue farther the dreadfully degrading and cruel theme! And is it not enough to awaken and arouse to sympathy the hardest heart, and lead it to exclaim aloud with abhorrence against such brutal and unrighteous doings? Is it possible that there should be in the United States a man, or would he be worthy to bear the dignified name of man, were he so void of the feelings of humanity, as to purchase and make use of the labour of his fellow citizens, his kindred and his friends, produced in the horrid manner above stated? Would not every sympathetic heart, at the sight of a piece of sugar, or other article, that he believed to be the fruit of their labour, produced with agonizing hearts and trembling limbs, be filled with anguish and his eyes gush with tears? Would it not awaken in the feeling, unbiassed mind, a sense of all the cruel sufferings above related? Would it not, instead of pleasing his palate, be deeply wounding to the heart? and, if rightly considered, cause cries to arise from the bottom of his soul, in moving accents of supplication to the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, that he would be graciously pleased to put a stop to such complicated misery and great distress of his creature man?

But some, who have not given the subject a full and impartial discussion, may object and say, the slaves in the West Indies and southern states, are not our fellow citizens and friends. But it cannot be objected by the impartial and the just, who know, that although in a limited sense, as applied to a particular town or city, they may not be so, yet upon the general and universal scale of nature, they are our brethren and fellow creatures; all privileged by nature and nature's God, with liberty and free-agency, and with the blessings attendant thereon; of which they are not to be deprived, but by their own consent; and, therefore, have a right to demand of us the same justice and equity, as our fellow citizens and friends, in a more limited sense, as above stated, could have done; and to whom we are accountable, for every act of injustice and omission of doing to them as we would they should do unto us, and for which we shall all have to answer ere long, at the dread tribunal bar, that we can neither awe nor bribe, but shall receive a just retribution for all our works, whether good or evil. The foregoing queries and answers, with the annexed observations, are not intended to criminate such of my friends and fellow citizens whose residence is in the slave-holding states, and necessitated to partake more or less of the produce of slavery; as it is a known principle, that necessity hath no law--but only to persuade those who are not exposed to such necessity, to do all in their power to discourage and put an end to that cruel and abominable sin, of holding our fellow creatures in slavery; as no one living out of the slave-holding States, can plead any necessity for trading in the produce of the labour of slaves, to enrich and aggrandize themselves, on the groans and misery of their fellow creatures; neither can any plead the necessity, who are living in the free States, to indulge themselves in the luxuries raised by the labour of slaves, in the West Indies and other places; but every one remember, to do unto others as they would that others should do to them, when placed under the like circumstances.



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1817



September 10, Wednesday: [Paul Cuffe](#)'s brother John Cuffe wrote to his sister Freeloove Cuffe in New-York:

Here is some accounts of the dueings of our dear and much beloved brother Captain Paul Cuffe the 27th of the 8th month of 1817. Between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning then he took a fond leave of his family wife and children grandchildren Brothers and sisters and others, shaking hands with all in fellowship and friendship bid all farewell. It was as broken a time as was not even known amongst us and he seamed to long to go with angels and with the souls of just men and women in the heavens above to receive the reward of the Righteous [A friend came and evidently asked him about Heaven. Paul replied saying] that my works are gone to judgement afore hand that I due know when he said [the friend] not many days hence you shall see the glory of god. 6 oclock in the evening he said feed my lambs. He said much more but being week and spoke so low I could not understand so as to take the tru meaning and he also asked us all not to hang on unto him but to give up and let him go. I [John Cuffe] had layen very close with many prayers to go and his christ that he might be brought to health again [They all pray together with Paul] the will of the lord be done. He still kept failing from day to day some days took no nourishment at al in nor medesian Escept cold water until first morning at 2 oclock in the morning the 7 day of this 9th month 1817 then Brother Cuffe departed this life. This is news that will not soon be forgotten with Soarrow not from the teeth outward but from the heart. I may say that I wept much. He died in the 59th year of his age after three months of sickness. He bore his illness with patience and through the whole and was awake to the last moments. [...] and as he close drew near and said to the nuse that he was But little more than a dade man Let me go Quietly away ofering his hand to his atendance that would have to tend him. So he fell asleep in death and is gone home to glory. He was a loving husband and a tender father and a cind neighbor and a faithful friend. The time appointed and all met together under a great on the second say of the week the second hour in the afternoon and after waiting in great silence testimonies then being born by friends he was borne to the grave and decently buried. A large crowd of people of all societyes. I do not remember as I have been before at so large a gathering of people at anny funeral before. He was buried at friends burying ground at the fourth meeting house where we meet together. At his death he was 57 and months and 21 days old.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 10th of 9 M 1817 / Set an hour this evening at Thos Robinsons the old man is feeble & takes but little part in*





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*conversation. - the visit however was very interesting being favor'd with precious feelings in conversations with Abigail, & Mary Morton, on various subjects which all of us seemed alive to. I went over to wait on Sister Ruth home, who had set the evening with them. - The little time I passed with them was so pleasant that I regreted that I did not go over early. -*

The historian Rosalind Cobb Wiggins struggled with the fact that, once the body of his friend [Paul Cuffe](#) had been interred (near, but not in, the local burial ground for white Quakers), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) seemed to fall away from his previous concern for the welfare of American people of color, and the fact that this personal failure on the part of Friend Stephen has been typical of a falling away by white American [Quakers](#) in general. She asked Quakers now, to act to forever cleanse “this stain of evasion” from their otherwise splendid human rights record:



Following Cuffe's death Stephen seems to only have occasionally spoken out in Meeting about slavery or the slave trade. Only two or three times did he cordially greet black men and women who had known of Paul and his vision. His concerns gradually changed as his responsibilities within his Meeting and the Yearly Meeting expanded.... Ten years before his own death it was suggested that he and Hannah become Assistant Caretakers, or house parents, at the Yearly Meeting Boarding School (now known as [Moses Brown School](#)) in [Providence](#). They accepted and lived in an apartment in the school building for the next six years before returning to Newport to take charge of family property. The years in Providence involved him even more in Yearly Meeting affairs, and of course with the students at the school, which he enjoyed. Yet, it is surprising that his focus uncoupled so abruptly from the plight of men and women such as Paul Cuffe and turned to the spiritual health of the Society of Friends. An excerpt from the 1830s illustrates his growing conservatism: "3rd day 8th of 6th M, 1830: Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution [the school] - they are Hixites [[Hicksites](#)] & Hannah as a Preacher has come here to impose [her views] on Friends. She was formerly ... an old acquaintance of ours.... We treated her civilly but cool & felt grieved that one who had once been esteemed & no doubt in good measure religious should be attached to wrong principles." Three months later he wrote: "In the Street [in Providence] I met Wm Rotch & noded to him, & he to me - but he did not look nor feel to me as Wm Rotch once looked & felt - I deplore his departure from Society but nothing can be done - he must remain as he is." William Rotch Jr. had been a faithful Nantucket Quaker and staunch supporter of Paul Cuffe's.... What made him stand back from those very few Friends who were publicly protesting Slavery, such as Elias Hicks and later the Grimké sisters [Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#)]? There were many Quakers like him who were distraught by slavery and its trade yet they weren't heard in the public arena. ...after Cuffe's death Stephen scarcely mentioned slavery or the Trade, although it was covertly growing. He did note that he approved a letter protesting slavery to Congress by the



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Providence Abolition Society. Yet in 1838 he also approved a motion by the Yearly Meeting barring abolition societies' use of Friends Meeting houses for their gatherings.... Stephen's was a confined life and once Paul's strong, supportive presence was gone there was little to keep the fires of outrage alive. His life was well insulated even from such occurrences as the Snowtown and Hardscrabble race riots in Providence that erupted in 1826 and 1830 not far from the School. In January 1838 he went to Salem for a Quarterly Meeting and noted with dismay the anti-slavery discussions: "Their heated zeal injuring a good and right cause ... reminded me of the Spirit which I saw among the Hixites [followers of Friend Elias Hicks] in New York in 1827." His social and business contacts were confined to the area within "the walls of Zion," the all-white Quaker Close.... To answer the first question: Why didn't the unusual friendship and Paul's project have more lasting effect among Friends? It seems that Cuffe's untimely death cut off Stephen's emotional support and the visible presence that he needed in order to speak out. The ongoing rigid class differentiation that the two had ignored together closed in on Stephen following Paul's death. He became increasingly preoccupied with Quaker affairs. Concerns for African Americans are scarcely mentioned after Cuffe's death. The reason Cuffe's works have been so little known until now, even among Friends, is that his papers were not kept in the New England Yearly Meeting Archives. However, there were a number of biographers who had found them in the archives of the New Bedford Free Public Library and the Dartmouth Whaling Museum Library. The authors were not Quakers. Those books were published beginning in the 1970s but even these were not included in the Library of the New England Yearly Meeting Archives. His papers were not fully transcribed and published until 1996; these reveal to Friends who are so familiar with Quaker concepts how Paul led his life in accordance with the precepts of non-violence and seeking "that of God" in all those with whom he came in contact, even in the world of successful merchantmen. Now that the papers are available it is hoped Paul will become known as "a pattern and an example." In this country Friends Meetings remain almost entirely white perhaps because of the lack of historical understanding of the works of such men as Cuffe and because of class divisions that have been bonded to race as though with superglue. Is the only solution in individual self revelation, in individual efforts to reach into all communities, black and white? There is a crying need to remove this stain of evasion from Quakers' splendid human rights record.



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**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND  
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**



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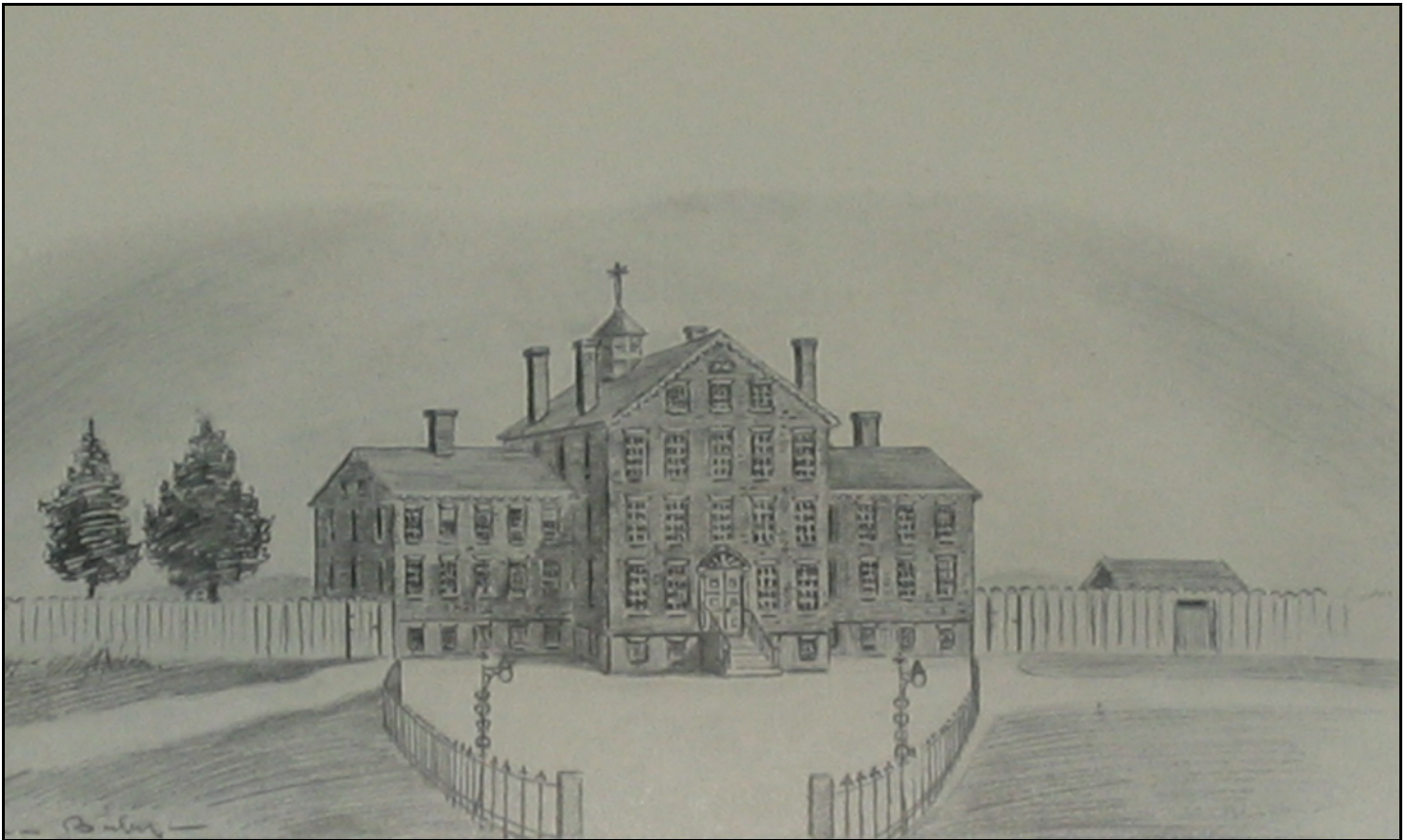
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1819



January 1, Friday: With construction complete on the central part of their building (the part between the wings, now referred to as “Middle House”) New England [Yearly Meeting](#)’s boarding school for [Quaker](#) youth went into operation in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on the farmland that had been donated in 1814 by [Friend Moses Brown](#). (Of course, there would be a Boys School and a Girls School, held distinct not only in reports and catalogues but also by means of gender segregation of classrooms, and gender segregation of walks, and gender segregation of groves and playgrounds and dining areas.)



This sketch was added to the face of a clock made by John Bailey, in the building’s sitting-room

Present at that point were the [Quaker](#) who had been hired to be a teacher in the boys’ department, Friend Benjamin Rodman, two assistant teachers for the girls’ department, Friends Mary Mitchell and Dorcas Gardner, Friend Maria Augusta Fuller from Lynn, Massachusetts, age 12, Friend Comfort Allen, age 22, a Quaker young woman from Richmond, New Hampshire, and three Quaker girls from Nantucket, Friends Elizabeth Brayton, age 15, Anna Fitch, age 14, and Hepsabeth Mitchell, age 14. (It has been noted, as an attempt at humor, that at this point, with two superintendents, one teacher, two assistant teachers, and five girl scholars on site, the teacher/student ratio had become exactly the ideal ratio of one on one!)



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When the [Hicksite](#)/Orthodox split would occur in the [Religious Society of Friends](#), this school would remain with the Orthodox or Quietist or segregationist branch and would prosper, enrolling on an average a student body of more than 150 white students during the decade of the 1830s.



During this year, also, Friend Moses would fund the purchase of a lot in Providence on which the colored people might erect a meetinghouse and school:



The colored people called a meeting in 1819 to take measures, to build a meetinghouse, with a basement for a school room. After appointing their Committee to carry out their wishes, they sent a special committee to Mr. [Moses Brown](#), to inform him of their intentions and see what he would do toward aiding them, knowing he belonged to the Society of Friends and was a very benevolent man, besides some of the members of the committee had been in his service. Mr. Brown, after hearing their statements, highly commended their movement, and said, "I always had it in my heart to help the colored people, whenever I saw they were ready to receive. Now go and select you out a lot, suitable for your purpose, and I will pay for it."

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) of [Newport](#) wrote in his journal about the opening of this school (at which eventually he would teach):

*6th day 1st of 1st M 1819 / My mind under much depression, particularly from yesterdays occurrences at Portsmouth. — It is a comfortable reflection that the Truth remains to be unchangeable & that those who abide in it have nothing to fear. — I have thought much of the Yearly Meeting School which is opened this day at Providence, the day has been very clear & remarkably mild for the season, may it prove an omen of the future usefulness of the institution to coming generations.<sup>3</sup>*

3. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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 [Friend Elias Hicks](#) was visited on his farm near Jericho on *Paumanok* “Long Island” by his cousin [Edward Hicks](#) of Newtown, Pennsylvania. They had things in common. According to the art historian Eleanore Price Mather, cousin Elias appeared in all of Edward Hicks’s more than 60 “Peaceable Kingdom” paintings, even



those described as “Kingdoms with Quakers Bearing Banners.” According to Frederick Tolles, two of this series include a verbal allusion to [Hicksite](#) doctrine, and it is possible to identify the various Quaker personages



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the painter Hicks positions in these paintings.



We note in passing that the image of two races sitting down together, and the image of the white human child cohabiting with other of God's creatures, may each be taken as an early trope for one and the same thing: racial integration in America, as opposed to Jim Crow segregation.

**THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT**





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1822



The recorded [Quaker](#) minister Mary Newhall, and friends Elizabeth Redman and Mary Rotch, were in the process of being [disowned](#) by the [New Bedford](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), for espousal of “advanced doctrines.”

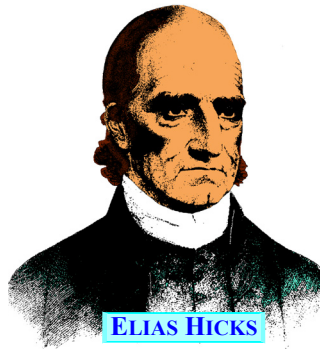
Read about this “New Light” controversy:

THE “NEW LIGHTS”

Read about the impact this controversy would have on [Waldo Emerson](#) (according to his own evaluation):

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

About 35 of these “New Lights” were being [disowned](#) in Lynn,<sup>4</sup> and almost that many in nearby Salem. Micah Ruggles and Lydia Dean were involved in this set of beliefs.



*“Our hearts are filled  
with many guests  
— many beloveds.”*

4. Lynn (maybe it was yet called Lynnfield) was less than an hour’s travel from Boston. From Burrill’s Hill there you can see the golden dome of the Massachusetts State House.






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Quaker Meeting for Worship

Note that [Thoreau](#) and [Emerson](#) scholars, to date, have taken a simplistic attitude toward this history, presuming for one thing that in the Friendly struggle between Hicksites and Evangelicals, it was always the [Hicksites](#) who were [disowned](#) and the Evangelicals who stayed in possession of the [Quaker](#) logo when that is utterly inaccurate, and presuming, for another thing, that whenever there was a struggle with the Evangelicals in the Friends groups, those who were in opposition were Hicksites or Hicksite sympathizers when that is utterly simplistic. For instance, the “New Light” movement of Mary Newhall that began in about 1815  had not more sympathy for Hicksites than for Evangelicals, was affiliated with the “Irish Liberals,” and was a parallel within Quakerism of the group within the Congregational Church which had eventually split off as [Unitarians](#). (The payoff for these simplistic attitudes is that the scholars get to pretend that the Hicksites were merely Unitarian-sympy within [Quaker](#) groups, and thus dismiss the fundamental difference between the sort of “reformer” who goes for religious closure, like the [Reverend Ralph Waldo Emerson](#) or the Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#) or [Martin Luther](#), but merely for closure of a different stamp, and the sort of religious reformer, like [Henry Thoreau](#) or [Elias Hicks](#) or [George Fox](#), who seeks to forestall any religious closure.) Mary Newhall, Elizabeth Redman, and Mary Rotch, reformers of the “closure-seeking” variety and deadly opponents of the Hicksites (of whom they had no comprehension, because they did not know what it was to seek “non-closure” in matters of the spirit) as well as of the Evangelicals (in opposition to whom they defined themselves), became Unitarians and became friends (small f) of Ralph Waldo Emerson.


To characterize their belief system, the historian has to explain that these “New Lights” opposed the Evangelicals within Quakerism who were tending to oversimplify the spiritual life by an escapism in which the old was automatically better than the new, the past better than the present, their model of religious doctrine being one of gradual deterioration with time, and has also to explain that what they had to offer in the place of these simplicitudes was merely an equal but opposite oversimplicism according to which the new is automatically better than the old, because bright and new, and the future better than the present because after the present. Their simplistic model of religious doctrine was one of progressive revelation with time — a doctrine of evolutionary progress in religious attitudes similar to the sophomoric attitude that a few deities are obviously better than a confused pagan mess of them, and one monotheistic deity obviously superior to a few (and no deity superior to one). What these people had to offer reduced to the message “Oh, that’s old-fashioned now,” if one allows that they did deliver this doctrine with some wit and subtlety.

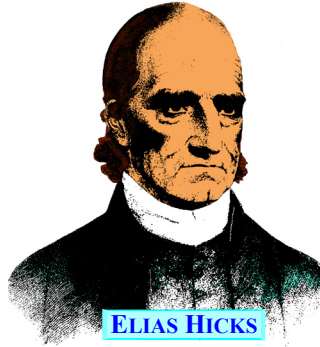


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Friend Elias was responsive to the tribulation of these **disowned** Friends, but his basic attitude had already been expressed in a letter to Martha Aldrich on May 29, 1801:  neither memories of the past nor anticipations of the future should be allowed to distract us from the seriousness of our task of using “our own experience and judgment” in “living our daily experience in that injunction of our dear Lord.”



*“The candle could not be  
often put out,  
unless it was also  
often lighted,  
which shows the mercy of God.”*

Is it any wonder that this was the year in which Friend Elias had his first heart attack?



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**1824**



An interesting pro-[Elias Hicks](#) anonymous pamphlet was published:





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**THE CABINET,  
OR  
WORKS OF DARKNESS  
BROUGHT TO LIGHT.**

**Being a Retrospect of the Anti-Christian conduct of some of the leading characters in the Society called FRIENDS, towards that eminent and devoted Servant of the Lord, ELIAS HICKS, when on his last visit of Gospel Love to the inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia.**

**ALSO,**

**A brief statement of facts, illustrative of the treatment of that faithful Messenger of the Gospel, PRISCILLA HUNT, at a meeting for worship, held in Pine-street Meeting House, - together, with part of a discourse, delivered by her, at Green-street Meeting House.**

**“Whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness, shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets, shall be proclaimed upon the house tops.”**

**PHILADELPHIA;  
PRINTED FOR THE COMPILER.  
1824.**



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### **PREFACE.**

The following authentic documents are offered to the public with a view to shew to what stretch of power, men, clothed with ecclesiastic authority, would extend their influence, were they not restrained by the Constitution of these United States, which guarantees to every citizen the rights of conscience and freedom of sentiment; and any infringement on these sacred privileges, by men, let them be ever so dignified, they will (in this enlightened age) meet with opposition from the intelligent and liberal minded part of every association over whom these pretended Spiritual Guides sit as Censors, and with an imperious sway judge down all that venture to dissent from them in matters of opinion; however the Lord's faithful Servants and Handmaidens have been rejected and persecuted from city to city, as the following facts evidently demonstrate.

N.B. The above remarks were not intended to apply to the religious society called Friends, generally, but only to a few, who would, if they only had power vested in them, lord it over the whole heritage of God: however, their machinations are unveiled, and the worthy characters against whom they combined, were cordially and sentimentally received by the generality of Friends, both in this city and adjacent country; and thousands assembled to hear the Gospel preached in its primitive purity and simplicity, and with power and demonstration.

Philadelphia, 4th month 14th, 1824.



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### **DARK DESIGNS MANIFESTED.**

In the Ninth Month, 1822, previous to Elias Hicks coming to this City, at a meeting for Suffering, several of the members were privately requested to stop, at the rise of the Meeting; accordingly, on the adjournment, Jonathan Evans, Ellis Yarnall, Samuel Bettle, Samuel P. Griffitts, Richard Jordan, Joseph Whitehall, and several others, remained in the Meeting house till the rest had gone - when Jonathan Evans rose and spoke to the following import, viz.: I expect you have heard that Elias Hicks has obtained from his Monthly Meeting a certificate to visit Friends in this city, and as it is well known that he holds doctrines that are not doctrines of Friends, it is necessary some steps should be taken to prevent him from disseminating them among us; he is full of words, and it will answer no purpose to argue with him. Richard Jordan and Joseph Whitehall, are present, and can state to you what they heard from himself. Then, the above named persons, one after the other, rose and stated what they said were the doctrines held by Elias Hicks; after some desultory conversation, several persons were appointed to wait upon him as soon as he might reach this city; among the number thus nominated, were Ellis Yarnall and Samuel P. Griffitts, who called upon him very early after his arrival. - Query. Was not this unconstitutional, and contrary to good order, and most certainly a conspiracy against the peace and harmony of Society. And from this proceeding, all the confusion which subsequently ensued arose; but, providentially, all their machinations proved abortive, and recoiled with confusion upon the heads of their projectors; and this may be justly attributed to the independence of the Society: and one would have reasonably supposed, it would have taught the Pharisaical spirit with whom they originated, a useful lesson, by the which, he might have profited more than it appears he has done. - O ye modern Nimrod's - ye "mighty hunters before the Lord!" erect a tribunal in your own breasts, before you are called to the tribunal of Him whose prerogative you have wantonly assumed: judge yourselves by the Golden Rule, for by this you must be judged. Institute a just comparison, I pray you, between the tokens of Divine approbation (as the seals to his embassy) bestowed on the Gospel labours of this venerable servant of the Lord, and your own, and if you are not void of sensibility, it will give a chill to your ambition, rebuke your imperious spirit, and change the voice of vituperation into humble confession, and self-reproach. I have made the above remarks for the man of sensibility and candour who may deign to read, ponder, and be wise while time and opportunity is afforded. As for the bigot, blind with prejudice and made with intolerance, I must leave him in his sins and in his blood, to hug his ever beloved prejudices, and to roll the precious manna of asps under his tongue, which will prove corrosive poison to the heart in the end. - May the Lord alarm and unmask the hypocrite, and grant him light, life, and salvation.



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Letter from Thomas Eddy to John Warder.

NEW YORK, 10th Month 18th, 1822.

My dear friend, - I send the annexed to thee in hopes it may be useful for such Friends as thee thinks proper to offer it, for their perusal; if approved by thee it may be handed to any other Friends.

Please see W. Evans, show it to him, and if he or any others wish to copy it, permit them: if it would be more extensively useful, I have no objection that 10 copies be printed. It was done in a hurry, and might have been improved, if I had time to copy it, however, it can be corrected with you. It may be of more use if it should not be known to be written by me, or that it came from New York.

Elias gave large notice to have a public meeting at Newark, but the people knew his sentiments and would not attend, except about a dozen of the lower class. Please see Wm. Evans or Thomas Evans soon - I wish thee to write me soon. Thy son Benjamin will perhaps copy the annexed, so as it may not be read in my hand writing. - Letters addressed to me as usual, at New York, will be handed me next day. Thy affectionate friend,  
THOMAS EDDY.

Facts and observations illustrative of the present state of society in New York.

If we take a view of the general state of our religious society from the days of G. Fox, it will be found, that there has seldom been divisions amongst them on account of the introduction of new doctrines. It is true, an opposition to order and discipline appeared at different periods, but this at no time was of long continuance. The annual epistles of the yearly meeting of London, and various other documents that may be met with in the writings of Friends, serve to shew that the Society in Europe and America, were uniformly preserved in a wonderful manner, in love and amity. This happy state of things lasted till the time of Hannah Barnard's going to Eng. in the year \_\_\_\_\_. During her visit to Ireland, she introduced in her public comments, and occasionally in her intercourse with the families of Friends, sentiments of unbelief as to some parts of the Holy Scriptures - on the weak ground that we are not obliged to believe what we cannot understand or comprehend; and finding a disposition in many to join with her, she very soon manifested that she did not unite with the society respecting a belief in the divinity of Christ and other matters relating to the fundamental doctrines of the children religion. These sentiments very soon spread, and particularly in the North of Ireland a number of all ranks in society became infected with her speculative notions, and in consequence of this, a confused state of things occurred, that had never before taken place in Society. - Great pains were taken by these deluded people to lessen the divine authority of the Scriptures, and thus, considering them no longer a test by which doctrines might be tried and in which our early Friends on all



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occasions declared their willingness to appeal - many disorders occurred and strange notions were taken up in different places. The religious observance of set-day was deemed a mark of superstition, and to testify their disapprobation, the females employed themselves on that day at their needlework, and in some places the men worked at their usual occupations. Every species of church government or discipline was by them dispensed with - all was to be done by revelation, either to peruse the Scriptures, go to Meeting, or the performance of any other religious duty. These baneful principles were so widely spread, that some eminent ministers, distinguished elders and others who had been foremost in society, sent to their respective Monthly meetings their resignations as members in Society; after some time those of the younger class, and others who had not before been considered as active members, came forward and put in force the discipline by disowning such of the delinquents as had not already resigned their right of membership - those separately not uniting among themselves soon dwindled, and at the present day are scarcely known; indeed, many of them were favored with the light of their own folly and made suitable acknowledgements, by which means, they were restored to the unity of their friends. Hannah Barnard, who appeared to be the ostensible author and promoter of these disorders, was silenced in England as a minister of the Monthly meeting of Devonshire and Quarterly meeting of London; which judgment was afterwards confirmed on her appealing to the Yearly Meeting of London: and on her return to America, she was disowned by the Monthly Meeting of Hudson. In England there were very few that advocated the sentiments and conduct of Hannah Barnard and the separatists in Ireland, among the few were William Rathbone and Thomas Foster, both men of education and possessed of considerable literary talents, each of them published a book taking part with Hannah Barnard, and advocating Unitarian doctrines, on which account they were both disowned. The circumstances attending the case of Thomas Foster were very singular, and as regarded society, were highly important; he had united himself with the Unitarian Books Society, which was formed for the express purpose of spreading books favorable to the Unitarian doctrine, and in 1810 or 11, he published a tract containing a review of the London Yearly meeting Epistle, in which he endeavored to prove that the sentiments therein expressed were opposite to those held by the society and particularly by our early Friends, who he insisted held Unitarian doctrines and esteemed Christ only as a man and a great prophet, &c. On this account he was disowned by Radcliffe Monthly meeting, on which he appealed to the London Quarterly meeting, which appointed 16 of the most eminent Friends in the society as a committee, who sat 6 days in order to give him a full hearing. He introduced before the committee a new version of the New Testament, in order to prove wrong translations, and divers interpolations in the version in common use; and he also urged many extracts he had made from Penn's "Sandy Foundation Shaken," on which he laid great stress every day of the sitting



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of the committee; he made lengthy speeches and very dogmatically urged his arguments. It is worthy of remark that all the Unitarian people of whom we have any knowledge are full of words and wonderful reasoners, which may properly be attributed to their principles being bottomed on speculation and the efforts of mere human reason. Now, it is hard, and perhaps impracticable, by dint of reason to convince even rational man of things which are above reason, which are supernatural; they must be conceived by supernatural means, even by the effort of that power which they deny. The committee reported their opinion that the judgment of Ratcliffe Monthly Meeting ought to be confirmed. The report was signed by all the committee. When this report was read in the Quarterly meeting, Tho. Foster made a long speech, and as he said he had not finished, the meeting adjourned to the next day in order to hear him further; and when he left the meeting, it was concluded to accept and adopt the report. He then appealed to the Yearly Meeting of 1814, after being very fully heard by the Committee of the Yearly meeting appointed to hear him, and the respondents appointed by the Quarterly meeting, the committee unanimously reported that the judgment of the Quarterly meeting ought to be confirmed. When this report was read in the Yearly meeting, Tho. Foster, as is usual in that meeting, was allowed to be present, he was again heard and replied to by Josiah Foster one of the respondents. A young man was employed by T. Foster to take down in short hand the whole that was said by himself, the respondents, and every Friend that spoke on the subject before the Meeting. He afterwards published it, and it is allowed to be a tolerable candid and accurate statement of the whole proceedings; the appellant had before him a number of Friends' books, and the Unitarian version of the New Testament, and made such quotations as he conceived would answer his purpose; he again laid much stress on William Penn's "Sandy Foundation Shaken;" to this the respondents particularly replied, and stated that W. Penn very fully cleared himself of the charges made against him, of his having in that tract advanced sentiments favorable to the Unitarian doctrine, and in his "Innocency with her open face," expressly declared he never thought or wrote in support of what they charged him with; the object of his writing the "Sandy Foundation Shaken," being only intended to show the great impropriety of using unscriptural terms of distinct and separate persons. The respondents then quoted "Penn's Guide mistaken," published by him sometime before he wrote his "Sandy foundation Shaken," in which he asserts the divinity of Christ in the most clear and unequivocal terms; they then read many parts of "Innocency with her open face," and many other parts of Penn's writings; among others, was an extract from the Journal of Thomas Ellwood, in which he states, that being in company with W. Penn, and a number of opponents of Friends being present, one of them observed that no Englishman or Quaker, was ever known to offer prayers to Christ; to which W. Penn replied, I am an Englishman and a Quaker, and I have oft times prayed to Christ,



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unto him who was crucified at Jerusalem. The respondents also read extracts from Fox, Barclay, Penn, Penington, Claridge and many others of our early Friends to prove that they clearly and uniformly advanced doctrines entirely opposed to those which Thomas Foster had stated to be held by them. After T. Foster and the respondents were heard, Thomas withdrew, and the clerk, Jno. Wilkinson, said that he hoped Friends would confine themselves to the simple question before the Meeting - on the doctrines and principles advanced by Thomas Foster, and the doctrines and principles of the Society of Friends or not. The case being now fairly before the meeting, 75 friends separately and deliberately declared their opinions in favor of confirming the Monthly Meeting of Ratcliffe and the Quarterly Meeting of London - Indeed this may very truly be said to have been the unanimous sense of this meeting, excepting only Thomas Compton, father-in-law to T. Foster; both of them had been closely and intimately concerned with Hannah Barnard. This short account of the Separatists in Ireland, has been introduced with the case of Thomas Foster, in order to show how decidedly the society have shewn their abhorrence of the doctrines advanced by them; and also, the conduct of those deluded people and may be compared with the present state of Society within the limits of the Quarterly Meeting of Westbury; by which it will be seen, that there, as in Ireland, the same cause has produced the same effects, namely, lessening the Divine authority of the Scriptures, and advancing that we are not bound to believe what our reason cannot comprehend, which in both places caused a great disposition for speculation, and naturally produced an intolerant spirit towards their fellow members who could not unite with them in a disregard of the Scriptures, the religious observance of the first day of the week, &c., all which for a time they openly avowed till at length they boldly denied the divinity of Christ and openly declared that his death and sufferings were not to be considered as a propitiary offering for the sins of mankind, &c. &c. It may be truly said that within the Yearly Meeting of New York, as well as the adjacent Yearly Meetings, Friends were remarkably preserved in love and unity until ELIAS HICKS disturbed that harmony.

FIRST. By lessening the Divine authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, and then, when he supposed he had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people, he came out with his Unitarian principles or doctrine, and showed a wonderful fondness for speculation and reasoning, frequently asserted that he was not obliged to believe what our reason could not comprehend. The multitude being always fond of something new, run after him wherever it was known he was to be at Meeting, as they were confident he could not be silent owing to his having a remarkably acute memory, and by nature the advantage of a great flow of words and ready utterance, and his fondness for reasoning and advancing his sentiments in the most positive and dogmatical manner, and moreover, having the advantage of addressing himself to numbers who had little opportunity of acquiring a full





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knowledge of the doctrines held by our early Friends, he acquired great popularity, and in a little time his influence became so extensive that he dictated and completely directed all the business of the Yearly Meeting; and every other meeting of discipline he attended, he never failed to speak to almost every subject, and to carry his point would speak to one subject 15 or 20 times. His gaining an unbounded influence and his fondness for reasoning have worked upon his imagination and leading him into a course of speculation that at length brought him to embrace his present doctrine tending to destroy the whole system of the christian religion. It will seem to exhibit this man's character with great clearness, when it is considered how artfully he avoided coming out with his Unitarian doctrine until he thought he had prepared the people's minds to receive it, which he knew would be hazardous to attempt without previously lessening the divine authority of the Scriptures, and to accomplish this he was all-concerned. He then began by speaking of Christ as a great Prophet who had suffered martyrdom for his principles as other prophets had done before his time: at this period his principles were discovered by a number of Friends, but there were many that were so closely attached to him, that any person who passed censure on him was seen to incur the frowns of his supporters: some valuable Friends now regret that he was not checked at that period, but they are fearful it is now too late. It is much to be lamented that this step was not timely adopted, as it would no doubt have saved society from being misrepresented as to its doctrines and principles, and moreover, would have prevented the present unhappy divisions in New York and other places. He went on for a considerable time in the manner already mentioned, printing and speaking of Christ as a mere man, and lessening the Scriptures on every occasion, which of course produced in him a great dislike to Bible Societies - against them he would vent himself in the most violent and abusive language. Having declared his disbelief in the most essential doctrines of the christian religion, that could alone have preserved him in the humble and meek spirit of the gospel, he would in the most abusive manner, with his mind wonderfully heated, disclaim against the doctrines of other denominations and speak of their ministers with the most supercilious contempt; and in the same manner and in the same bitter spirit, he would utter the most severe epithets against all who differed from him in the use of articles manufactured by slaves; such he would say were bloody minded men, and the highwaymen would fare better in the next world than they. Occasionally (always accompanied with the same severe tone) he would vent himself against Banks, East India trade, civil government, agricultural societies, chemistry (which he called the "Black Art,") the Grand Canal, which he called a wicked plan to deceive and impose on people; all who should unite in any kind of charitable societies, were declared to be actuated by a spirit of pride, merely to get a name; all who united in any of these things, were spoken of, and abused in a haughty dogmatical and



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domineering manner, and called wicked unprincipled men. At length he ventured more openly to speak against the Divinity of Christ, by stating, first, that he might have fallen as Adam did; and at another time after repeating over the same words, he added, the Devil knew this or he was a fool to try; and in a public communication at Pearl street Meeting, he said that if an innocent man should suffer death for the sins of others it was an absurdity, and no rational man would believe it - similar sentiments he has expressed in a letter to Wm. B. Irish. - After this it is impossible for any man of common understanding, except indeed he is wilfully blinded, to say that this man is sound in the faith once delivered to the Saints. But it is said by those who are determined to excuse him, that he does sometimes deliver what is good and every way unexceptionable, but it may be seriously asked of such, would the apostles or our early Friends listen to what might be delivered by any man under pretence of preaching the Gospel, although true in the abstract, if spoken by a person who would repeatedly lessen the Divine truth of the Scriptures, lessen the character of Christ, and deny that mankind has derived any benefit by his death, &c.

June, 1696, Geo. Whitehead published a book under this title, "The Divinity of Christ and the Unity of the Three that bear record in heaven, with the blessed ends and effects of Christ's appearance, coming in the flesh, suffering sacrifice for sinners, confessed and vindicated by his followers called Quakers," Sewell's History p. 638. The estimation in which such a man ought to be held is stated by the beloved Apostles, read 2. John 9, 10 and 11. It may be proper to mention that E. Hicks' manner of treating the Scriptures and his harsh style when speaking against those of other societies, have been mentioned and advice given him by some worthy Friends of New York Yearly Meeting - some of them as well as those of other Yearly Meetings, and from Europe, have stated to him his sentiments relative to the divinity of Christ, which went to the destruction of the Christian religion, and to produce divisions in Society. But owing to his inordinate fondness for reasoning (and in this talent he has the weakness to conceit no one equal to himself) he has acquired a degree of obstinacy in which he is scarce equalled by any other man - It is owing to this that no advice that has been given to him has been of any use. Although many Friends in the City of New York, as well as some on Long Island, are convinced of his being unsound in the christian faith, yet most of them are secretly afraid of him; this appeared clearly to be the case at the Quarterly Meeting where he applied for a certificate to attend the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, and to visit families in Philadelphia; those were then present whose sentiments it is well known were entirely adverse to those which they acknowledged to be held by Elias Hicks, and of course did not unite with his having a certificate, yet they were afraid to oppose it, indeed, unaccountable as it may seem, two of this description expressed some words giving countenance to the



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application. - When mankind is viewed as race of beings made but little lower than angels, how wonderful it is that there are minds so perverted, and whose conduct should be so extremely inconsistent.

It is indeed a most deplorable state of society when it is considered that a Quarterly Meeting should sanction a man to go abroad to visit other Yearly Meetings, who has been for some time propagating principles which tend to destroy the christian religion. If however the sentiments of each individual could have been known and declared, there would have been exhibited such a formidable opposition, that such a certificate would never have been granted him; it was obtained in consequence of his adherents on Long Island immediately getting up one after another expressing approbation, so that those who otherwise might have said something to discountenance the measure, were deterred from expressing their sentiments, besides it so happened that very few were present from New York, except those who were so blindly prejudiced in his favor that they cannot persuade themselves he can do or say any thing wrong. It is said that only two Friends showed any disapprobation and one of them stated he thought it would be very incorrect to retain in the certificate as it was read by the Clerk, the words "fully united with;" a particular adherent of Elias Hicks, remarked, that as so many had united he thought it would be very proper to retain those words; the Friends again urged for them to be left out. The Meeting then directed they should be omitted; yet notwithstanding this conclusion of the Meeting, the Clerk has furnished a certificate in which those words are inserted!<sup>5</sup> In short if we believe the words of Christ that the house divided against itself is brought to desolation, then we may tremble when we find such a man countenanced in advancing doctrines that go to destroy the direct foundation of our society, and lay waste its first principles, and that he should be permitted to go to other places to produce the same divisions that he has already produced at New York. The injury that society has already received through the conduct of this man has been very great. Highly respectable persons of other denominations, charge our Society with being Unitarians; when they are told this charge is untrue they reply they have heard E. Hicks openly and publicly avow this doctrine, and as he is an acknowledged minister in the Society of Friends, and as they allow him to go about the country to hold meetings, of course the doctrines delivered by him must be considered as held by the society. It is very humiliating to observe there are ministers among us who so much admire E. Hicks

5. We are assured by a Friend who was present at the Quarterly Meeting of Westbury, that no such opposition as stated above took place. The circumstances as they occurred were simply these, — after a very general expression of unity, one single Friend observed, that he thought the word "full" might be spared; a pause, as is common in such cases, ensued, and no other expressing his approbation of the proposition, the word was retained, and that without any observation on the part of the Clerk: so that the assertion that the Clerk inserted words in the endorsement, which had been agreed to be omitted by the Meeting, is altogether unfounded and false.



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as to imitate and copy after him at least in the unchristian and violent manner in which he abuses the clergy - Indeed they try if possible to exceed him in this respect; Elias Hicks, at a public meeting at Long Island, at a place where no Friends reside, and in company with his cousin Elias, in the course of a long communication, disclaimed in a most severe manner against the Clergy, their Common Prayer Book, and many of the religious observances of the Church of England, one of their ministers was present; he told them you might search the kennels of any great city, and take soldiers, sailors, and the very worst of mankind, and they would be more likely to enter into the kingdom of Heaven than the hireling priest. Another preacher, Dr. Carey of Saratoga, speaking in the same spirit against ministers of other denominations, at a public meeting at which a number were present, not members of our Society, burst out with these expressions: I insist upon it that one hireling is worse than ten old devils; and at another public meeting he said, "I will tell you how they make a hireling - they first send a young man to an academy for a few years, they then send him to Eliphalet Nott to finish him, and then the young devil is sent abroad into the world to do all the mischief he can." In this way those people, instead of being under the calm influence of the Gospel, which would preserve them in a meek, humble, quiet spirit, present the phantoms of their own wayward, foolish imaginations, and presume with daring impiety to bar the gates of Heaven against all whom from their influence of early education adopt a different mode of offering worship to the Almighty. If all who differ from us in religious opinions are to be doomed to destruction in the next world, it might be asked these deluded people, what has been the lot of many of our Friends who were ministers, that a few years ago bought and sold their fellow creatures as slaves? surely no considerate man will pretend to say, that hireling ministers are worse for being such than slaveholders. But the conduct of these men defeats their own views by giving way to their violent dispositions, as it is a solemn truth that the very valuable and essential testimony that Friends have to bear in favor of a free ministry, can only be spread in the world by the spirit of love, and in this spirit the principles founded on the Gospel of Jesus Christ, can only be preached with any effect.

After what has been said respecting the unsound doctrines held by E. Hicks, it may be well to enquire, how are we to account for the circumstance of so many of the members of his quarterly meeting being so blind as not to discover the unsoundness of his principles? we have no hesitation in saying, that the leading cause is the want of a proper or suitable education; the writings of early Friends (except some Journals) are scarce and little read, all kinds of school learning, except reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic, are discouraged, as well as general History, and books written by persons who are not members. To read the Scriptures daily or at fixed hours, is



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declared to be mere formality, in many families they are very little read. It is therefore not so very extraordinary as might at first appear, that a great proportion of the people so educated and so instructed, should submit to be led, and be so entirely influenced by such a man as Elias Hicks. If Friends in Philadelphia should allow this man to visit families, and in this way spread his poisonous principles, divisions among them will assuredly be the consequence.

The following was addressed by Isaac Penington to a person holding similar doctrines to Elias Hicks, and may be now read as if addressed immediately to him - Gurney's Memoirs of Isaac Penington, page 150. "O shallow man, when wilt thou cease measuring God by the eye of thy reason; wilt thou say it must be thus and thus, because thou canst not see how it can be otherwise, a proper query for the great reasoners of this age? O man, behold thy Saviour, know thy life, do not despise eternity, because of its appearing, and acting through mortality. This is he that came to redeem thee, to be a propitiatory sacrifice for thee, and a pattern for thee, art thou able to measure God in any work of his through the Creation? Thou knowest thou art not. Then why dost thou measure him so confidently in his greatest work through his Christ: even the work of Redemption, and so apparently contradict him in it? Very deep and weighty was the answer of Christ to Philip when Philip said, "show us the Father and it sufficeth." "Hast thou not seen me, Philip?" said Christ; "How is it that thou sayest show me the Father? he that has seen me has seen the Father also." Are they not one nature, one wisdom, one pure eternal Being? Can the one be possibly seen and not the other, though they may be distinct in manifestation, in the heart where they are received is it possible they should be divided one from the other, and separate? They that thus apprehend, plainly manifest that they have never received the knowledge of the Father and Son, but have only notions and apprehensions of man's wisdom concerning them.

During George Withy's being in New York, many of those who have uniformly appeared as zealous supporters of Elias Hicks showed themselves highly displeased with George, and addressed to him several anonymous letters, in which they charged him with preaching wrong doctrines, &c. A few days before he embarked for England, they (sixteen of them) had prepared a letter of several sheets to be signed by two or three of them in behalf of the whole, which they intended to deliver to him. They seemed to be in much trouble cause the doctrine preached by him was so directly opposed to that held by Elias Hicks, and were exceedingly disturbed that George should have told Elias that his sentiments went to destroy the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. In order to support Elias they published one thousand copies of William Penn's "Sandy foundation Shaken," for the purpose, as they said, to show that the Unitarian doctrine



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held by Elias Hicks agreed with what was advanced by Penn - They were also urged to print Penn's Trace called "Innocency with her Open Face," as they were told that that was afterwards published by him in order to prevent any wrong constructions that might take place in the minds of those who should read "Sandy foundation Shaken," but this of course they refused to print.

FINIS.

The above letter from Thomas Eddy of New York to a Friend in this city, and the accompanying remarks, are taken from the original in the hand-writing of the author. It was very desirable that a few friends should be furnished with a copy, in order that the baneful and invidious effects intended to be produced by it might be counteracted, and it was thought best to have a few copies printed, being less liable to error than in transcribing, and its length would make this process tedious; bad, indeed, must be the cause that calls for such means to support it, and how any man can talk of tale-bearing and backbiting, &c. and be instrumental in handing about this letter, as true, is really astonishing; such conduct is in itself a direct conspiracy against the peace and harmony of society - agreeably to the request of the author the essay appears to have been corrected in this city - but it was thought best to print it in its original form.



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**Letter from Ten Elders of the Society called “Friends,” to Elias Hicks.**

TO ELIAS HICKS,  
FRIENDS in Philadelphia having for a considerable time past heard of thy holding and promulgating doctrines different from, and repugnant to those held by our religious society, it was cause of uneasiness and deep concern to them, as their sincere regard and engagement for the promotion of the cause of truth, made it very desirable that all the members of our religious Society should move in true harmony, under the leading and direction of our Blessed Redeemer, upon being informed of thy sentiments expressed by Joseph Whithall. That Jesus Christ was not the Son of God, until after the Baptism of John; and the descent of the Holy Ghost, and that he was no more than a man; that the same power that made Christ a Christian must make us Christians; and that the same power that saved him must save us; many Friends were much affected therewith, and sometime afterwards, several Friends being together in the city on subjects relating to our religious Society, they received an account from Ezra Comfort, of some of thy expressions in the public general meeting immediately succeeding the Southern Quarterly meeting lately held in the State of Delaware, which was also confirmed by his companion Isaiah Bell; That Jesus Christ was the first man that introduced the Gospel dispensation, the Jews being under the outward and ceremonial law or dispensation, it was necessary that there should be some outward miracle, as the healing of the outward infirmities of the flesh, and raising the outward dead bodies, in order to introduce the Gospel dispensations, he had no more power given him than man, for he was no more than man, he had nothing to do with the healing of the soul, for that belongs to God only, Elisha had the same power to raise the dead; that man, being obedient to the Spirit of God in him could arrive at as great, or greater, degree of righteousness, than Jesus Christ. That Jesus Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God, neither do I think it robbery for man to be equal with God; then endeavoured to show that by attending to that stone cut out of the mountain without hands, or the seed in man, it would make man equal with God, saying, for that stone in man was the entire God. On hearing which, it appeared to Friends a subject of such great importance, and of such deep interest to the welfare of our religious Society, as to require an early extension of care, in order, that if any incorrect statement had been made, it should as soon as possible be rectified, or if true, thou might be possessed of the painful concern of Friends, and their sense and judgment thereon. Two of the Elders accordingly waited on thee on the evening of the day of thy arriving in the city, and although thou denied the statement, yet, thou declined to meet these two Elders in company with those who made it, left the mind of Friends without relief: one of the Elders who had called on thee, repeated his visit on the next day but one, and again requested thee to see the two Elders and the Friends who made





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the above statements, which thou again declined. The Elders from the different monthly meetings in the city were then convened, and requested a private opportunity with thee, which thou also refused, yet the next day consented to meet them at a time and place of thy own fixing; but when assembled, a mixed company being collected, the Elders could not in this manner enter into a business which they considered of a nature not to be investigated in any other way than in a select private opportunity, they therefore considered that meeting a clear indication of thy continuing to decline to meet the Elders, as by them proposed. Under these circumstances it appearing that thou art not willing to hear and disprove the charges brought against thee, we feel it a duty to declare, that we cannot have religious unity with thy conduct, nor with the doctrines thou art charged with promulgating.

Signed, 12th month, 19th, 1822.

Caleb Pierce,  
Leonard Snowden,  
Joseph Scattergood,  
Samuel P. Griffitts,  
T. Stewardson,  
Edward Randolph,  
Israel Maul,  
Ellis Yarnall,  
Richard Humphries,  
Thomas Wistar.



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### **Elias Hicks's Letter to the foregoing Ten Elders.**

To Caleb Pierce and the other Friends,  
Having been charged by you of unsoundness of principle and doctrine, founded on reports spread among the people in an unfriendly manner, and contrary to the order of our discipline, by Joseph Whitehall, as stated in the letter from you dated the 19th instant; and as these are charges not literally true, being founded on his own forced and improper construction of my words, I deny them; and as I do not consider myself amendable to him, or any other, for crimes laid to my charge as being committed in the course of the sitting of our last yearly meeting, as not any of my fellow members of that meeting discovered or noticed any such things, which I presume not to be the case, as not an individual has mentioned any such thing to me, but contrary thereto, many of our valuable Friends (who had heard some of these foul reports promulgated by an individual of our city) acknowledge the great satisfaction they had with my services and exercises in the course of that meeting, and were fully convinced, that all those foul reports were false, and this view is fully confirmed by a certificate granted me by the monthly and quarterly meetings of which I am a member, in which they express their full unity with me, and which meetings were held a considerable time after our yearly meeting, in the course of which Joseph Whitehall has presumed to charge me with unsoundness, contrary to the sense of the yearly, quarterly and monthly meetings of which I am a member, and to whom only I hold myself amenable for all conduct transacted within their limits. The other charges against me made by Ezra Comfort, as expressed in your letter, are in the general incorrect, as is proved by the annexed certificate, and moreover as E. Comfort has departed from gospel order in not mentioning his uneasiness to me when present with me, and when I could have appealed to Friends of that meeting to have justified me, therefore I consider E. Comfort to have acted disorderly and contrary to discipline; and these are the reasons that induced me to refuse a compliance with your requisitions, as considering them arbitrary and contrary to the established order of our Society.

(Signed) E. Hicks

Philadelphia, 12 mo. 21, 1822.

Letter from Three Members of the Southern Quarterly Meeting, concerning Elias Hicks.

We the undersigned being occasionally in the city of Philadelphia, when a letter was produced and handed us, signed by ten of its citizens, Elders of the Society of Friends, and directed to Elias Hicks; after perusing and deliberately considering the charges therein against him, for holding and propagating doctrines inconsistent with our religious testimonies, and more especially those said by Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell, to be held forth at a meeting immediately succeeding the late Southern Quarterly Meeting, and we being members of the Southern quarter, and present at the said



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meeting, we are free to state, for the satisfaction of the first-mentioned Friends, and all others whom it may concern, that we apprehend the charges exhibited by the two Friends named, are without substantial foundation; and in order to vie a clear view, we think it best and proper here to transcribe the said charges exhibited, and our own understanding of the several, viz. "That Jesus Christ was the first man that introduced the Gospel Dispensation, the Jews being under the outward and ceremonial law or dispensation, it was necessary there should be some outward miracles, as healing the outward infirmities of the flesh, and raising the outward dead bodies, in order to introduce the gospel dispensation;" this in substance is correct. "That he had no more power given him than man," this sentence is incorrect; and also, "That he had nothing to do with the healing of the soul, for that belongs to God only" is likewise incorrect; and the next sentence "That Elisha also had the same power to raise the dead" should be transposed thus to give Elias's expressions. "By the same power it was that Elisha raised the dead." "That man being obedient to the spirit of God in him could arrive at as great or greater degree of righteousness than Jesus Christ" this is incorrect, "That Jesus Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God", with annexing the other part of the paragraph mentioned by the holy apostle would be correct. "Neither do I think it robbery for man to be equal with God," is incorrect. "Then endeavouring to show that by attending to that stone cut out of the mountain without hands or the seed in man, it would make man equal with God" is incorrect; the sentence for that stone in man should stand thus. "That this stone or seed in man had all the attributes of the divine nature that was in Christ and God." This statement and a few necessary remarks we made without comment, save only that we were then of opinion and still are, that the sentiments and doctrines held forth by our said friend Elias Hicks, are agreeable to the opinions and doctrines held by George Fox and other worthy friends of his time.

12 mo. 21, 1822.  
(Signed) Robert Moore,  
Joseph Turner,  
Joseph G. Rowland.



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**A Memorandum of circumstances which took place in Philadelphia, shortly after the arrival of Elias Hicks from the southward, where he had been in the prosecution of a religious visit.**

On 7th day, the 7th of the 12th mo. 1822, Elias Hicks arrived in Philadelphia, and on that evening he was waited upon by Ellis Yarnal and Dr. S.P. Griffitts, two elders of the city, who desired an interview with him on account of some doctrine he, the said E. Hicks, was said to hold. At first Elias denied their authority to question him, but upon their telling him they came in love as brethren, he said he was willing to answer them; and after an interview of about fifty minutes, they went away apparently well satisfied: but on the next day (1st day the 8th) there was a meeting of the elders of the city, as I was informed, or at least a majority of them, and a deputation from that meeting waited on Elias on second day, and requested him to meet the elders of the city on 4th day the 11th, at the Arch street House, at 3 o'clock. Elias declined meeting them, saying, that he did not acknowledge their authority to call him before them; but afterwards at the request of Dr. Robt. Moore of Easton, Maryland, who thought it might be most satisfactory to Friends generally, Elias consented to meet them at the Green street House, on 5th day the 12th inst. at 3 o'clock P.M. accordingly Elias met them at the time and place appointed, and expressed his willingness that some of his friends should accompany him, which they did, and I was one of the number. At this meeting there was Elias Hicks and his companions. John Comly, Dr. Robert Moore of Easton, Dr. John Moore, John Hunt an elder from Darby, Evan Davis from Wilmington, and perhaps 12 or 15 of the members of Green street Monthly Meeting. I believe all the elders of the city were present except Jonathan Evans who was indisposed, and John Townsend, senr. who declined meeting with them, and Charles Stowe, who became uneasy in mind after he had started to go, and returned back. After sitting some time in silence, Thomas Wistar got up and said that a serious concern had arisen among the elders of the city, and they had requested a select opportunity with Elias Hicks and his companion; but instead of the opportunity desired, he thought it very extraordinary that so many Friends should be present, who in the present stage of the business had no concern in the case, and concluded by observing, that if those Friends thought proper to keep their seats, that they (the elders) had better withdraw: Elias Hicks then rose and observed, that he thought it a very extraordinary proceeding that they should summon him before them, to answer or give an account of himself, in reply to flying reports against him, and not be willing to have those friends present who were to be witnesses that those reports were false. He then mentioned the circumstances of the first interview as above stated, and that in reply to a charge that was reported against him, he had told the Friends it was not true; he then stated he thought he had been cruelly treated since he came to the city; that Friends had listened to reports, and judged him upon those reports; he



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recapitulated the circumstances of a Friend having attended the Southern Quarterly Meeting, who had reported something as having been said by him which he had told Friends was not true. After he sat down, a hint was again given that the elders might as well withdraw if other Friends chose to stay. Caleb Pierce said, Friends had better keep to the one point, whether Elias would give them the private opportunity they desired - and after some few remarks transiently made, Elias said, he was not free to meet them alone. Thomas Wistar said, are we to understand this to be the answer? Elias replied, Yes. Then, rejoined Thomas Wistar, we are to understand if the opportunity desired is not granted that the charges are admitted? Elias said, No. His companion immediately said, no charges have been made by you; Elias said, here we are, ready to hear any charge you have to bring in the presence of these Friends.

There was now some confusion, and evident irritation on the part of some of the elders, several of them rising to go out; and while on his feet in the act of moving towards the door Thomas Stewardson said, "the ministers are answerable to the elders," in a tone of voice evincing some excitement; Elias mildly said, as he sat on his seat, I am answerable to my Friends at home, I have their certificate, God makes ministers, but man elders; and some few more words I did not distinctly hear owing to the noise. Edward Randolph, as he rose and went out at this time, said, with some impatience, "It is a very strange procedure indeed." The elders now all left the house except Isaac Lloyd, a member of Pine street Meeting, and Samuel Noble, a member of Green street: Isaac Lloyd had, while all were together, expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceeding, in thus calling Elias before the elders, and said he did not understand what authority or right they had to act thus. After the others retired there was a short pause, when Elias got up and said, that if those Friends who had just retired, were to have the whole rule and government of ministers and others, and others were to be bound to submit to them in all things, it was time for Friends to take care of their rights, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon. This was done in a mild and calm tone of voice; there was then an expression of great unity and sympathy with Elias Hicks as a Gospel minister, and a desire also prevailed that he might be encouraged in his exercises. Friends also were concerned that no resentment or hardness might be suffered to get in towards those Friends who had retired. Abram Lower thought it might be a satisfaction for Friends to hear, what was said to be charged upon Elias Hicks, and to hear it explained by Dr. Robert Moore of Easton, who was at the Southern quarter, where it was said Elias had used some unsound expressions. Elias then said, that Ezra Comfort, who attended the Southern quarter, had charged him with having said that Jesus Christ was nothing but a mere man, and that any other man, by attending to the light within, might attain to equal if not greater perfection than he did! Dr. Moore then said that he attended said quarterly meeting, and that



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Elias's services and gospel labours were very acceptable, and that Friends had great unity with him both at that quarter and also at Baltimore yearly meeting, and that he heard no such expressions, and he did not believe they had been used by him. After some time Elias said, that this friend Comfort appeared to have a friendship and unity with him, and shewed nothing either in word or action that implied any thing like disapprobation though he had opportunity, but that he came away from them and reported a thing of him which he never said nor thought, and repeated his opinion that he had been cruelly used since he came to this city. After some further remarks by Friends, a few minutes of silent sympathy was proposed before separating, and there was a solemn covering attended this silence, which seemed like pouring the oil upon Aaron's head, which extended to the skirts of his garments, and I thought I never had been in a meeting of any kind which seemed more evidently owned by the Divine presence. Before a separation took place, Elias Hicks observed, in a very feeling manner, that he felt thankful in saying that he felt as much love for those Friends who had left us as he ever had done, and that if they had been actuated by any improper motives (which however he did not charge them with) his prayer for them was, that they might be forgiven. Letter from Ten Elders of the Society called "Friends," to Elias Hicks. Philadelphia, 1 mo. 4, 1823.

To Elias Hicks.

On the perusal of thy letter of the 21st of last month, it was not a little affecting to observe the same disposition still prevalent that avoided a select meeting with the Elders, which meeting consistently with the station we are placed in and with the sense of duty impressive upon us, we were engaged to propose and urge to thee as a means wherein the cause of uneasiness might have been investigated, the Friends who exhibited the complaint fully examined, and the whole business placed in a clear point of view.

On a subject of such importance the most explicit candour and ingenuousness, with a readiness to hear and give complete satisfaction ought ever to be maintained; this the Gospel teaches, and the nature of the case imperiously demanded it. As to the Certificate which accompanied thy letter, made several weeks after the circumstances occurred, it is in several respects, not only vague and ambiguous, but in others (though in different terms) it corroborates the statement at first made. When we take a view of the whole subject, the doctrines and sentiments which have been promulgated by thee, though under some caution while in this city; and the opinions which thou expressed in an interview between Ezra Comfort and thee, on the 19th ult. we are fully and sorrowfully confirmed in the conclusion, that thou holds and art disseminating principles very different from those which are held and maintained by our religious Society.



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As thou hast on thy part, closed the door against the brotherly care and endeavours of the elders here for thy benefit, and for the clearing our religious profession, this matter appears of such serious magnitude, so interesting to the peace, harmony, and well being of society, that we think it ought to claim the weighty attention of thy Friends at home.

(Signed) Ellis Yarnall,  
Thomas Wistar,  
Leonard Snowdon,  
Joseph Scattergood,  
Caleb Peirce,  
Samuel P. Griffitts,  
Thomas Stewardson,  
Edward Randolph,  
Israel Maul.

Being present when the foregoing Letter was concluded on, I unite with the concern and care of my brethren the Elders of this city, that our religious Society might not be under the imputation of holding doctrines which do not accord with the testimony of the Holy Scriptures.  
Jonathan Evans.





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**Letter from Twenty-two Members of the Southern Quarterly Meeting,  
concerning Elias Hicks.**

We the subscribers, being informed that certain reports have been circulated by Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell, that Elias Hicks had propagated unsound doctrine, at our general meeting on the day succeeding our quarterly meeting in the 11th month last, and a Certificate signed by Robert Moore, Joseph Turner, and Joseph G. Roland, being read, contradicting said reports, the subject has claimed our weighty and deliberate attention, and it is our united judgment, that the Doctrines preached by our said Friend on the day alluded to, were the Truths of the Gospel; and that his labours of love amongst us at our particular meetings, as well as at our said quarterly meeting, were united with by all our members, for aught that appears.

And we believe that the Certificate signed by the three Friends above named, is in substance a correct statement of facts.

Elisha Dawson,  
William Dolby,  
Walter Mifflin,  
Daniel Bowers,  
William Levick,  
Elias Janell,  
Jacob Pennington,  
Jonathan Twibond,  
Henry Swiggitt,  
Michael Offley,  
James Brown,  
George Messeck,  
William W. Moore,  
John Cougill,  
Samuel Price,  
Robert Kemp,  
John Turner,  
Hartfield Wright,  
David Wilson,  
Michael Lowber,  
Jacob Liventon,  
John Cowgill, junr.  
Little Creek, 2 mo. 26th, 1823.

I hereby Certify, that I was at the Southern Quarterly Meeting in the 11th month last, but owing to indisposition, I did not attend the general meeting on the day succeeding, and having been present at several meetings with Elias Hicks, as well as at the Quarterly Meeting aforesaid, I can testify my entire unity with the doctrines I have heard him deliver.  
Anthony Whitely.



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**The following Communication appeared in several Gazettes of this City.**

Arrived in this city on the 7th instant, Elias Hicks, a distinguished Minister of the Gospel, the Benign Doctrines of which he as a faithful Ambassador, has for many years past practically endeavoured (both by precept and example) to promulgate in its primeval beauty and simplicity, without money and without price. Those who are Friends to plain truth, and Evangelical preaching, that have heretofore been edified and comforted under his ministry, will doubtless be pleased to learn of his arrival, and avail themselves of the present opportunity of attending such appointments as he, under the direction of Divine influence, may see proper to make in this tour of Gospel Love, to the inhabitants of this city and its vicinity.

A CITIZEN.

Philadelphia, Dec. 9th, 1822.



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### **Reception of P.H. at Philadelphia, the city of Penn.**

For some time past it has been understood, that P.H. of Indiana, widow of a son of that valuable Friend Nathan Hunt, of North Carolina, was expected to pay a visit to this city in a religious capacity. Some Friends having previously learned that she entertained sentiments in many respects congenial with those of our worthy friend Elias Hicks, were inclined to prevent her from coming, and it is confidently said, took steps accordingly; with intimations thus given, it is believed, she would willingly have complied, had she consulted only her own natural inclination, but an impression was fixed, deeply fixed in her mind, that as her intended visit was of the Lord's requiring, however repugnant it might be to the feelings of nature; she was enjoined to obey - accordingly her first public appearance was on a first-day morning at Pine Street Meeting, of the state of which it was clearly seen that she was favoured with a true sense, when she was lead to speak of strife, and contention as being inimical to the true Spirit of the Christian Religion, which could not, (she said) exist where there was such a state of mind. Speaking of the Star in the East, (she said) "What was this Star? I fear not to say it was Reason; and understand me my friends, I do not believe that attention to reason alone in man, would any more lead to God, than that star which appeared to those wise men, would have lead them to God." As nearly as can be recollected, these were the words spoken. As soon as this sensible and interesting female had sat down, a young man, by far the youngest in the Minister's Gallery, William Evans by name, arose, and with a confidence of manner and tone, evincing an uncharitable and prejudging frame of mind, spoke as follows: "These are not the doctrines of our religious Society, we never professed to the world that reason leads to Christ." The meeting was astonished at the forwardness of this young man, and the more so, because he seemed by implication, to construe the words that were uttered, into a sense that the words themselves would not bear; the Friend did not say that Reason alone would lead to Christ, as the forward young man would seem to intimate, but her meaning evidently was, that reason combined with revelation, as in the figure of the star in the East, would direct us; she also disclaimed any meaning, that would raise Reason above Revelation. To return to the narrative, as soon as the indecorous intruder had done speaking, the female, without taking the least notice of his unfeeling attack, kneeled in supplication; the meeting spontaneously arose, with the exception of this self-important young man, his father Jonathan Evans (an elder), and one or two others, not being able further to resist, after a short hesitation arose, and joined apparently in supplication, in which the dark veil which now appeared to cover some minds, was petitioned to be rent asunder, and the meeting then broke up in a state of agitation difficult to describe; such was the reception of a virtuous female stranger, travelling on God's errand to Philadelphia, the city of



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brotherly love. I have stated the occurrence with as much accuracy as my recollection permits, and if I am under any misapprehension, numbers can correct me: all I can say is, that I have endeavoured to keep within the strict bounds of Truth. It may be right, however, to add, that the young man, who was the sorrowful cause of so much agitation, professes to be sensible, in part, of his indecorous behaviour, for the manner in which he spoke, but not for the matter, and it is thought by many that not only the manner, but the matter needs an apology, and that in as public way as the indecorum was committed, but that he should also farther apologize, for having broke the solemnity of the meeting in a way contrary to the good order of Friends - but as he still persists in dividing his offence into justifiable and unjustifiable parts, it is evident his compunction of mind does not lead to abasement and contrition of Spirit.  
2 mo. 19th, 1823.



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**Philadelphia, 2 mo. 20, 1823.**

**Part of a Discourse delivered by P. Hunt, at Green Street Meeting.**

I left my home and came to see you with nothing in my hand but a staff of love. It is my support - it is my shield. And this I have to declare unto the inhabitants of the earth, and I have had to declare in every part of the earth where I have been, "That there is no other guide to Heaven but the light of Christ within." And this all may clearly see that will attend to the light of reason; for it is that part of man that is susceptible of light, and by this light operating on the mental faculty which I term reason, that which raises the man above the brute, we are enabled to see and come unto the light of Christ within the hope of glory. It shows us that he is the way, the truth, and the life: and this gentle monitor it is, that is to guide us to Heaven. Now beloved, do I say reason is the light that leads to heaven? No, I put no more dependence on reason than is due; for reason alone cannot guide a man in the way that is right. He undoubtedly was endued with reason, for a man that is void of reason cannot know Christ, neither will he be led by his light within, for he disregards it. His mind is not capable of coming to it, therefore he cannot dwell in the light without reason. Here, beloveds, as we attend unto the monitor in the breast, the light of Christ, we are led unto God the fountain of light, we come to the knowledge of ourselves; it unfolds to the view of man what he really is; and there is nothing else but this that can guide a man to peace but that which has power to open to the view of his mind what he really is. For until a man do see and know himself, he cannot come to the knowledge of God. Where is there any other power that can guide man into the depth of nature but this eternal Word. For by diving into the depth of nature, we behold nature's God. Him we see in all his works. We behold him above all, and filling all. And this light of Christ within, is the Lion of the tribe of Judah that is prepared to open the book and loose the seven seals.



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**EXTRACTS  
FROM THE  
WRITINGS OF PRIMITIVE FRIENDS,  
CONCERNING  
THE DIVINITY  
OF  
OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR  
JESUS CHRIST.**

Published by direction of the Meeting for Sufferings held in  
Philadelphia.

**SOLOMON W. CONRAD, PRINTER.  
1823.**

**RE-PRINTED FOR THE COMPILER.  
1824.**





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### **PRELIMINARY REMARKS.**

The following rare product of human invention, was generated at a Select Council, commonly called a "Meeting for Suffering," which speaking in the vernacular tongue, I call the Standing Committee of the Yearly Meeting, and I am fixed in the unshaken belief, that their secret Cabinet and Councils are oft polluted with the spirit of error, which causes them to stray in vision, and err in judgment, and this engenders bigotry, superstition, and ecclesiastical tyranny, and this has brought forth many noxious plants that will not bud, blossom and thrive among the trees of Gospel liberty in this American soil - hence arose this new fangled triangular Creed; which no doubt, was introduced as a manade to bind down the liberal minded, and stop the current of free investigation, which that bold, independent and faithful servant of the Lord, Elias Hicks, has been an instrument in promoting among us, particularly the juvenile part of society, who have been more generally induced to search the Sacred Volume, and the writings of their forefathers, than ever was before known in the Society called FRIENDS - and this excitement to free enquiry has justled the lees of that old leaven, which the Son of God cautioned his Disciples to beware of, which must be purged out, before the pure seed of the Kingdom will take root and flourish in the hearts of the children of men. O! that this fermentation may purge out the old leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees, and cause the vitality of pure and undefiled religion to circulate, like the illustrious blood through the left ventricle of the heart, which circulates through the whole body and gives vitality. The following singular CREED was rejected in the yearly meeting, by an overwhelming majority of its members, and we are at no loss to account for the noble decision, when we consider the independence that has always characterized the Society, and I trust it has taught many a useful lesson, to those rigid Sectarians, who were looking up to these man-made Elders, as a superior race of beings, guided by the spirit of truth in all their movements; but alas, will any rational being presume to say, these men were dictated by the unerring spirit of truth, when they were endeavoring to frame a Creed that would have disgraced the days of the flight of Mahomet, much more the 19TH CENTURY in which we live? - Marvel not then that this stretch of power was curtailed, and the fetters broken before they were firmly rivetted - May this human effort stimulate us to redoubled vigilance in guarding our Religious rights, prizing our privileges, and appreciating the manifold blessings that are bountifully strewed upon us by an Overruling Supreme Intelligence. N.B. This Pamphlet was honorably rejected by the Annual Assembly, and ordered not to be published, still it was not expunged from the minutes of said meeting, and some orthodox ones entertain a belief that it will one day come forth and be sanctioned by the yearly meeting of Philadelphia, but I must beg leave to differ from them in opinion. - It may possibly meet the approbation of some of the



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loyal orthodox tribes on the other side the Atlantic, as I am credibly informed a number of printed copies have been transported across the ocean - however, time will demonstrate all things, and bring all hidden works of darkness to light - Even so.  
Philadelphia, 4th mo. 14th, 1824.



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**EXTRACTS  
CONCERNING  
THE DIVINITY  
OF OUR  
LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.**

At a Meeting for Sufferings, held in Philadelphia, the 17th of the First month, 1823.

An Essay containing a few brief extracts from the writings of our primitive Friends on several of the doctrines of the Christian Religion, which have been always held, and are most surely believed by us, being produced and read; on solid consideration, they appeared so likely to be productive of benefit, if a publication thereof was made, and spread among our members generally, that the committee appointed on the printing and distribution of religious books, are directed to have a sufficient number of them struck off, and distributed accordingly; being as follows:

We have always believed that the Holy Scriptures were written by divine inspiration, that they are able to make wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus; for, as holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, they are therefore profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. But they are not, or cannot be subjected to the fallen corrupt reason of man. We have always asserted our willingness that all our doctrines be tried by them; and admit it as a positive maxim, that whatsoever any do (pretending to the spirit) which is contrary to the scriptures, be accounted and judged a delusion of the Devil.

We receive and believe in the testimony of the Scriptures, simply as it stands in the text, "There are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father the Word and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." We believe in the only wise, omnipotent and everlasting God; the Creator of all things in Heaven and earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made, who is God over all, blessed forever.

The infinite and most wise God, who is the foundation, root and spring of all operations, hath wrought all things by his eternal word and Son. This is that word that was in the beginning with



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God, and was God; by whom all things were made and without whom was not any thing made that was made.

Jesus Christ is the beloved and only begotten Son of God, who, in the fullness of time, through the Holy Ghost, was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary - in him we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. We believe that he was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin; that he was crucified for us in the flesh, was buried and rose again the third day by the power of his Father for our justification, ascended up into Heaven and now sitteth at the right hand of God.

As then that infinite and incomprehensible fountain of life and motion operateth in the creatures by his own eternal word and power, so no creature has access again unto him but in and by the Son, according to his own blessed declaration, "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." Again "I am the way the truth and the life, no man cometh unto the Father but by me." Hence he is the only mediator between God and man, for having been with God from all eternity, being himself God, and also in time partaking of the nature of man; through him is the goodness and love of God conveyed to mankind, and by him again man receiveth and partaketh of these mercies.

We acknowledge that of ourselves we are not able to do any thing that is good; neither can we procure remission of sin or justification by any act of our own; but acknowledge all to be of and from his love which is the original and fundamental cause of our acceptance, "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

We firmly believe it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings, he might offer up himself a sacrifice to God for our sins, who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree; so we believe, that the remission of sins which any partake of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and no otherwise; for it is by the obedience of that one, that the free gift is come upon all to justification. Thus Christ by his death and sufferings, hath reconciled us to God, even while we are enemies; that is, he offers reconciliation to us; and we are thereby put into a capacity of being reconciled. God is willing to be reconciled unto us and ready to remit the sins that are past, if we repent.

Jesus Christ is the intercessor and advocate with the Father in Heaven, appearing in the presence of God for us, being touched with a feeling of our infirmities, sufferings and sorrows; and also by his spirit in our hearts, he maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying abba Father. He tasted death for every man, shed his blood for all men, and is the



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propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. He alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, the Captain of our salvation, the promised seed, who bruises the serpent's head; the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last.

He is our wisdom, righteousness, justification and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other; for there is no other name under Heaven, given among men, whereby we may be saved.

As he ascended far above all Heavens, that he might fill all things, his fullness cannot be comprehended or contained in any finite creature, but in some measure known and experienced in us, as we are prepared to receive the same; as of his fullness we have received, grace for grace. He is both the word of faith and a quickening Spirit in us, whereby he is the immediate cause, author, object and strength of our living faith in his name and power, and of the work of our Salvation from sin and bondage of corruption.

The Son of God cannot be divided from the least or lowest appearance of his own divine light or life in us, no more than the Sun from its own light, nor is the suffering of his light within, set up or mentioned in opposition to him, or to his fullness considered as in himself or without us; nor can any measure or degree of light received from Christ, be properly called the fullness of Christ, or Christ as in fullness, nor exclude him from being our complete Saviour. And where the least degree or measure of this light and life of Christ within, is sincerely waited in, followed and obeyed, there is a blessed increase of light and grace known and felt; as the path of the just, it shines more and more until the perfect day, and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, hath been and is truly experienced.

Whereof we say, that whatever Christ then did, both living and dying, was of great benefit to the salvation of all that have believed, and now do, and that hereafter shall believe in him unto justification and acceptance with God: but the way to come to that faith, is to receive and obey the manifestation of his divine Light and grace in the conscience, which leads men to believe, and not to disown or undervalue Christ, as the common sacrifice and mediator. For we do affirm, that to follow this holy light in the conscience, and to turn our minds and bring all our deeds and thoughts to it, is the readiest, nay the only right way, to have true, living, and sanctifying faith in Christ, as he appeared in the flesh; and to discern the Lord's body, coming, and sufferings aright, and to receive any real benefit by him as our only sacrifice and mediator, according to the beloved disciple's emphatical testimony, "If we walk in the light, as he (God) is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth us from



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all sin."

By the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ without us, we, truly repenting and believing, are, through the mercy of God, justified from the imputation of sins and transgressions that are past, as though they had never been committed: and by the mighty work of Christ within us, the power, nature, and habits of sin are destroyed; that as sin once reigned unto death, even so now grace reigneth through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,  
Jonathan Evans, Clerk.



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### **DOCTRINE OF PRIMITIVE QUAKERISM.**

All the primitive writings on the Doctrine of the Gospel, which were wrote by Fox, Barclay, and Penn, and other worthies of their day, go to establish that there is but one God, the sole Creator, Former, Supporter and Governor of the Universe, the only Supreme object of religious worship, ad adoration; and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time; who was approved of God, by miracles, signs, and wonders; that he was put to death by wicked hands, yet declared to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of Holiness, by the Resurrection of the Dead. That he was the Son and sent of God, the only begotten of the Father and the true Messiah, the following texts of Scripture corroborate, Mark 12th chapter. 28th to the 34th verse. - Acts 17th chap. 22d to 31st verse. - 1st Cor. 8th chap. 5th and 6th verses. - 1st Tim. 2d chap. 1st and 5th verses. - 2d Tim. 1st chapter, 1st, 2d, 7th and 10th verses. - I have searched the Scriptures, and the writings of Primitive Friends, and I cannot find that they any where speak of Christ's Eternal Divinity and Omnipotence. - Query, has the Society of Quakers, (so called,) changed its principles, or is it become less tolerant, than formerly? (perhaps both.) Since an open profession of the primitive Doctrines, as held forth by our ancient forefathers, now incurs censure and even disownment, both in England and America. I do not learn that any of the ancient Friends held to the Athanasian Creed, i.e. Three Co-equal and Co-eternal Gods - Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; hence I cannot learn how an Athanasian Creed could be extracted from the writings of Primitive Friends. Letter to an Elder, by a Juvenile Member. I have no desire to spy out the nakedness of the land, nor to dig up the iniquities of the people. My feelings are such as would rather retire from the view that is given me, adopting the language of Simeon - "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes hath seen thy salvation." My spirit has been carried, as in the Lord's day, to see and to feel the highest degree of iniquity, and most secret abominations, that the seven-headed beast has yet brought upon the land; the mystery of Spiritual Babylon, clothed in scarlet, of high profession, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, that was not and yet is. This mystery of Babylon, with many of her abominations, has been searched out, and detected in many of her forms and appearances, by different reformers, glorious sons of the morning, who have stood as lights in the world, and who, though dead, yet livingly speak, and prove, that in the darkest ages, "God hath not left himself without a witness" of his life-giving power; without a valiant to wield the sword of his spirit against the desolating effects of spiritual wickedness in high places, a putting on the form of godliness with all secret unrighteousness. And these have endeavoured, as faithful servants, to lay the foundation of a city, wherein she, Mystery Babylon, should not find her out an





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habitation. They have walled it about, and set watchmen thereon to prevent her entrance. But while they have been looking at her abroad, and endeavouring to secure themselves against her from without, she hath risen up in the midst of them, entered the sanctuary, seated herself in the highest places, taken the holy things in her hand, of which she maketh them drunk, while they think they dwell in safety. She takes the richest vestments from the treasury to clothe herself with, and the jewels of God for her most excellent ornaments. She puts the crown of religious sanction upon her head, and sits as queen in high profession; and as she speaks the language of the church, she sits in all her former power and authority, and is not once suspected.

There is much building upon the excellency of our principles, our order and peculiar favours as a society. We hold forth our principles as a light to the nations, as having been favoured of God with a more extensive display of his will in the spirituality with which they are fraught. But how have I been made to feel and see that very same alienation, superstition, and hardness of heart, which we see in the formal professors of those many societies over which we claim pre-eminence. And I believe I may say, that the mystery of iniquity was never more subtle in Popes, Bishops, or Priests, than in some of the high professors of spirituality among us; nor more hard, by reason of the purity of their profession, to dig out. We have orders and degrees in the advancement of our members; and the same spirit, the same prudence and human calculation have crept into the appointment, support, and government of these, as are to be found in the government of Popish and Protestant Churches; against which our forefathers had to declaim, as idolatry, mockery, tyranny, and oppression. The same authority, human prudence, and calculation are exercised with us, to support the spirituality of our principles, or the Truth as we call it, as are exercised with others to support the systems and ordinances. We would not be found contending for ceremonies; our principles will not allow of that; but we take precautions, we have appointments for certain services (which have dwindled into mere human appointments) to promote our principles and order, under the character of "Truth;" to repel all invasions and waylay all encroachments, that the church may be preserved without spot or blemish before God.

So much care must be extended and labour bestowed, or the beautiful outside will be laid waste, and its corruptions exposed to the view of others, to the dishonour of our Society, or what we call the "Truth." Here creeps in great deception, under the specious pretext of care and concern for the truth. What is more subtle, what is harder to reach than this legal, this superstitious, this false exercise for the truth; this holding the truth in unrighteousness? Our Society has established rules and precepts for Church government, conduct, example, and conversation, more enlightened, and nearer what



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would be the fruits of Christ's spirit, were that in dominion, than any society whatever: and herein is our greater danger of deception, and of the intrigues of satan in his various transformations. The laws are strict, appointments must be made for such and such services; and then follows the injunction of their being performed in the authority of Truth. But our discipline makes no exemption for the want of that authority.

Now we believe (in the light that is given us) that many who go forth in the service, and by the appointment of the Church, have not the same authority and power in the truth, as was witnessed by our forefathers, the founders of our discipline; and which they expected would be preserved as an unction, a putter forth, leader, and director, through future generations. But unhappily, in common with other sects, we have dwindled. We have, in great measure, left our first love, this holy unction of spirit, which was so manifest in the beginning; and have slidden imperceptibly from the power into the lifeless form; which, as a form, will do no more for us, and is no better to us, than that of other sects is to them. And a sufficiency of this life and power, to give a zest and spring of action to all our movements in the Church, and to support that testimony which is so expressly enjoined in the letter of our law, being wanting, in a greater or less degree, every where among us, recourse must be had to human strength, or the walls of the letter will fall, and our corruptions be exposed to the view of the heathen; so that they might exultingly say, "Where is your God?" But unwilling that this should be the case, that our reproach should come upon us; and with a high veneration for George Fox and others of his day, as favoured with the revelation of the Father, and for the many sufferings which they underwent, to procure our privileges and establish the peaceable government of our principles, as a separate people; and perhaps seeing, as on "Mount Pisgah," the excellency of the principle, as experimental, and the beauty of the outward order; we want that it should be supported, that such a light should not be totally extinguished. We cannot bear the idea, that this temple, which was so many years in building, and composed of such excellent materials, should be suffered to fall to the ground, for want of repairs. And thus we set ourselves to work, as enjoined by the letter of the law, to repair its waste places, and supply its vacancies. And not waiting for the first principle of action, (the light and power of truth) to rise over all in ourselves, and go to before us as a devouring fire; we fix upon the outward support of the testimony, which was given forth in that spirit and power. And though we may be sincere, according to our measure of light, yet in our hands, this testimony, however excellent in itself, becomes a dead letter, which only killeth. There is no life, there is no spirit in it; and it can produce nothing but that which is of its own nature, a spurious offspring, miserable darkness, death and corruption; even thick darkness to be felt by the true seed. And thus have we become, with all the light



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and superior favours we assume, an abomination unto God, a stinking savour before him.

We take the same words into our mouths, which were given with power in the beginning. We hold forth the same things, make the same profession of being governed by the "Light within," of the operation of God as a spirit upon the soul, of spiritual baptism, sanctification, and redemption; but know them not livingly wrought and brought forth; though we may experience something, that we try to clothe with that name, of which we have made an image; and when we feel the burthens and troubles of our own earthly nature, we call it spiritual baptism; we feel weak and poor, as not having access to the springs of life; we feel the frailty of human nature, and call it humility, wherein there is no true self-abasement before God. We feel emptiness and want; and instead of letting those feelings go on to do their work, to lead us to and sink us into God, as the great all in all, we sit down under them, giving them the name of that poverty of spirit of which is the Kingdom of Heaven. We have mournful feelings; we experience a kind of melancholy, which is the effect of the absence of the vivifying power of Grace; feeling the perishing state of earthly comforts, and not knowing the resurrection of that life which is above and beyond them; and here we rest again, as entitled to the promise of Christ to those that mourn, of being "comforted," perhaps in another world if not in this. We mourn that the law and the testimony are not better supported, and here we think ourselves the true "mourners in Zion." We now and then feel a glance of the beams of light and the sunshine of love upon us; and we lay hold of this as an evidence of Divine approbation and of the acceptance of our states; and thus we lose its use in the designs of God, as a means to draw us from ourselves, from our dark states into himself, that we may travel from the mere profession, into the fullness of that life and light of which he dispenses this ray.

These feelings which we call religious exercises, and which are, in the beginning, the effect of the light discovering to us the darkness of our states, would, if rightly improved, lead us out of them, into God, the resurrection, power and life. But as we sit down under them, giving them these excellent names, we build upon a sandy foundation, which though it has Christ in profession, and the revelation of the Father, must and will be shaken by God, when he arises in his power, "to shake not only the earth but the heavens also;" these false heavens of theory, upon which the visible Churches are so much building.

The highest and last mystery of iniquity has gotten her place in the chief seats of the assemblies amongst us, in a more refined and subtle working, than has ever before appeared in Christendom; as being deeper rooted and more hidden, from the view of reformation-light; I mean that light that has been committed to our understandings by the many reformations, from



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Papacy down to our society; consisting, as to us, in a mere change of views, which finds and leaves us in the same darkness that they were in. Thus when she is discovered in one form of religion, she passes into another, as that becomes established in a body capacity; whereby a power and dominion are the same, though she changes her name and appearance.

This mystery of iniquity has become so exceedingly crafty, has attained to such a refined height of dissimulation, in its presentations to the soul, that it deceives and builds up those in whom it dwells, in such a manner, that it is almost impossible to make them sensible of their states. There are none so hard to reach by the power, though high in belief and profession of the power; none in whom the power is so likely to be rejected, if it come not according to their ideas; while they think themselves deeply exercised and concerned for the truth and its prosperity. And by blending this spurious exercise with a sanctity, a solemnity, that feels so much for the state of the church and the honour of truth, it has great power to deceive itself and others; whereby it produces a numerous offspring, a progeny that cannot be numbered.

The operation of the spirit of truth, as renovating and redeeming from the spirit and temper of the world, and leading out of all forms, types, shadows, and ceremonies, is their great "Diana." You cannot reach them nor raise on spark of life, in speaking of all the excellent things contained in our principles. They will own them to be just, and own you in them. They are agreeable to the orthodoxy of the Fathers, and it is what they have long believed in, and agreeable to what they have experienced. Here there is no reaching them. All is Unity; all goes on well; there are no schisms or difficulties among us, all in that respect is answered clear. But if one should speak of any thing a little different; if he should vary in particular points, or carry any thing a little beyond what has been received through the Fathers as "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," however in the life and power, they are touched in a tender point; the great Diana of our profession is struck at; encroachments are made upon its dominions, and it is likely to be lowered in estimation, after so much pains, which we, as well as our forefathers, have taken to exalt it. Care must be taken to secure it from harm, and to prevent all violation of its sacred prerogative. The letter of the law is resorted to in this for direction; and what is the result? "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die."

But much being expressed in the Discipline against a hasty manner of acting, exhorting to dwell low in meekness, patience and forbearance, waiting for the pure feeling, in all these things; that which would naturally come out in a hasty manner of acting, is turned by the letter of the law and its received expositions, into the more secret workings of the will, which



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produces a wonderful exercise in the church, and all in that which is seeking to save its own life: an exercise which we can create ourselves, and which is in reality and essence, only the effect of the will being disturbed in its own righteousness, traditions and religious Babel-building; of one passion warring against another, and trying to subdue another. It is oppressed and bowed down like a bulrush; and thinks itself under the true exercise, as it knows no other. Here this working will, which has gotten into the Church, though it puts on the most precious jewels of God for its ornaments, lives in its greatest strength and alienation from God.

People in every society may think they are doing right, in attempting to secure and propagate their own peculiar tenets, forms and ordinances, against all infringements. But this is the nature of false zeal and self-will when they get into religion. These would see where they stood, if they could not place the sanction of duty upon their movements.

We think that our society will bear no comparison with others; for that they, in their church government, support errors, while we support the "Truth;" and that our manner is so far superior to theirs, so much more enlightened and spiritual, that it precludes the same room for superstition and formality, which we see in others, in their adherence to and support of ordinances. But in this very place, in which superstition and formality seem to be shut out, they come in and live in greater subtlety. We may reason against the use of reason and not perceive we have one particle of its nature in us: So we may hold up a testimony against superstition, ceremony and imposed duties, in the very same spirit, in which they are performed and supported.

We may hold up the spirituality of our principles, and the renovating power of truth in the heart, in the same idolatrous and self-righteous spirit, which would make others reject and condemn them; persons whom we should consider deistical and profane.

We are enamoured with the beauty and excellency of the many virtues, recommended amongst us. We say, "What people are like this people, what laws and statutes like ours?" and seeing this beauty and order, we wish to be conformed thereunto; and not getting down in spirit, to dwell with God alone, leaving every thing else; we want to procure unto ourselves these virtues; and so we go to work, endeavouring to conform ourselves to every identical rule and regulation, of one of the finest buildings that ever was erected; having Christ's spirit, in profession, for its basis, the authority of God for its foundation, through the revelation of his will to the instrumental founders, George Fox and others of his day: Like the Jewish Temple worshippers, who had for their foundation stone, "that God built the Temple,



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through the instrumentality of his servant Solomon, to worship him in," and appointed its rules and regulations: whose stubborn hearts and perverse wills, proved an occasion of drawing from the lip of Truth, (the true Christ) the most severe reproofs and woful denunciations, that ever flowed therefrom. To Publicans and Harlots he spoke in language soft as oil, compared therewith. And these Temple worshippers were they, who most rejected him and finally put him to death; though they believed in him traditionally as one that should come.

But to return to the strict observers of the rules and precepts of our society. They have so high an idea of the spiritual graces it recommends, that they would not, on any account, be found deviating therefrom.

They would feel the same reproach of conscience, for their neglect, that others would feel, in neglecting to approach the Sacramental table, which they consider a duty and an ordinance of God. And they become such perfect scholars, by application, that they learn to regulate themselves agreeably to their ideas of right and wrong, in all things, according to the creeds of the Church. They walk as by a line drawn before them; which presents to the eye of beholders, a seemingly perfect model of Christianity; and not one particle of that unction of spirit, that brokenness and humility before God, which he owns by his presence. If justice, mercy, meekness, patience, humility, forbearance, and all the fruits of the spirit, had been considered, by the Scribes and Pharisees, of as great consequence, as they are with us, they would no doubt have been punctual, in observing these outward acts, as a duty. I believe that the genuine fruits of self abasement before God, are as much wanting among us, as in any society of religious professors. But they are so much called for and demanded, that a substitute, a likeness is necessary, to get along with a lulled conscience, and escape censure. And though we may not feel that we have any design to act hypocritically; that, our profession and views would condemn at once; yet the serpent acts in greater subtlety than he would in downright hypocrisy, finding he can work best, when he has duty for his engine. We have imbibed an idea that it would be wrong, to act in a spirit, that would appear like self-will, in conducting the affairs of the Church. We know pretty well how that looks, and how the fruits of Christ's spirit look. We therefore endeavour, with great exactness, to keep down and suppress every action or movement, that could have this stamp put upon it. One part of our nature is taken to subdue, or rather suppress, another; and as one appears so much more religious and agreeable than the other, it easily succeeds, as the will or self-love turns it. "Condescension one unto another," is a very important thing with us. That must be observed, or all will go to ruin. And all these things are observed, conformed unto, worshipped and revered, in the same spirit, the same sincerity, and the same alienation



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from God, in which the Catholics go to mass, implore saints, and receive the body and blood of Christ in bread and wine. There are amongst us, those who look through all unto God, regarding nothing but as it is found in him, however sanctioned by others; doing nothing but by the dictates of the spirit of truth. So there are among them, those whom God owns by his presence, and who are sealed, in the midst of heathenish darkness, with the light of his spirit. And it is as easy for us to take our principles, rules, and regulations, however excellent in themselves, into the golden cup of man's own will and selfish nature, and convert them into abominations, to become drunk with them, to become idol-worshippers of them, as it is for those who literally worship idols, made with men's hands. We want to be religious, we feel that something is necessary, that something is lacking; and if we do not cease from acting entirely, in thought, word and deed, so that God's spirit can rise into dominion within us, we are instantly set about doing something in ourselves, according to what we have been taught, as required of us. We are much more willing when we want to be religious, to perform great actions, to enter into laborious exercises of body and mind, than to stand still and let God work in us, and through us, according to his own good pleasure. Instead of this, our own judgment, with the judgment of others, whose experience we venerate, has assumed the prerogative of God; has gotten the place of God, and sits as God. It looks at consequences; it measures and limits according to human prudence; it takes upon it the power to restrain and set bounds to the spirit; to give directions, to set up and to pull down; it has become counsellor, judge, and lawgiver, under the excellent name of the guidance of truth, as revealed to our predecessors, and proved to be the right way by the worthies of many generations: And as it was given by God, through them, so it must always remain, as the emporium of the secrets of his wisdom and knowledge, a guide to succeeding generations. What is more calculated to build up man's own will and every subtle transformation of his nature, than such conclusions as these? Self is very sagacious to save its own life; and if it can get into religion, and clothe itself with its pure garments, it attains to the summit of its glory; it spreads like an infection, because it is both beautiful and easy of access; and through the great deceivableness of unrighteousness, it professes to be crucified with Christ, while it knows nothing of that crucifying and regenerating power through which only, as little children, we can enter the kingdom of heaven.

I am aware that a full sight and sense of all these abominations, is no security against the intrusion of the same spirit; but that even here, with the greatest degree of divine illumination, it may arise and be still more dangerous. But in the childlike simplicity of the heart before God, these many difficulties and dangers, with which we are surrounded, are removed or lose their influence over us. All cares and fears subside; all anxiety and





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watching, with regard to particulars, cease; and in this guardian power, the soul feels itself preserved untouched, unhurt by all that surrounds it, and kept in the liberty of the children of God, which nothing can bring into bondage. And here religion, as it thus becomes experimental, in the renunciation of the will and simple obedience, is at once stripped of its mysteries and perplexities, its argumentative defences and systematical rules, and reduced to the simplicity of the present moment. And as all the graces of the spirit are comprised in this, we need not labour to acquire particular virtues; for God being all in all, and the creature nothing, he is not wanting in furnishing the soul with every thing that can satisfy; for in that the will becomes his will, there is no void; and thus, having nothing, we possess all things.

L.P.



December 1, Wednesday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Report of the Secretary of the Navy." –AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL AFFAIRS, I. No. 249.

In the national election, for the 2d time in American political history, no candidate achieved a majority of the total electoral votes in the Electoral College and the body became deadlocked. The decision of who would become President would need to be held over to be determined in the House of Representatives in the following year (131 electoral votes, just over half of the 261 total, were necessary to elect a candidate as the president; votes were counted for the initial time in this election, but that had no effect on the outcome; the 12th Amendment to the US Constitution dictated that Congress turn over the presidential election to the House of Representatives). Would it be General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee with 99 electoral votes and 153,544 popular votes, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams with 84 electoral and 108,740 popular votes, Secretary of State William H. Crawford of the Democratic-Republican party (who had suffered a stroke before the election) with 41 electoral votes, or Henry Clay of Virginia with 37 electoral votes? (Clay, allowed by this to become the President-maker, would throw his electoral votes in the direction of Adams in exchange for being appointed as Adams's Secretary of State — the repercussions of this deal would split the Democratic-Republican party into Whigs and Democratic-Republicans.)

The [Quaker](#) traveling preacher, [Elias Hicks](#), bluntly embraced in a sermon in Philadelphia what must be the ultimate consequence of religious leveling, to wit, that:

*"We are  
on a level  
with  
all the rest  
of  
God's creatures."*



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1826



September 9, Saturday: This was the beginning of the great [Quaker](#) schism between [Hicksites](#) or integrationists and Evangelicals or Traditional Friends or apartheidists or segregationists. Thomas Shillitoe, a British Friend who had been minuted to come to the United States to express the concerns of the keepers of the faith in England, had just landed, and rose in Hester Street Meeting in Brooklyn on *Paumanok* “Long Island,” to declare that Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was “unchristian.” Although during his visit he several times passed the door of the Hicks home, and once was seen passing and personally entreated by Friend Elias to come inside, he believed

*“It was safest for me  
not to comply with his request.”*

A contemporary biographer of this Quaker worthy declined to specify what it was that had gotten the English Quakers so exercised, explaining that

*“Many of Elias Hicks’s assertions are  
too blasphemous for quotation.”*

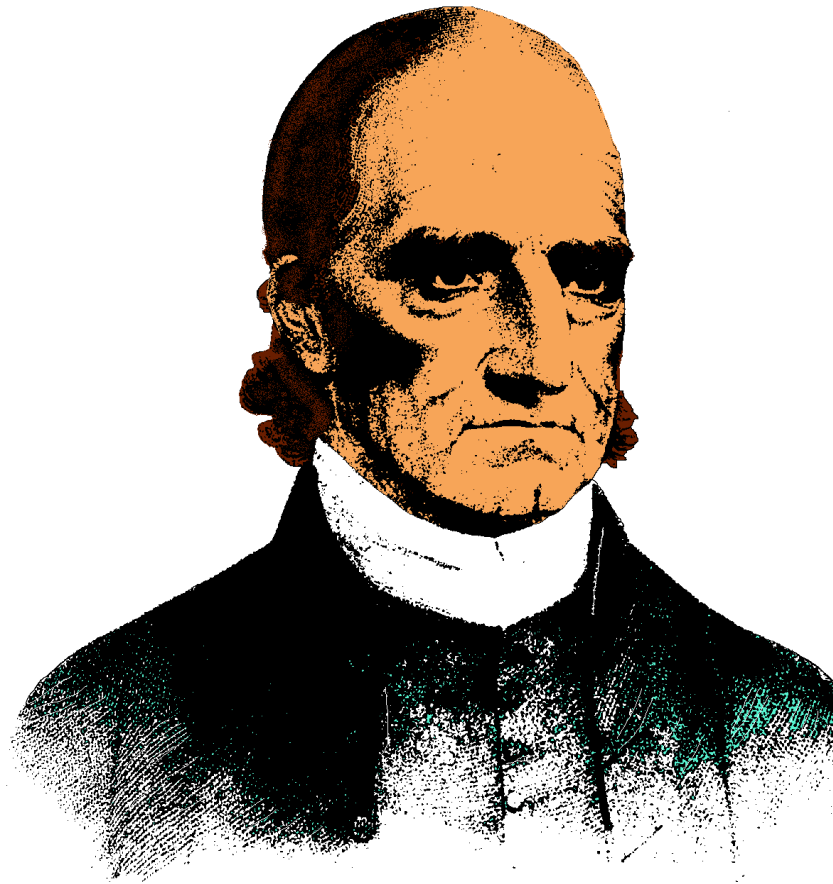


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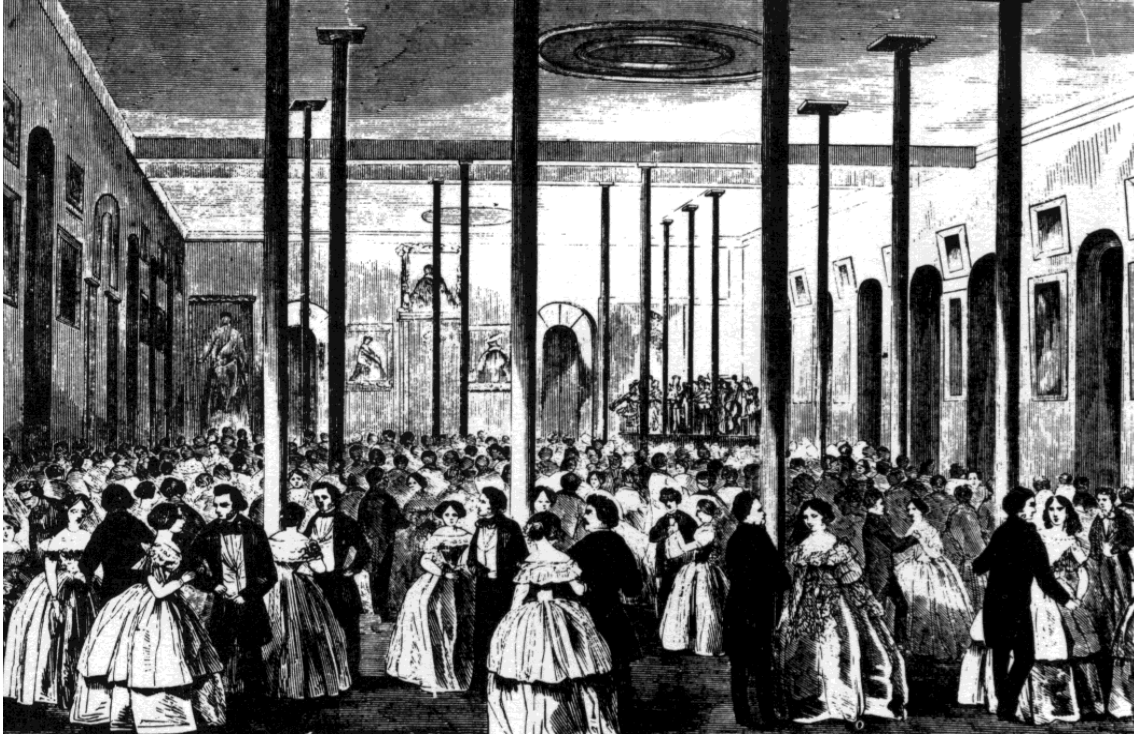
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But for many American Quakers, English Quakerism was regarded as not only the originator of the faith but also as the defender of the faith against a great falling away.

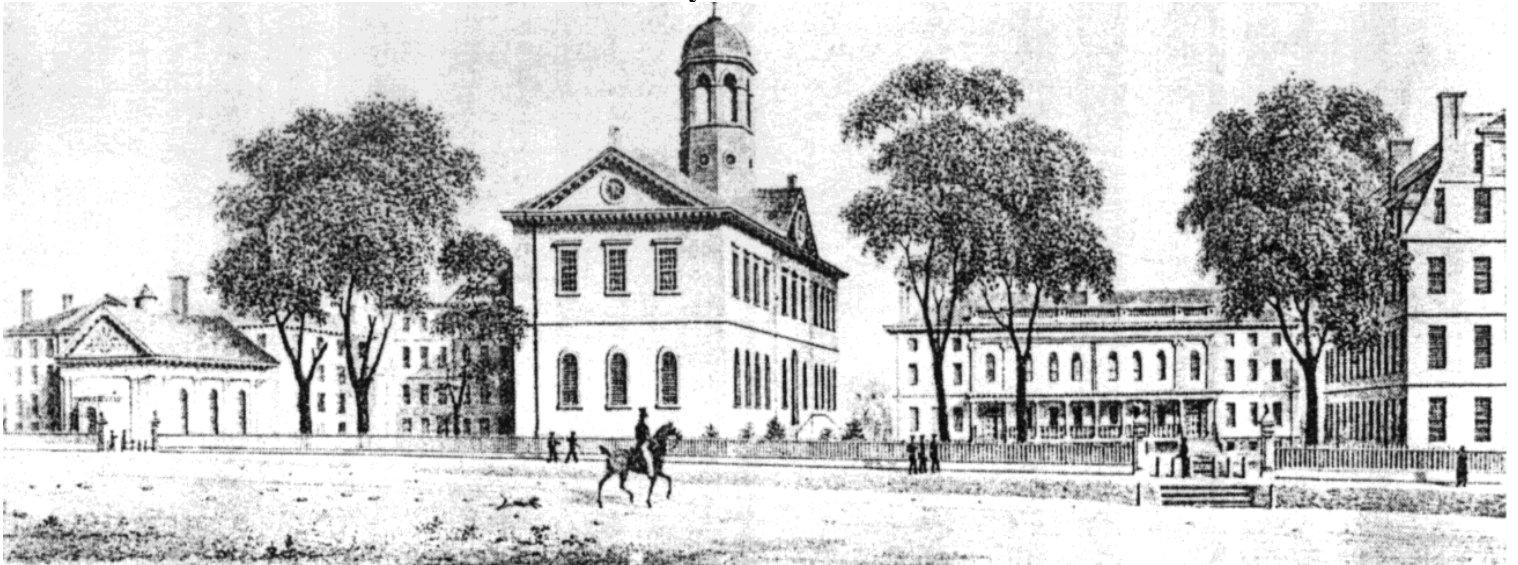


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[Waldo Emerson](#) graduated from [Harvard Divinity School](#) at the age of 23.



Class Day in Harvard Hall





THE HICKSITE

THE ORTHODOX

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



November 16, Thursday: The great Quaker Schism had been initiated earlier in this month. Thus when Friend [Elias Hicks](#) presented a sermon at Chester, Pennsylvania, certain other Quakers were primed to discover it patently offensive:

*Now my whole drift is, to gather the minds of the people to the light within, which is the same as the grace of God, the manifestation of the Spirit that reproves for evil. It was this that Jesus recommended to his disciples, it was this light which George Fox preached – it is an emanation from God in the soul of man, by his power and Spirit; and he is every where, for in him we live, move, and have our being [Acts 17:28]... how reasonable and plain a case it is. Because as God has all power and comprehends all knowledge; so he is in our souls and ready to open all knowledge that will do us good; for he has all knowledge of good and evil. Man never brought into the world any knowledge; and he has no power to decide correctly. It is only through the efficiency of the divine light and life or grace of God, that he can decide. And this is given to every one to profit with. Now it is called Light, especially by us of this Society, who profess to be Christians. This is the foundation which George Fox came out upon – he directed them to "mind the light."*

GEORGE FOX

At the conclusion of Friend Elias's sermon, first Friend Jonathan Evans, and following him Friend Isaac Lloyd, elders of the Pine Street Meeting in Philadelphia, rose in opposition and expressed evangelical sentiments about the atonement, mediation, and intercession of our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, accusing the traveling minister of supposing that this King of kings and Lord of lords before whose judgment seat every soul shall be arraigned **was a mere man who had perhaps come for Jews only:**

*We do not conceive him to be a mere man; and we therefore desire, that people may not suppose that we hold any such doctrines – or that we have any unity with them.*

JESUS

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 16th of 11 M / Our Meeting was silent & a season of leanness to mee, as many have been of late. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS





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1827



The increasing schism among Friends, between [Hicksite](#) and Orthodox, began to have a deleterious impact upon [Quaker](#) educational institutions. The secondary education that was available inside the city of Philadelphia was under the control of the Orthodox body. Hicksite Friends, therefore, in the country, had begun to have a problem in securing an appropriate secondary education for their young people. Since 1799 they had for instance been sending their young people to the Westtown School in Chester County, but in this year this school also came under the control of Orthodox Friends.

QUAKER EDUCATION



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

We may note in passing that the school sponsored by the New England Yearly Meeting, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the school now known as "[Moses Brown School](#)," was firmly under the control of the Orthodox side of the schism. Hicksite Friends were not welcome, not even to visit, not even to worship. The reason for that was Friend [Moses Brown](#) himself. Moses was rich, Moses was used to throwing his weight around, and Moses had decided that abolitionism, the abolition of race [slavery](#), meant segregation, the separation of the races — but the Hicksites had decided that instead what abolitionism meant was integration into a "Peaceable Kingdom" of the races: amalgamation. The two sides, Jim Crow segregationism versus liberal race mingling, had become anathema to one another.

(It is an irony of history that this pioneer in antebellum Jim Crow racial segregationism, Friend Moses Brown, is now considered to be among the Quaker saints — merely because, after he had calculated that his black slaves had paid him back through their labors the cash price he had paid for their bodies and souls, he did grant them manumission papers.)



THE HICKSITE

THE ORTHODOX

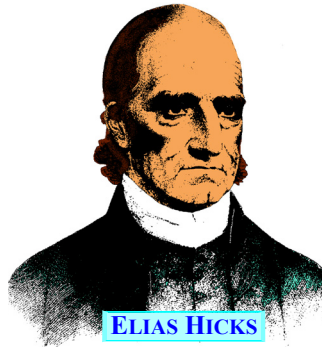
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



July 29, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 29th of 7 M / In our Mornng Meeting Hannah Dennis was first in a good solid testimony on the power of truth & the necessity of yealding to its dictates. – then David Buffum was singularly favourd in a very impressive testimony on Faith in God – in which he cautioned us against the danger of adopting the sentiments which is so prevalent among mankind "That we are not under obligation to believe anything we cannot account for or that we cannot comprehend" in which he fully discountenanced the new Ideas of [Hixism](#) & other vague ideas now floating amoung friends. – After which Hannah made an addition with which I did fully unite. – as a good appendix to the foregoing We were Silent in the Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



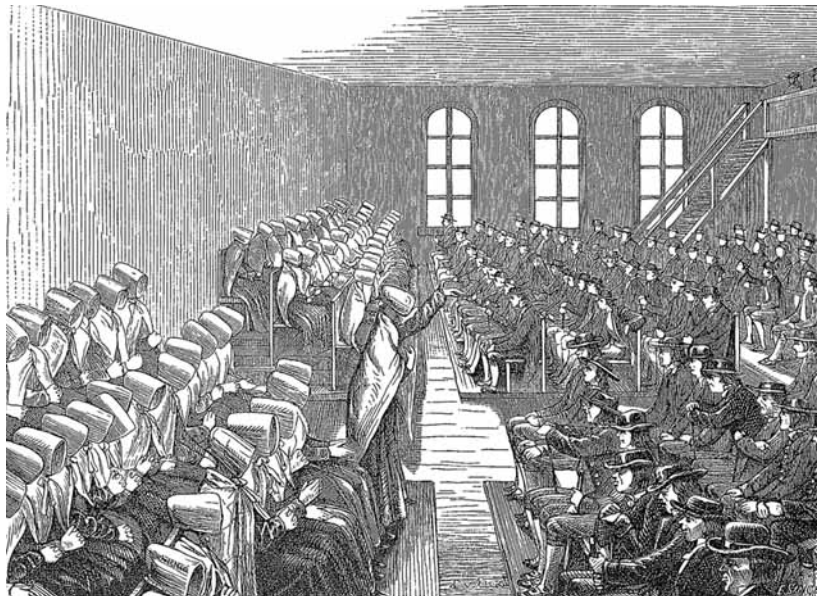
ELIAS HICKS

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)[THE ORTHODOX](#)[THE HICKSITE](#)[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)**1828**

The [Religious Society of Friends](#) began to experience a deep doctrinal schism which split the society into two factions. The detrimental effect of this schism on the Society was profound. Flushing Meeting on Paumanok Long Island was no exception. The “[Hicksite](#)” faction, being the majority at Flushing, retained the meetinghouse, but part of the property was given to the “Orthodox” faction and they built their own meetinghouse next door. (That Pietistic apartheidist meeting house would later be torn down, but the Religious Society of Friends would not heal its internal division until 1955.)



Friend [Elias Hicks](#) went out on the third of his three very extensive visits to [Quaker](#) meetings. On this third journey, he went in a one-horse carriage from the Jericho meetinghouse on Long Island (still extant) to visit and give testimony in meetings in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, returning to his home and farm near



**THE HICKSITE**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

Jericho, Long Island in 1829.



The form of Quakerism terming itself “Orthodox” had been becoming more and more evangelical, in the sense that it had come to center itself upon a belief in a Jesus figure who granted to those who “believed” in him a sort of easy grace that made good works quite irrelevant and instantaneously forgave all personal shortcomings. This was in contrast with the so-called “New Light” Friends, more conservative, led by Friend Hannah Jenkins Barnard of the Hudson Monthly Meeting, followers of the tradition of Friend Elias of Long Island who were insisting that the path to grace led through a life lived according to the Discipline of Friends. This was also in contrast with the followers of the way of the mystic antimaterialist Friend Job Scott. In Ohio, there was something of a riot between the Hicksites and the Orthodox, which led one Friend to inquire “What kind of a religion is this?” Friend William Rotch, Jr. of New Bedford, who had for a long period been the clerk of New England Yearly Meeting, was disciplined for “expressions of disunity” on account of his having categorized the evangelicism of the Orthodox branch as nontraditional.

**CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT**



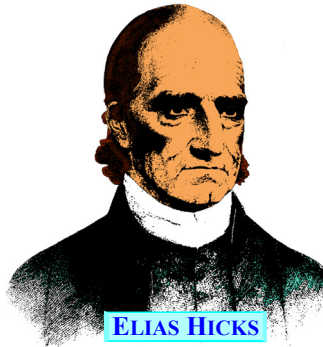
THE ORTHODOX

THE HICKSITE

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May: At the First Day worship of the New York [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), Friend [Elias Hicks](#) sat in the morning at the Rose Street meetinghouse and in the afternoon at the Hester Street meetinghouse, while the English visitor, the evangelical Thomas Shillitoe, did the opposite. Then, on Monday at the meeting for business, the two religious leaders confronted each other. Samuel Mott was elected Clerk but, due to the passion of the event, the only way he could be gotten up to the Clerk's table was by passing him over the heads of the crowd. (Those of us who have been to a rock concert will be able to imagine this scene.) Friend Elias, "that poor deluded old man," leaned down from the gallery to lend Friend Samuel a hand in the struggle to get him up to where he could touch the Clerk's table — but Elias's hand slipped.



When the table had been torn to pieces, Friend Thomas and the evangelicals walked out and formed a new meeting. The great split had occurred.

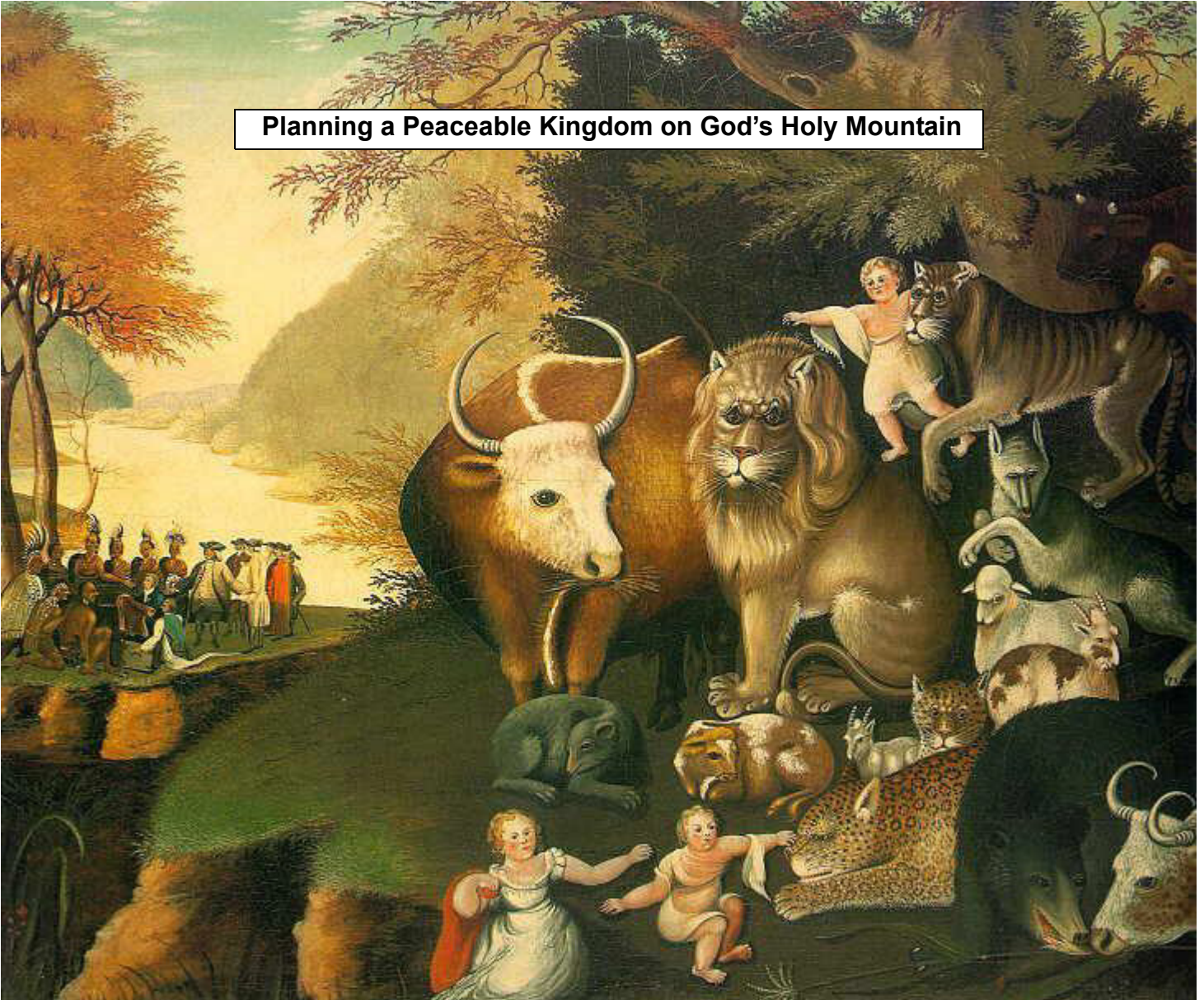
In the New York Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, it turned out after the clerk's table had been repaired, there were 14,768 [Hicksites](#), 5,351 Evangelicals, and 743 Refusers. Meanwhile, Elias's cousin, Friend [Edward Hicks](#), another Quaker minister, was painting the perhaps one hundred versions of his "Peaceable Kingdom" of Isaiah 65:25, which he distributed to various meeting houses in conciliation. These



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paintings all showed the famous peaceful interaction between white founding fathers and “Chief Tammany.”<sup>6</sup>

### Planning a Peaceable Kingdom on God's Holy Mountain



6. Or *Tamanend*, after whom Tammany Hall in New York City, and the bully boys of Boss Tweed, were named. In 1681 King Charles II of England had granted a charter to William Penn, Quaker, for a “Holy Experiment” in a land to be called “Pennsylvania.” Having received royal permissions for what they were worth, Penn immediately sought the permission and cooperation of the actual owners and inhabitants of this New Land. “Well,” you might say, “so did the founding fathers of Concord, Massachusetts!” But you’d be wrong, there was quite a difference. What was offered in Concord was things like a jack-knife and a jacket, followed soon after by an imperative “I thought I told you to make yourself scarce.” Penn was after a continuing relationship among equals. He was planning something that the grasping fathers of Concord never imagined, to wit, a peaceable kingdom on God’s holy mountain.



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Isaiah 65:25: The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust [shall be] the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD.





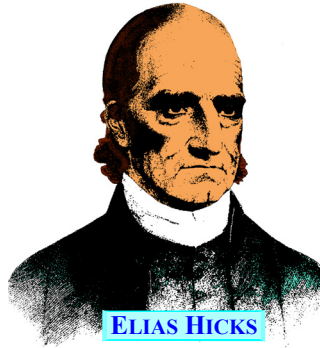
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July 22, Tuesday: Friend [Elias Hicks](#) preached at the Hester Street Meeting House of the Religious Society of Friends in Brooklyn on *Paumanok* “Long Island.”<sup>7</sup> Their worship was orderly and settled — for the Orthodox (segregationists) had departed.



ELIAS HICKS


Friend Elias went out during this year on the third of his three very extensive visits to [Quaker](#) meetings. On this third journey, he went in a one-horse carriage from the Jericho meetinghouse on Long Island (still extant, as pictured) to visit meetings in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. He wouldn’t be back home until some time in 1829.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 22nd of 7th M / This Afternoon Edw & Mary Lawton took tea with us. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

7.A meeting that [Henry David Thoreau](#) would later  visit to hear the [Hicksite](#), Friend [Lucretia Mott](#).



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September 30, Tuesday: An attitude was being expressed on this day by Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#). I am so horrified by that attitude, which we might characterize as a “quietist” attitude, that I will attempt to characterize it here as follows: “Watch out for those violent Quakers who are the deluded followers of [Friend Elias Hicks](#)! We Quakes are neither black slaves nor white slaveholders (well, at least, not now, not any longer), so whatever it is that these black slaves and these white slaveholders have got going on between them, it’s in some other universe, not in the ‘Quaker Close’ universe which we inhabit! It ain’t none of our freaking religious business! Be nonviolent! –Don’t impose yourself! –Leave it alone at the jeopardy of your soul!” Here is what Friend Gould expressed precisely as he expressed it:

*3rd day 30th of 9 M / Last eveng I recd a letter from my valued friend Wm Jenkins now at Mount Pleasant Ohio, whither he went to attend the Meeting of the Committees from the yearly Meetings & the Yearly Meeting of Ohio. - he gives me a sad detail of events that have taken place The [Hixites](#) were violent, to a degree unknown in civil much more religious society. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



It strikes me that the attitude exemplified above by our “quietist” Friend Stephen is precisely the attitude toward human enslavement that [Henry David Thoreau](#) criticized (and the attitude exemplified by Friend Elias and his “Hixites” is precisely the attitude that Henry embraced, by way of the influence on him of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)). Here is how Henry would take a flying dig at this not-so-Friendly “quietist” aberration, in his lecture “A Plea for Captain John Brown”:

What sort of violence is that which is encouraged, not by soldiers but by peaceable citizens, not so much by laymen as by ministers of the gospel, not so much by the fighting sects as by the Quakers, and not so much by the Quaker men as by the Quaker women?





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1829

➡ November 15, Sunday: Friend [Elias Hicks](#)'s farewell sermon was attended by a young and impressionable boy named Walt Whitman.



This is something that Whitman would recall much later, in 1888 ➡ while he was ill and was supposing that he was dying. He recalled that he had been fortunate enough to have been taken by his parents, who had been involved with Quakers,<sup>8</sup> to hear Friend Elias at his farewell sermon in a



handsome ball-room, on Brooklyn Heights, overlooking New York, and in full sight of that great city, and its North and East Rivers fill'd with ships- ... the second floor of "Morrison's Hotel," used for the most genteel concerts, balls, and assemblies- a large, cheerful, gay-color'd room, with glass chandeliers bearing myriads of sparkling pendants, plenty of settees and chairs, and a sort of velvet divan running all round the side-walls.

Hicks had worshipped and preached at the Hester Street Friends Meeting that First Day afternoon, and the meeting in the ballroom in the evening was what Quakers term an "appointed meeting." It marked the culmination of his latest trip in which he had covered 1,500 miles in five months. His health failing, everyone including Friend Elias knew that the meeting also marked the completion of his years of minuted ministry.

8. The involvement of Whitman's parents with the Quakers is not to be overemphasized: it was more on his father's part than on his mother's yet did little to protect his father from a substance dependency upon ethanol.

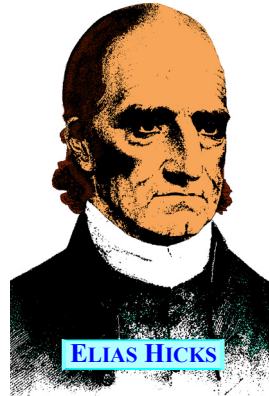


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“Many, very many, were in tears.”



ELIAS HICKS

The topic on which he spoke that night was, characteristically, “What is the chief end of man?” Whitman later commented that Friend Elias’s presentation was one of “pleading, tender, nearly agonizing conviction” and that of the Society of Friends “Elias Hicks has so far prov’d to be the most mark’d individual result.”<sup>9</sup> One of the things this uneducated old Raskolnik farmer had been trying to accomplish was a boycott of all products created by the forced and unremunerated labors of enslaved peoples. He demonstrated during meetings for worship that the old as well as the young can resort to guerrilla theater, informing one [Quaker](#) elder for instance that he admired his ignorance. The use of tobacco, as a product of slave labor and by no means a necessity of life, was so obviously, he argued, a far greater sin than thinking mistaken thoughts about Jesus Christ –who was quite capable of taking care of himself, thank you– that it was evident that the [Religious Society of Friends](#), in being primarily concerned over the content of its creedal statement, had its head screwed on backward. Taking as his motto “a work well begun is half done,” Hicks insisted that our religious faith should be as simple as a child’s. Religion is “righteousness, justice, and mercy,” and has little or nothing to do with believing the truth.



Carpenters



and



Testifiers



and



Surveyors

[Henry Thoreau](#) and [Elias Hicks](#) were both surveyors not only in that they shared a learned skill and in that they

9. Whitman 1244.

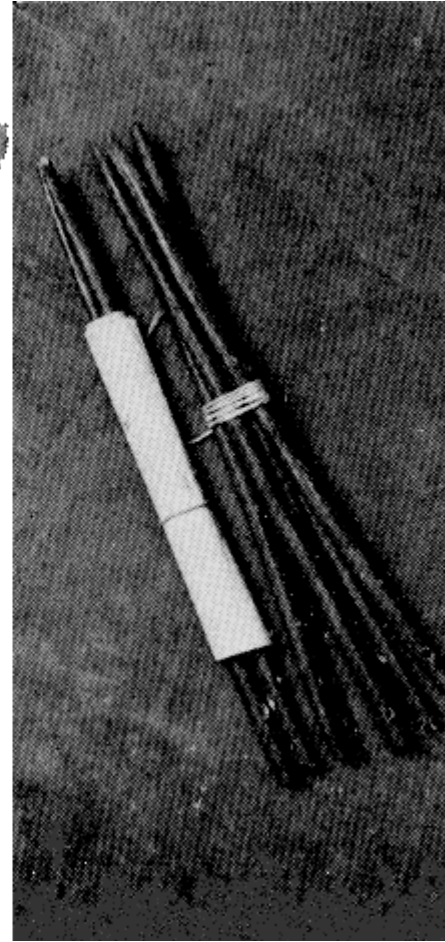
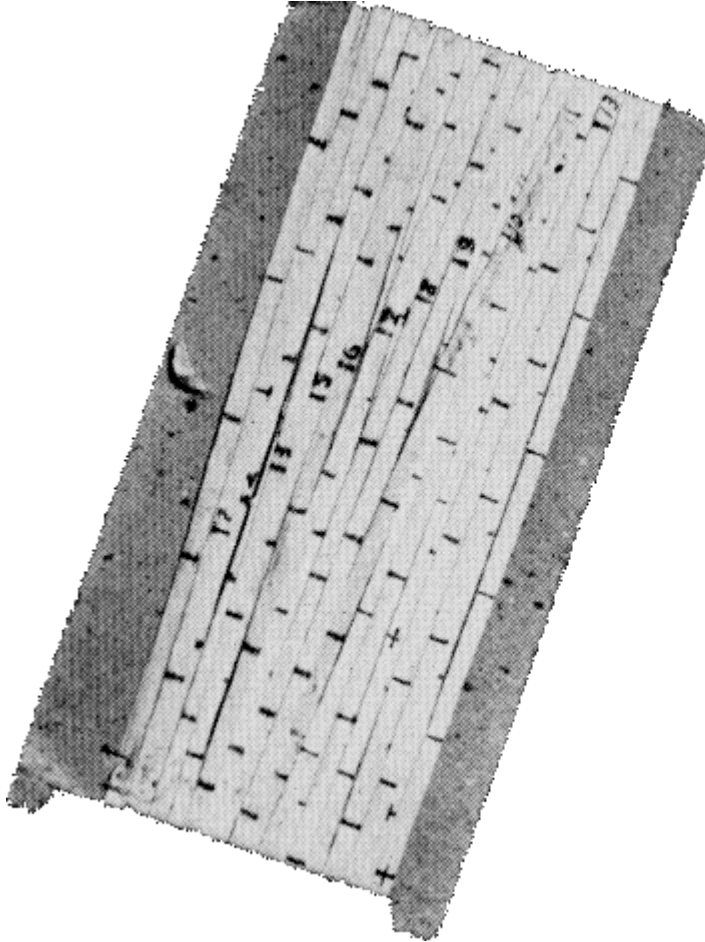


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had both constructed the simple instruments they utilized in this skill (Thoreau's are shown on the next page)



but also in the fine sense of William Cowper's "Verses supposed to be written by Alexander Selkirk, during his solitary abode on the Island of Juan Fernandez, 1782"<sup>10</sup> which Thoreau quotes in Chapter 2 of [WALDEN](#):

"I am monarch of all I survey,  
My right there is none to dispute."

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 15th of 11 M / In the Afternoon our Fr Wm Almy attended our meeting & was much engaged for welfare - & his preaching at this house stands high in my mind & I am after thankful that we have so able an advocate for the Truth as it is in Jesus Christ. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

10. Cowper, William. THE POETICAL WORKS OF WILLIAM COWPER. New York: Thomas Crowell, no date, page 425. But note that John Brown was also a surveyor, or rather **pretended** to be one. Is there that much difference between being a surveyor and pretending to be one? -You betcha, it's every bit as big a difference as **being** in the cause of God and **justifying oneself** as being in the cause of God!



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NOTE: Recently it has been reported that we have, on an archival radio tape from the 1950s, a DJ alleging that he was playing a wax cylinder of Walt Whitman reading his poem "America" at a recital in 1890a few years before the old poet died. It would be nice to get that sound bite and use it in conjunction with this multimedia textbase, especially in regard to the possibility that since Walt heard Friend Elias deliver his farewell address, his poetic style of delivery may have been influenced by [Quaker](#) preaching cadence. For although this is a sorry fact, we no longer have a sense of what that "Quaker singsong" had been like.

### "Specimen Days"

From 1824 to '28 our family lived in Brooklyn in Front, Cranberry and Johnson streets. In the latter my father built a nice house for a home, and afterwards another in Tillary street. We occupied them, one after the other, but they were mortgaged, and we lost them. I yet remember Lafayette's visit.<sup>1</sup> Most of these years I went to the public schools. It must have been about 1829 or '30 that I went with my father [Page 699] and mother to hear [Elias Hicks](#) preach in a ball-room on Brooklyn heights. At about the same time employ'd as a boy in an office, lawyers', father and two sons, Clarke's, Fulton Street, near Orange. I had a nice desk and window-nook to myself; Edward C. kindly help'd me at my handwriting and composition, and, (the signal event of my life up to that time,) subscribed for me to a big circulating library. For a time I now revel'd in romance-reading of all kinds; first, the "Arabian Nights," all the volumes, an amazing treat. Then, with sorties in very many other directions, took in [Walter Scott](#)'s novels, one after another, and his poetry, (and continue to enjoy novels and poetry to this day.)

1. "On the visit of General Lafayette to this country, in 1824, he came over to Brooklyn in state, and rode through the city. The children of the schools turn'd out to join in the welcome. An edifice for a free public library for youths was just then commencing, and Lafayette consented to stop on his way and lay the corner-stone. Numerous children arriving on the ground, where a huge irregular excavation for the building was already dug, surrounded with heaps of rough stone, several gentlemen assisted in lifting the children to safe or convenient spots to see the ceremony. Among the rest, Lafayette, also helping the children, took up the five-year-old Walt Whitman, and pressing the child a moment to his breast, and giving him a kiss, handed him down to a safe spot in the excavation." — John Burroughs.



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## "Specimen Days"

### REMINISCENCE OF ELIAS HICKS

To-day a letter from Mrs. E. S. L., Detroit, accompanied in a little post-office roll by a rare old engraved head of [Elias Hicks](#), (from a portrait in oil by Henry Inman, painted for J. V. S., must have been 60 years or more ago, in [Page 880] New York) – among the rest the following excerpt about E. H. in the letter:

*"I have listen'd to his preaching so often when a child, and sat with my mother at social gatherings where he was the centre, and every one so pleas'd and stirr'd by his conversation. I hear that you contemplate writing or speaking about him, and I wonder'd whether you had a picture of him. As I am the owner of two, I send you one."*



THE ORTHODOX

THE HICKSITE

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1830

→ January 31, Sunday: James G. Blaine, the “Plumed Knight,” was born.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 31 of 1 M / Silent meetings, but not very poor Seasons –*

In the morning Friend [Elias Hicks](#) spoke for the last time in the meeting on Rose Street, closing with

*“As these things have opened upon my mind,  
I have spoken them to you.*

*“I have had much to say,  
and have laboured extensively  
among my fellow creatures,  
with a view to incite them  
to attend to  
the will of God,  
as manifested in  
their own hearts.*

*“And this is all any instrument can do....*

*“With sincere desires,  
that life,  
light,  
and immortality  
may be your portion,  
I bid you farewell.”*

That afternoon he spoke for the last time in the meeting on Hester Street, closing with

*“My prayer is,  
may the Lord bless your endeavours;*

*“And in unbounded love,  
I bid you,  
my friends,  
young and old,  
an affectionate farewell.”*

(I am not clear about this, but suspect it was just prior to having the stroke which left his right arm paralyzed — since this stroke is said to also have taken away his speaking voice.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ February 14, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 14 of 2 M / Silent in the Morning – In the Afternoon  
Wm Almy preached & Lydia Breed prayed*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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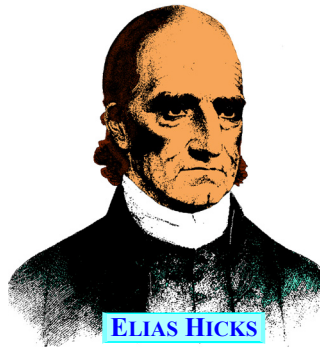
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Friend [Elias Hicks](#) suffered a stroke on his right side and lost the ability to speak. In his hand as he fell was his last letter, just completed, to Hugh Judge in Ohio,<sup>11</sup> which said in part that



*[N]othing but this inward light and law, as it is heeded and obeyed, ever did, or ever can make a true and real Christian and child of God.... "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to men" ... "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth ... shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." These scripture testimonies give a true and correct description of the gospel state, and ... nothing can make them afraid that man can do unto them; as saith the prophet in his appeal to Jehovah: "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee."*

Placed on a bed with a cotton quilt over him, he could see that it was [cotton](#) and thus the product of slave labor, and so he picked and shoved feebly at the covering with his left hand until it slid to the floor.



ELIAS HICKS

11. [Elias Hicks](#). JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS OF ELIAS HICKS. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. NY: Isaac T. Hopper, 1832.





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The full text of the letter to Hugh Judge of Ohio from this [Quaker](#) leader was as follows:



*Jericho, 2nd mo. 14th, 1830*

*Dear Hugh,*

*Thy very acceptable letter of the 21st ultimo, was duly received, and read with interest, tending to excite renewed sympathetic, and mutual fellow-feeling; and brought to my remembrance the cheering salutation of the blessed Jesus, our holy and perfect pattern and example, to his disciples, viz: "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." By which he assured his disciples that, by walking in the same pathway of self-denial and the cross which he trod to blessedness, they might also overcome the world; as nothing has ever enabled any ration being, in any age of the world, to overcome the spirit of the world, which lieth in wickedness, but the cross of Christ.*



February 27, Saturday: [Elias Hicks](#) died.



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Some may query, what is the cross of Christ? To these I answer, it is the perfect law of God written on the tablet of the heart, and in the heart of every rational creature, in such indelible characters that all the powers of mortals cannot erase nor obliterate. Neither is there any power or means given or dispensed to the children of men, but this inward law and light by which the true and saving knowledge of God can be obtained. And by this inward law and light, all will be either justified or condemned, and all be made to know God for themselves, and left without excuse, agreeably to the prophecy of Jeremiah, and corroborating the testimony of Jesus in his last counsel and command to his disciples, not to depart from Jerusalem until they should receive power from on high; assuring them that they should receive power, when they had received the pouring forth of the spirit upon them, which would qualify them to bear witness of him in Judea, Jerusalem, Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth; which was verified in a marvellous manner on the day of Pentecost, when thousands were converted to the Christian faith in one day. By which it is evident, that nothing but this inward light and law, as it is heeded and obeyed, ever did, or even can make a true and real Christian and child of God. And until the professors of Christianity agree to lay aside all their non-essentials in religion, and rally to this unchangeable foundation and standard of truth, wars and fighting, confusion and error will prevail, and the angelic song cannot be heard in our land, that of "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to men." But when all nations are made willing to make this inward law and light, the rule and standard of all their faith and works, then we shall be brought to know and believe alike, that there is but one Lord, one faith, and but one baptism; on God and Father, that is above all, through all, and in all; and then will all those glorious and consoling prophecies recorded in the scriptures of truth be fulfilled. Isaiah ii. 4, "He," the Lord, "shall judge among the nations, and rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more." Isaiah xi. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth," that is our earthly tabernacles, "shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

These scripture testimonies give a true and correct description of the gospel state, and no rational being can be a real Christian and true disciple of Christ, until he comes to know all these things verified in his own experience, as every man and woman has more or less of all those different animal propensities and passions in their nature, and they predominate and bear rule, and are the source and fountain from which all wars, and every evil work proceed, and will continue as long as man remains in his first nature, and is governed by his animal spirit and propensities, which constitute the natural man, which Paul tells us "receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."



THE ORTHODOX

THE HICKSITE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*This corroborated the declaration of Jesus to Nicodemus, "that, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" for "that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." Here Jesus assures us, beyond all doubt, that nothing but spirit can either see or enter into the kingdom of God; and this confirms Paul's doctrine, that "as many as are led by the spirit of God are the sons of God," and "joint heirs with Christ." And Jesus assures us, by his declaration to his disciples, John xiv. 16,17, "If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive;" that is, men and women in their natural state, who have not given up to be led by this spirit of truth, that leads and guides into all truth; "because they see him not, neither do they know him, but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." And as these give up to be wholly led and guided by him, the new birth is brought forth in them, and they witness the truth of another testimony of Paul's, even that of being created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God had fore-ordained that all his new-born children should walk in them, and thereby show forth by their fruits and good works, that they were truly children of God, born of his spirit, and taught by him; agreeably to the testimony of the prophet, that "the children of the Lord are all taught of the Lord, and in righteousness they are established, and great is the peace of his children." And nothing can make them afraid that man can do unto them; as saith the prophet in his appeal to Jehovah, "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee." Therefore, let every one that loves the truth, for God is truth, "trust in the Lord forever, for in the Lord Jehovah there is everlasting strength."*

*I write these things to thee, not as though thou didst not know them, but as a witness to thy experience, as "two are better than one, and a threefold cord is not quickly broken."*

*I will now draw to a close, with just adding, for the encouragement, be of good cheer, for no new thing has happened to us; for it has ever been the lot of the righteous to pass through many trials and tribulations, in their passage to that glorious, everlasting, peaceful, and happy abode, where all sorrow and sighing come to an end - the value of which is above all price; for when we have given all that we have and can give, and suffered and suffered all that we can suffer, it is still infinitely below its real value. And if we are favoured to gain an inheritance in that blissful and peaceful abode, "where the wicked cease troubling, and the wear are at rest, "we must ascribe it all to the unmerited mercy and loving-kindness of our heavenly Father, who remains to be God over all, blessed for ever.*

*I will now conclude; and in the fulness of brotherly love to thee and thine, in which my family unite, subscribe thy affectionate friend,*

*ELIAS HICKS*

*TO HUGH JUDGE.*

*Please present my love to all my friends, as way opens.*



THE HICKSITE

THE ORTHODOX

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

➡ March 5, Friday: At the Tower of London, limelight was tested before a group of scientists against several other designs.

[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) arrived in Paris on his current tour. It was his 2d trip to the French capital.

According to the [Niles Weekly Register](#) of April 10, page 124, an Italian artist who had asked to make a plaster casting of the face of the body of [Elias Hicks](#) before its burial, but had been rebuffed, hired ghouls from New-York to dig up his body to make the desired death mask.<sup>12</sup> The Hicks family in the morning discovered various bits of plaster in the grass around the gravesite. The gang had gotten into a fight over how the moneys were to be distributed among themselves and in the fight they had shattered the plaster cast — but it would be possible to piece it back together and the sculptor would be able to make a number of busts which he would hawk through the streets of New-York. Walt Whitman bought one of these busts and it would be standing in his home, in 1856, ➡ when [Henry Thoreau](#) came to visit.<sup>13</sup>



ELIAS HICKS

William Lloyd Garrison was just about to leave off being the co-editor of the [Genius of Universal Emancipation](#): “The circulation of [David Walker’s AN APPEAL ... TO THE COLORED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD....] has proven one thing conclusively — that the boasted security of the slave States ... is mere affectation, or something worse.”

12. I have also seen a claim that the person responsible for the death mask at the Swarthmore College library was Whitman’s boss Samuel E. Clement.

13. Richard Field had been allowed to make a silhouette of Friend [Elias Hicks](#) in 1829 ➡ and, without his knowledge, Harry Ketchum had painted a portrait. It was from these sources, rather than from this gang’s shattered plaster death mask or this Italian’s sculpture, that Henry Inman would in 1838 derive the portrait which appears here and from which William Ordway Partridge would create the bust which now stands in Friends Historical Library in Swarthmore College. We have lost track of the whereabouts of the bust which was viewed in the Whitman family home by [Henry Thoreau](#) in 1856, ➡ for, clearly, the biographers of Whitman, such as the author of the “embraced only himself” snippet which I quote in one of the blind text boxes (Harold Bloom, in his recent THE AMERICAN RELIGION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE POST-CHRISTIAN NATION), and the author of the “grateful for his carnality” snippet which I quote in another blind text box (Robert K. Martin in his THE HOMOSEXUAL TRADITION IN AMERICAN POETRY), have not regarded such items as of significance in their understanding of their literary light/sexual hero.



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June 8, Tuesday: The USS *Vincennes* returned to New-York harbor as “the first warship to circumnavigate the earth.” Well, anyway, that was its blurb in the patriotic press.

The [Quaker](#) educational institution in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), on its way to becoming today’s [Moses Brown School](#), was visited by a couple of traveling [Hicksite](#) Quakers, and Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), living in an apartment of the boarding house for students as a kind of house parent, found himself in deep opposition to these Hicksites and everything they stood for:

*3rd day 8th of 6th M / Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution - they are Hixites & Hannah as Preacher & has come on here to impose on Friends - She was formerly Hannah Pope of Bolton & an old acquaintance of ours as a Yearly Meeting lodger. - We treated her civilly but cool & felt grieved that one who had once been esteemed & no doubt in good measure religious should be attached*



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*to wrong principles - they were accompanied by Anson Potter a disowned Member of the Moy [Monthly] Meeting at whose house they lodged last night - From here they went to James Scott another disowned member. -*

*After tea I went down to [Moses Browns](#) & sat with him & Elisha Bates. -*



Summer: Four [Friends](#) from Baltimore MD arrived on the island of Nantucket: [Friend](#) Hannah Wilson, the clerk of the Baltimore Women's Yearly Meeting, her husband, and two traveling companions. Although the visitors were [Hicksite](#) Friends, the Nantucket meeting had never gotten around to disowning the some 87% of its membership who were Hicksite, and thus technically at least the visitors were Friends in good standing, and could not be prevented from entering the meetinghouse for worship. Friend Hannah Wilson, a traveling minister, was therefore forbidden by the elders of the local meeting from making any attempt to address the meeting, and informed in addition that she would not be welcome to seat herself in the ministers' gallery during worship. (Hey, lady, better not attempt to pray in the presence of these holy people! —Nevertheless, Friend Hannah Wilson would speak, in fact for some twenty minutes.) When the visitors were refused permission to use the meetinghouse for a special or "appointed" meeting on an off day, the Methodists of the island offered their place of worship as an alternative venue, which offer was gratefully accepted. Thus, when the Hicksite doctrines were first expounded on [Nantucket Island](#), they were expounded at the Methodist Church! Shortly after this visit of Hicksite Friends from Baltimore, a deputation of Hicksite Friends appeared from the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting of New York state. This was Friend Benjamin Mitchell and Friend William Clark. After a local Orthodox minister, Friend Mary Barker Allen, had held the floor of the meeting for some time, Friend William Clark rose to speak and was ordered to sit down by Elder Friend Samuel Macy. The ritual shaking of hands that ended the meetings for worship was begun, but was interrupted by Friend Benjamin Mitchell, who stated that "the service of the Meeting is not quite over." Most of those present exited the building, but some 40 Nantucket Friends remained and heard the visiting Hicksite ministers from New York. The names of the 40 who remained would be recorded, and they would be disciplined by their Nantucket monthly meeting for having joined in "a disorder in a Meeting for Worship." The first wave of disownments, which occurred within a month, got rid of ten of the members of the island meeting, and by the end of this, the meeting would have lost about a hundred members, forbidden to enter either the vacated meetinghouse of the defunct Northern District Monthly Meeting or the meetinghouse still in use inside the town of Nantucket itself, for any reason. About thirty of these dissenters would unite to form a new Hicksite Monthly Meeting on Nantucket Island.



September 26, Sunday: To Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), it was a distinctly unpleasant experience to encounter in the public street his former friend William Rotch — since he had been [disowned](#) from the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for having [Hicksite](#) leanings:

*1st day 26 of 9 M / Silent & measurably favour'd Meeting. -After meeting in the Afternoon I rode into Town.- In the Street I met Wm Rotch & noded to him, & he to me - but he did not look nor feel to me, as Wm Rotch once looked & felt. - I deplore his departure from Society - but nothing can be done - he must remain as he is. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS





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1831



A [Hicksite Quaker](#), Friend Samuel E. Clements, hired 12-year-old Walt Whitman, the son of one of his subscribers, as a printer's apprentice (printer's devil) at the Long Island Patriot.







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May: [Friend](#) Joseph Macy, a New-Yorker although born on [Nantucket Island](#), and two Hicksites from the midwest, guided the formation of a new 30-member [Hicksite](#) Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends on [Nantucket Island](#).



December 8, Thursday: 1st Meeting for Worship of the new [Hicksite](#) branch of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#), in their new meetinghouse.

The committee overseeing the Royal Academy of Music forbade Dr. William Crotch to instruct female students (he had kissed one of the lasses whom he considered to be doing excellent work in harmony).



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1832



June 21, Thursday: William Crotch resigned as 1st principal of the Royal Academy of Music.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a [Quaker](#) who was a follower of [Friend Elias Hicks](#) (“the Sitting of an Hixite,” a visiting [Hicksite](#)) managed to attend a midweek meeting for worship without his or her presence having been detected in advance by Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#):

*5th day 21 of 6 M / Our above mentioned friends [Ann Taylor & her companions from Ohio, Margaret Parker accompanied by her Husband Benj Parker, & her Sister Sybel Allenson] attended Meeting in town - & had good service - Lydia Breed also preached acceptably. - In the Preparative Meetg we had no buisness - but was imposed on by the Sitting of an Hixite, which was not known till after the Meeting rose. -*





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1835



September 19, Saturday: [Frédéric François Chopin](#) arrived in Dresden from seeing his parents in Cieszyn. He was on his way to Leipzig.

Stephen Austin called on Anglo settlers in Texas to rise against the Mexican government.

A [Quaker](#) woman was depicted in this year, by Ammi Phillips:



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) had strained relations with some [Quaker](#) relatives who were being led astray by Friend [Elias Hicks](#):

*7th day 9th of 9th M / Today Thos R Robinson & his wife Jemima called to take leave of us on their return home to Vermont, having spent the Summer here among their relations - they are both Hixites [[Hicksites](#)], & tho' as relations & the offspring of respectable parents & familys, I felt a disposition to be more than civil to them, yet I could not part with them as Friends I had unity with - Very different was the feeling our Friend Stephen Stevens & his wife (Rachail Bird that was) who called at the Same time on their way home to Vermont to Speak with us by the way & take leave of us having spent a few days on a visit to her relations at [Portsmouth](#) - they felt life [like] friends with whom I had unity & sympathy. - Stephen brought me a remarkable Stone found on his Fathers farm it is a curiosity to us, thoi' he says many such are found in clay banks in Vermont - it looke like some Indian carved Work*

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1836



October 4, Tuesday: [Lewis Cass](#) was appointed as the US ambassador to France.

The Quakers who were being “misled” by Friend [Elias Hicks](#) were out of favor with the [Quakers](#) of [Rhode Island](#), to the extent that when they presented their certificates of public ministry, these certificates were being refused and they were not being allowed use of the local meetinghouse facilities. Our local Quakers then –like local Quakers now– were allowing freedom of belief and freedom of speech only to those visitors who were favored to know **exactly the same Truth that was known locally.**



3rd day 4th of 10th M / This Morning as I was standing in the Door of the printing office I saw a couple of Friends walk down as if they had just landed from the Steam Boat - after casting in my mind for a Moment as to what Manner of Men they were I says to myself they are Hixites - & seeing Daniel Smith on the other side of the Street crossed over & asked him if he knew who those men were who had just passed - he said he did & that the one with the white hat was George Truman an Hixite [[Hicksite](#)] Preacher - About 11 OC in the Morning Robt Lee called at our house & introduced them as Friends who had brought letters of introduction to him from a friend of his in NYork - After sitting down awhile George opened his buisness by informing me that he & his companion [-] Longstreth was here on a religious account & were desirous of having a public Meeting with Friends & others, to which I was silent for a time, & after a short pause he said he had a certificate from The Meeting he came from - I told him I should like to look at the document, on which he handed it to me - I read both the Minute from the Moy [Monthly] Meeting & the endorsement by the Quarterly Meeting - I replied this looks like a regular proceeding, but neither this Monthly nor Quarterly Meeting, are in unity with the Meetings in N England & we cannot recognize thee as one of us - it is a pitty that one who carries so much of the exterior of a Quaker cannot be acknowlegded by the body, & I told him it was Streightening to my mind to fall in with such & feel obliged to let them know that we could not further their views, that he knew there was a difference between us - to this he said he supposed those they fell in with were streightened but he did not feel streightened towards us - I told him I apprehended he felt different from what he would if we acknowledged him, & could take him by the hand & further his views - then he said under these circumstances we could not have the use of the meeting House - I told him, no, he could not, - we could not do any thing about it - I had considerable other conversation with him when he rose to go but Daniel Smith coming in at the Moment, he sat a little longer till I had dispatched the buisness Daniel came in upon, pretty soon after Daniel went out - they rose again to go when I parted with them & I told them both, I wished them well, to which the companion replied It is our Wish to do so. -



**THE HICKSITE**

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*George Truman above Mentioned had a Meeting at 1/2 past 7 OC  
this eveng at the Court House - I am inform'd there were about  
60 in attendance & that he preached Quaker doctrine - this I had  
not doubt he intended to do, for he knew the doctrine of Elias  
Hicks would not go down with the people*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



THE ORTHODOX

THE HICKSITE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1837



August 16, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was having second thoughts about the advisability of [Quakers](#), all of whom were white and, therefore, all of whom were free, involving themselves in the ongoing antislavery struggle. It should be enough, for them to keep themselves personally pure within the Quaker Close, not themselves owning any slaves, not themselves purchasing any of the products of [slavery](#) such as cane sugar or cotton cloth, and therefore entirely separated from the wicked practices of the non-Quaker world. Clearly, over the years since the death of his friend of color [Paul Cuffe](#), he had come to consider that it was not any of their business to remedy all the ills of the outside world:

*4th day 16th of 8 M / I am still at home, having given up the prospect of Lynn & Salem. – Tho' I felt tolerably in the Morning it looked doubtful whether I should have got to Lynn in season for the Select Meeting & on looking at it felt as if the journey had better be omitted at present – In the course of the forenoon I wrote a letter to Sister Elizabeth [Rodman] Nichols which has very much relieved my mind of the concern to be at Lynn & Salem. After giving her the reason of my not coming I wrote the following "I hope we shall not all run wild with Abolitionism, it is a worthy cause to be zealous in but not intemperate. I am afraid some will not only injure the cause they wish to promote but themselves also, by forcing measures which to move much in at present, would be of no more avail than to cast pearls before Swine, & I am clear it would be giving that which is holy to be sacrificed, trampled on & devoured by the dogish natures, there is a way for every right thing to be rightly moved in, & if way does not open for this, patient waiting is the best resort – David Buffum once told us in our Yearly Meeting at a time when a very difficult case was before it, & it looked as if it was necessary something should be done, yet there was a streight [difference of opinion] in the Meeting as to what ought to be done –*

*He rose & said it was not only necessary to see that something needed to be done, but before we moved we ought to see, what to do, & how to do it" -- It is my opinion that Slavery is a most crying sin & evil in our land, & that if it does not go out in mercy it will in Judgement, & I hope the experiment of Mercy will be fully tried by poor erring & frail mortals, & the Judgement left to Him who judgeth right, & will execute in his own due & appointed time, in such way & manner as he pleases. – I am clear that the excitement raised on Slavery, & is still increasing, is not wholly the Lords work.- it might have had a right beginning, but now it has run into passion, which has carried, & is carrying many far beyond that prudence & sound discession which marked the course of such men in former days as Woolman, Brown, Buffum, & may I not add the honorable names of the Rotch & Arnold, of the days when the Abolition of the Slave trade was effected. – I do not wish to say much more about it, but to express something of this kind to my dear friends*

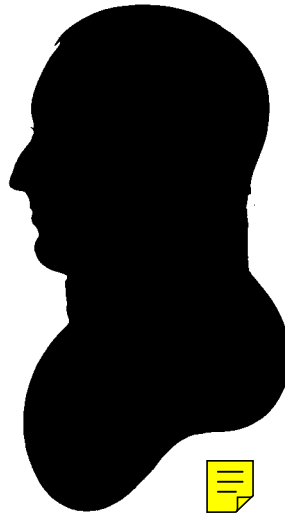


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*Sophrona Page & Avis Keene was very much the drift I felt towards Lynn & Salem & if thou think proper I am willing thou should make them acquainted with my concern. – I am seriously affraid that more hurt will arise from the present excitement regarding Slavery to the Members of this Yearly Meeting, than has ever been done by all the Hixism [the protests and outrages of the [Hicksite](#) followers of [Friend Elias Hicks](#)] & Beaconism that has been encountered else where. – I much desire that those who are looked up to as the Way Marks in our Society, may give a certain sound & right direction to those who follow after them.*







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1838



January 17, Wednesday: [Reuben Crandall](#) died in Jamaica — of [consumption](#) or [tuberculosis](#) which he had contracted during his lengthy incarceration in the Washington DC lockup on charges of having attempted to persuade the citizens of our nation's capital to give up on human enslavement.

On this same day, at the Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Salem, Massachusetts, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was struggling with the spiritual error of those [Quakers](#) who, like the [Hicksites](#) of 1827, were allowing themselves to become over-preoccupied with the ongoing antislavery crusade to the detriment of their religion. None of your hyperventilation, please — we are white people here, and this “being [enslaved](#)” situation isn't a problem that we need concern ourselves with. He approved a motion by the Yearly Meeting barring the abolition societies from use of Friends meetinghouses for their inciting gatherings in precisely the same mode in which the abolition societies had been barred in Washington DC from distributing their inciting pamphlets.

*4th day / attended Select meeting which was a time of favour  
the[n?] attended with a sense of weight & some distress things  
not being all right among them – Dined at Abijah Chases & met  
in the Afternoon with the Yearly Meeting committee & endeavoured  
to feel after the mind of Truth & I believe we were favoured  
with a right sense & right movements, which resulted in private  
& tender council to a few who appeared to be much involved the  
spirit of Anti Slavery, or are at least by their heated zeal  
injuring a good & right cause by intemperate movements, & in  
some instances injuring themselves, & society in persuing wrong,  
or at least unseasonable Measures – We thought some good was  
done & that we went at present as far as Wisdom dictated –  
Returned to Brother J R & lodged.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1839

As an example of [Quaker disownment](#), here is something that was announced in this year at the Somerset monthly meeting:

S.W. has neglected the attendance of our religious meetings and attended those of the [Hicksite](#); and having been treated with therefor, manifested no desire to retain her right of membership with friends. We therefore disown her from being a member of our religious society.<sup>14</sup>

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Anonymous publication of [Elizur Wright, Junior](#)'s small volume [LA FONTAINE](#); A PRESENT FOR THE YOUNG.

In this year in which in England [Friend Joseph Sturge](#) was founding the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and in which in America John A. Collins was becoming general agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, for some reason abolitionism simply was not prospering. Those whites who had an economic investment in or social interest in or libidinal involvement in human enslavement were proving to be quite immune to, merely hardened and angered by, all the relentless propaganda. The initial idea, that first the abolitionists would convince the institutions of the North to be righteous, and then the North would bring righteous pressure on the South, had proved in application to be utterly disconnected from the reality of our condition. For instance, in eight years of agitation not a single one of the white religious denominations had separated into a northern sect opposed to human enslavement and a southern sect in favor of human enslavement, despite the standoff between their northern white congregations and their southern white congregations over this issue. Although there had been a few anti-enslavement advocates positioned in the US House of Representatives, there had also been enacted a very specific gag rule to silence them on this one central topic. The ideological and emotional commitment of a number of leaders in the struggle against practices of human enslavement, however, the ones whom I am here terming "pragmatics," was that American democracy was basically sound, and that the flaws in American character that had led to this enslavement situation were minor and isolated flaws. A few agreements, a few insights, a few changes in the rules, and the institutions supporting the practice of human enslavement would crumble. There was no need to tamper with

14. Somerset Monthly Meeting (Ohio Yearly Meeting), Minutes.



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anyone's soul. Examples of this attitude were:

- [Elizur Wright, Jr.](#)
- Henry Brewster Stanton
- James Gillespie Birney (who wanted to establish a third political party, the "Liberty" party, which would be antislavery, and compete directly in the political process, making deals and peddling influence like the Republicans/Democrats of that era)



In this year Gerrit Smith condemned his denomination, Presbyterianism, for its failure to denounce slavery, yet when it was proposed to him that young black men be trained in Canada and Mexico and sent into the slave



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states to lead revolts, he rejected that plan.

**SERVILE INSURRECTION**



Then there were the Garrisonians. The struggle between the two abolitionist psychologies, like the struggle between the Orthodox or Evangelical [Quakers](#) and the [Hicksites](#), was a struggle that can readily be described in terms of a binary split over a single issue. Previous analyzers of the split have attempted to conceive of a binary split between the abolitionists who wanted to mix anti-slavery with the “confounded woman question” and those who wanted to keep such issues in separate compartments, and have not been able to make a case for that analysis, or have attempted to conceive of a binary split between the abolitionists who embraced the principle of non-resistance to evil and those who regarded this principle as the pinnacle of wickedness, and have not been able to make a case for that analysis. Some have suggested that the split was not binary, that the struggle was between those abolitionists who wanted to be understood as “pragmatics,” and those abolitionists who wanted to be understood as “strugglers” and as “Come-outers.”

**COME-OUTISM**

These are not the analyses that I favor. In this “Kouroo” contexture, you will find, the analysis that I have favored is that of a binary split between, on the one hand, the abolitionists who wanted a future of racial integration, “amalgamation” as it was then called, in which all God’s children could live together on God’s holy mountain (these people known as “Hicksites,” a type case of this being Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)), and, on the other hand, the abolitionists who wanted a future of apartheid, of racial segregation, of Jim Crow, in which we were equal, more or less, but existed separately (these people known as “Quietist Friends,” and as “Orthodox



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Friends,” and as “Evangelical Friends,” a type case of this being Friend [Moses Brown](#)).



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1840

June 27, Saturday: William Howitt wrote to [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) to offer that the female delegates to the World's Convention in London may not have been rejected solely on account of their gender, but may have been rejected instead with that as a mere subterfuge, on account of their affiliation with the heretical [Hicksites](#):

LONDON, June 27th, 1840.

DEAR FRIEND,— I snatch the few last minutes of a very hurried time before embarking for Germany, to express to you and your fellow-delegates the sense I have of your unworthy reception in this country, which has grown on me for the last week, extremely; even amid the overwhelming pressure of arrangements, inevitable on quitting London for a considerable stay abroad. Mary [Mrs. Mary Howitt, 1799-1888] and myself greatly regret that we had left our home before we had the opportunity of seeing you, or we should have had the sincerest pleasure in welcoming you there to spend at least one day of quiet, as pleasant as that which we spent with you at our worthy friend, Mr. Ashurst's, at Muswell Hill. I regret still more that my unavoidable absence from town prevented my making part of the Convention, as nothing should have hindered me from stating there, in the plainest terms, my opinion of the real grounds on which you were excluded. It is pitiable that you were excluded on the plea of being women; but it is outrageous that, under that plea, you were actually excluded as heretics. That is the real ground of your exclusion, and it ought to have been at once proclaimed and exposed by the liberal members of the Convention; but I believe they were not aware of the fact. I heard of the circumstance of your exclusion at a distance, and immediately said, "Excluded on the ground that they are women? No, that is not the real cause, — there is something behind. Who and what are these female delegates? Are they orthodox in religion?" The answer was, "No, they are considered to be of the [Hicksite](#) party of Friends." My reply was, "That is enough, — there lies the real cause, and there needs no other; the influential Friends in the Convention would never for a moment tolerate their presence there, if they could prevent it. They hate them, because they have dared to call in question their sectarian dogmas and assumed authority; and they have taken care to brand them in the eyes of the Calvinistic Dissenters, who form another large and influential portion of the Convention, as Unitarians, — in their eyes the most odious of heretics." But what a miserable spectacle is this! The "World's Convention" converting itself into the fag-end of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. That Convention, met from various countries and climates to consider how it shall best advance the sacred cause of humanity, — of the freedom of the race, independent of caste or color, — immediately falls the victim of bigotry, and one of its first acts is, to establish a caste of sectarian opinion, and to introduce color into the very soul! Had I not seen, of late years, a good deal of the spirit



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which now rules the Society of Friends, my surprise would have been unbounded at seeing them argue for the exclusion of women from a public body, as women. But nothing which they do now surprises me. They have in this case, to gratify their wretched spirit of intolerance, at once abandoned one of the most noble and most philosophical of the established principles of their own Society. That Society claims, and claims justly, to be the first Christian body which has recognized the great Christian doctrine, that THERE IS NO SEX IN SOULS; that male and female are all one in Christ Jesus. They were [Friend George] Fox and [Friend William] Penn, and the first giants of the Society, who dared, in the face of the whole world's prejudices, to place women in her first rank, – to recognize and maintain her moral and intellectual equality. It was this Society which thus gave to woman her inalienable rights – her true liberty; which restored to her the exercise of mind, and the capacity to exhibit before man, her assumed lord and master, the highest qualities of the human heart and understanding: discretion, sound counsel, sure sagacity, mingled with feminine delicacy, and that beautiful, innate modesty which avails more to restrain its possessor within the bounds of prudence and usefulness, than all the laws and customs of corrupt society. It was this Society which, at once fearless in its confidence in woman's goodness and sense of propriety, gave to its female portion its own Meetings of Discipline, meetings of civil discussion, and transaction of actual and various business. It was this Society which did more; which permitted its women, in the face of a great apostolic injunction, to stand forth in its churches and preach the gospel. It has in fact sent them out, armed with the authority of its certificates, to the very ends of the earth, to preach in public; to visit and persuade in private. And what has been the consequence? Have the women put their faith and philosophy to shame? Have they disgraced themselves or the Society which has confided in them? Have they proved by their follies, their extravagances, their unwomanly boldness and want of a just sense of decorum, that these great men were wrong? On the contrary, I will venture to say, and I have seen something of all classes, that there is not in the whole civilized world a body of women to be found, of the same numbers, who exhibit more modesty of manner and delicacy of mind than the ladies of the Society of Friends; and few who equal them in sound sense and dignity of character.... And here have gone the little men of the present day, and have knocked down, in the face of the world, all that their mighty ancestors, "in this respect, had built up." If they are at all consistent, they must carry out their new principle, and sweep with it through the ancient constitution of their own Society. They must at once put down meetings of discipline amongst their women; they must call home such as are in distant countries or are traversing this, preaching and visiting families. There must be no more appointments of women to meet committees of men, to deliberate on matters of great importance to the Society. But the fact is,





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my dear friend, that bigotry is never consistent, except that it is always narrow, always ungracious, and always, under plea of uniting God's people, scattering them one from another, and rendering them weak as water.... The Convention has not merely insulted you, but those who sent you. It has testified that the men of America are at least far ahead of us in their opinion of the discretion and usefulness of women. But above all, this act of exclusion has shown how far the Society of Friends is fallen from its ancient state of greatness and catholic nobleness of spirit.... I have heard the noble [William Lloyd] Garrison blamed that he has not taken his place in the Convention, because you, his fellow delegates, were excluded. I, on the contrary, honor him for his conduct. In mere worldly wisdom he might have entered the Convention, and there entered his protest against the decision, - but in at once refusing to enter where you, his fellow-delegates, were shut out, he has entered a far nobler protest, not in the mere Convention, but in the world at large. I honor the lofty principle of that true champion of humanity, and shall always recollect with delight the day Mary and I spent with him. I must apologize for this most hasty, and, I fear, illegible scrawl, and with our kind regards, and best wishes for your safe return to your native country, and for many years of honorable labor there, for the truth and freedom, I beg to subscribe myself,

Most sincerely your friend, WILLIAM HOWITT.



June 27. I am living this 27th of June, 1810, a (hill, cloudy day and no sun shining. The clink of the smith's hammer sounds feebly over the roofs, and the wind is sighing gently, as if dreaming of cheerfule days. The farmer is plowing in yonder field, craftsmen are busy in the shops, the trader stands behind the counter, and all works go steadily forward. But I will have nothing to do; I will tell fortune that I pla.v do game with her, and she may reach me in my Asia of serenity and indolence if she can.

For an impenetrable shield, stand inside yourself!

He was no artist, but an artisan, who first made shields of brass.

Unless we meet religiously, we prophane one another.

What was the consecrated ground round the temple, we have used as no better than a domestic court.

Our friend's is as holy a shrine as any God's, to be approached with sacred love and awe. Veneration is the measure of Love. Our friend answers ambiguously, and sometimes before the question is propounded, like the oracle of Delphi. He forbears to ask explanation, but doubts and surmises darkly with full faith, as we silently ponder our fates.

In no presence are we so susceptible to shame. Our hour is a sabbath, our abode a temple, our gifts peace offerings, our conversation a communion, our silence a prayer. In prophanity we are absent, in holiness near, in sin estranged, in innocence reconciled.



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1842

February 25, Friday: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) wrote to Richard and Hannah Webb, whom she had met in London in 1840:

Philada. 2 Mo.  
25th. 1842.

*My dear Richard & Hannah Webb  
And our other dear friends in Dublin,*

*For when writing to any one of our precious circle, I feel as if I were addressing all – C Corkran inclusive, in the yearnings of undiminished affection. As the result of our travel abroad, nothing affords more unmingled pleasure, than the reception of some 3 or 4 sheets of Richards "illegible scribblings." The very difficulty we have in deciphering seems to heighten the gratification for we know that when we have puzzled it out, we shall be paid for the effort. The last, to Sarah Pugh was the more interesting, from the fact of Sarah's hastening hither with it unopened, and letting us share the pleasure of the first reading with her. We often wish for Abby Kimber to enjoy with us the first impressions – but some of her notes to Sarah help to supply her absence. I wish Sarah would copy for you what she wrote at the close of the last year. It was so expressive of my feelings that the rapid flight of Time was placing our delightful visit in the more distant view; and so on, a heap of pretty sentiments just what I felt, but had not the ability to write out.*

*It happened soon after the reception of Richds. letter, that J. M. [her husband [James](#)] & self were meeting with the Indian Committee of the several Yearly Mgs. of our Frds. (of course). Philip E. Thomas was present – the author of the Balte. reply to J. J. Gurney.<sup>15</sup> After our business was concluded –, I read to them the ^Richds.^ comments, on the language used – "itinerant foreigner". I did not know that P.E. Thomas had written the book, till I perceived all eyes directed to him, with a smile – & he commenced a defence of the expressions used. He said, he could not call [him?][\[Joseph John Gurney\]](#) – a "travelling Friend", for he did not consider him one – that there was nothing contemptuous in the term "itinerant" nor in that of "foreigner". He considered the man very much out of his place, in attempting to address them, without having mingled with them at all, or knowing their sentiments, save by ex-parte statements. His conduct he regarded as impudent, & if that term – would answer*

15. In his pamphlet, Review of Gurney's Attack on Friends of Baltimore, and of Their Defence (Baltimore: Wm. Wooddy, 1841) Thomas criticized a lengthy letter Gurney had written to the [Hicksite](#) Friends in Baltimore declining to visit their Lombard Street Meeting. Thomas quoted passages from the Hicksites' answer to Gurney (their "Defence") in which they professed their belief "in the Scriptures concerning Christ, both as to his outward manifestation in the flesh, and in relation to that Divine Principle of Light and Truth in man, which in Scripture is called 'the Christ.'" Thomas concluded that a reading of Gurney's attack and the Defence showed "that the Spirit of Orthodoxy is every where the same, that of insolence, assumption, and denunciation, that it is impossible for the meekest to keep any terms with it, except those of base, unmanly submission." He criticized Gurney as possessing the "assumption and narrow-mindedness of a foreigner" (10-14, 17-19, 22).



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as a substitute, he would think it quite as expressive. He then offered to supply our Dublin friends, with some copies of the review of the work, with his additional remarks. We have since received a parcel of that & another production of his pen; which at his request we herewith send. I fear – you will not get it without having to pay more postage on it, than it will be worth to you. If Richard & Anne Allen<sup>16</sup> are not too orthodox to read what may be said by our side, please hand them one. I always feel rather more as if they belonged to English Friends, than I feel when writing to you. I cannot remember whether my husband wrote to Richard, after receiving his acceptable letter in 9 Mo last – or of that date; with a small addition from Anne. I shall take great pleasure in enclosing in this, for her, Whittier's autograph, at her request. Since I find she could bear our Anna's playful lines for her friend Sarah M'Kim, I should like to send her some others by the same author. We can hear with evident satisfaction, a little raillery at the expense of other sects, but few can bear to have [their?] own, made the subject of satire, or even pleasantry. Our veneration is trained to pay homage to ancient usage, rather than to truth, which is older than all. Else, why Church censure on marriages that are not of us? – on Parents conniving? on our members being present at such [ &c? Oh] how our Discipline needs revising – & stripping of its objectionable features. I know not how fa[r yours] may differ from ours, but I know we have far too many disownable offences. Still with all our faults, I know of no religious association I would prefer to it. And I would rather hear of R. D. Webb laboring very faithfully, & with all Christian daring, in his society, than withdrawing from it. I felt so with regard to Wm. Bassett & hoped that his influence within the pale, might 'turn many to righteousness' [.]<sup>17</sup> I have frequently noticed that persons who were once useful in our society, withdrawg from it, became rather contracted & selfish – shut themselves out from society at large, and grew censorious. Their children also havg no rallying point, as they grew older, like following their natural inclination for Association, connected themselves with sects far behind the intelligence & light of their parents. This has been remarkably the case with the families of those who were cruelly severed from our society some 20 years ago in New England – called New lights[.] A case has lately occurred in this region. A daugh[r.] of enlightened Parents, who withdrew from us 15 years ago, has lately joined the Catholics, & has in view to become a 'sister of charity.' Job Scott's childn. are Swedenborgians. These remarks may not apply to all. Wm. L. Garrison never was attached to any sect. Sarah Pugh, from the time of the separation among us, never felt her interests enlisted with either side; I have no fear of her talents rusting for want of use. N. P. Rogers, bound as he was, with a set of bigots & superstitious

16. Richard Allen (1803-1886), abolitionist, an orthodox Quaker, and a cotton merchant, and his wife, Anne Webb Allen, cousin of Richard Webb (Mott to the Webbs, 28 May 1850, Boston Public Library). The Motts had first met the Allens in London. Frederick B. Tolles, ed., *Slavery and the "Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary* (Haverford: Friends Historical Association, 1952), 34.

17. Bassett (1803-71), originally an orthodox Quaker from Lynn, Mass., became a Unitarian and was ardently pro-Garrison. The quotation is from Daniel 12:3.



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devotees, may increase his usefulness by his severance from such a denomination. J. A. Collins, ditto. What a Radical, and ultra reformer he is! I did not know him, nor much of his sentiments till since his return from England. I told him, consistency required of him to wear coarser clothing. He would not admit this, as his efforts were not so much to level the rich, as to raise the poor – & furnish them with all the comforts & enjoyments of their wealthy neighbors. What has become of those queer separatists. – Jacobites, to whom we essayed to speak, but they would not? When you write, we should be glad to be informed how our aged friends, Dr. Hutton & wife are. Do they yet live? If from them our dear James Haughton could learn anything of their son Dr. Hutton & family of London, and impart it to us, it would be very acceptable. Dr. Drummond too.<sup>18</sup> Is he yet alive? And have you prevailed with him, to unite his talents & labors with those, engaged in works of reform.

It has been gratifying to see Jas. Haughton's name so frequently in public Meetgs. for the good of the people, & the spread of sound principles. His letter recd. last summer is valued by us even tho' we have made no adequate return. I want to send him a heretical sermon, preached by [Theodore Parker](#) in Boston last year – The "Transient & Permanent in Christianity." It created a great stir in New-England & led some of the old Unitarians to tremble for their reputation as Christians. The Orthodox were out upon them in all quarters; which led some of them to issue their disclaimers; whereupon, the Evangelicals, catching at a straw, foresaw a strong counter-movement, and were cheered with the belief that "doctrines which of old were held, would begin to re-assert their former claims; and Truth, hallowed by time & reverend by Apostolic teaching, & holy, from its conformity to the blessed lessons of the Son of God would become & remain the only standard of the Christian Life". Thus wrote my nephew Thos. C. Yarnall, who is studying in College for the ministry in the Episcopal Church. But to my understanding & reading Parker is equally full of faith in the real ground-work of religion in all ages, on which the truths of Scripture are based: not on miracles, or inexplicable creeds. We shall not make much progress as Christians, until we dare to read & examine the Jewish Scriptures, as we would any other of the ancient records. By what authority do we set so high a value on every text that may be drawn from this volume? Certainly not by any command therein found. On the contrary, again & again is there an appeal to the inner sense, – "why even of yourselves, judge ye not what is right?["]<sup>19</sup> Parker's remarks on the BIBLE, in the Discourse above mentioned, I like very much – that its real & proper estimate will not be lessened by breaking through the Idolatry which is now paid to it. I read its pages ^I mean the scriptures^

18. The Jacobites were led in part by Joshua Jacob of Dublin, who publicly criticized those Quakers who did not adhere to their custom of extreme simplicity in dress and living habits; they wore nothing but white clothing and were often referred to as "White Quakers." See Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland, 1654-1900* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1927), 126-29. Dr. Joseph Hutton (1790-1860), Unitarian minister in London. The Motts had met his father and mother in Dublin 23 July. William Hamilton Drummond (1778-1865), Presbyterian preacher in Dublin. See Tolles, *Diary*, 27, 31, 62, 64.

19. LUKE 12:57.



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over & over again with a keen relish and encourage our childn. to do the same, but I cannot do, as we saw Friends in England & Ireland do – make the reading of that book a religious rite in the family – and adopt a peculiar tone & solemn style of pronunciation – all the old terminations full &c. Let us venerate the Good & the True, while we respect not prejudice & Superstition!

R. D. Webb thinks I am a Humanitarian. I have never given my faith a name. The distinctions among Christian professors are found on an analysis, to be but hair-breadth, and it is puzzling to bear in mind the distinctive points in their creeds. We give a more Orthodox hue to ours, by retaining some expressions which do not convey our real sentiments. I do not wonder that Richard asks, what we mean by our professions. If he should hear some of our preachers, he would understand us better. The hearers are often told that they are not called to rest their hopes of salvation on the "Sacrifice without the gates of Jerusalem". The Divinity of Christ is held – not by miraculous power – so much as his spiritual creation – "the son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness." We never attempt to draw or define the precise relation to the Father – nor is a trinity acknowledged in our galleries. We rather, urge obedience to manifested duty, as the means of acceptance with the Searches of hearts. This is the old-fashioned Quaker doctrine – "neither is there salvation as in any other."<sup>20</sup> I have no doubt of the kindness & sincerity of the friend who warned you of the danger of association with some of us. Should she hear Richard say, how loosely society attachments rest upon him, she would feel as if there was a cause for her concern. He must be careful how he gives utterance to such sentiments. I have often felt the restraints & seen the [evils] of which he speaks; but after much consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the advantages preponderate – I mean of religious Associations. It requires constant watching and care that we yield no principle; but only concede minor points, for the sake of unity. If the bearing of a faithful testimony to the world subjects us to excommunication, why then let us seek another rallying point for our childns. sake – as well as for the preservation of ourselves. You will see by the Standard how the New York pseudo-Quakers are conducting towards I.T. Hopper, J.S. Gibbons, & C. Marriott. I bear my testimony against their intolerance in every circle. In our Indian Committee of the Yearly Meetgs united – C Marriott has been a faithful & active member. In a meeting of that Com. last week, I expressed the regret I felt that he should be so unjustly deprived of his right to labor with us in that cause – Some present thot. we should be careful how we judged another Mo. Mg. I told them we did not hesitate 15 years ago, to judge of the persecuting spirit of our Orthodox opposers, and I viewed the treatment of these frds. in N. York in the same light. We were then struggling for freedom of opinion. We are now claiming the right of practice in accordance with our convictions. I wish

20. "The son of God with power according to spirit of holiness," Romans 1:4; "neither is there salvation in any other," Acts 4:12.



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*you could see a correspondence growing out of my going to Boston last Autumn, to attend the Non-Resistance Anniversary and attendg New York Mg. on my way home.<sup>21</sup> The Elders & others there have been quite desirous to make me an offender for joining with those not in membership with us & accepting offices in these Societies. But our Friends here, know full well that such a position is neither contrary to our Discipline, to Scripture, to reason nor common sense. I was permitted to answer for myself & I found proof enough in the practice of Friends from the days of Wm. Penn to the present – of such "mixtures." They failed of bringing action against me. Richard says truly, – that "oil & water would unite as readily as G. F. White & L. M."<sup>22</sup> I can only account for some things in his course, on the ground of insanity. Some months ago he sent in a kind of resignation of his right of Membership. The Mo. Mg. had the paper examined, by a few frds., who reported unfavorably to its being read. It was all hushed & not more than a dozen individuals knew what the paper contained The next month he obtained a minute to attend Indiana Yearly Mg. On his return, when appearances indicated the restoration of I.T. Hopper & J.S. Gibbons to their rights, G.F. White announced to his Mg. what he had done & that he then repeated it – calling at the same time on the young people present to be prepared to act in the approachg hour of trial in the Society. Since the Quarterly Mg. confirmed the judgment, they appear satisfied – but as the Yearly Meeting draws near, another threat will doubtless be held out – as is the practice with the politicians in our Southern States; – unless indeed we should do as the Mass[.] petitioners have done – ask, ourselves, for a dissolution of the Union. But I don't wish to fill my whole sheet with these matters. Have you taken an interest in our Congressional proceedings this winter? or rather will you – when you hear or read how bravely our veteran J.Q. Adams is acquitting himself in Washington.<sup>23</sup> Before quite leaving the former subject, which Richard says fills his head from morning till night, I meant to tell you how Anne Knight in a letter to Margaretta Forten, & to M.W. Chapman, that to me I find was wholly on Woman's Rights, deploras my heresy. She says "Her forbearance of the wrongs encountered in Father-land would merit the term Christian, had [she] not so utterly disowned & insulted her Lord and Savior. The dreadful mistakes of her Theology have, I am sorry to say, excluded her from the hearts of many of our A. S. women; & their hospitality on that account was less warm. For my own part dearly as I love my savior – as the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" &c – a half a page just as*

21. At the New England Non-Resistance Meeting held in Boston 21 and 22 September 1841, Mott said that "the feeling among us seemed truer and deeper" than at the meeting she had attended in 1839, and "I would ever have it more felt than expressed. Whatever we do express, I hope will be in fewer words and to the point" (Liberator, 19 November 1841:188). An editorial in the Practical Christian (reprinted in the Liberator, 12 November 1841:184) criticized the organization for not recognizing the prominence of the Christian religion in its proceedings.

22. In a letter to her husband, Maria Davis described White's criticism of those persons "disturbing religious Congregations — that they had no more right to do so from a sense duty, than to go the wharf, load a dray with sugar & rice & send it to some benevolent society, under a sense of duty" (10 December 1843, Mott Collection, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

23. In the House of Representatives, former president John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) continued to protest Congress's refusal to allow him to submit anti-slavery petitions.





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Orthodox writers express themselves, – she goes on to say "and knowing from Lucretia that she rejects her Lord, & turns with disgust from 'his hanging on a tree' his being slain, his blood shed, – that she recoils from what she calls so gross an idea, and desires not, what the angels desire to look into – the scheme of Redemption". – ["]Awfully as I regard this state of deep & hardened revolt, yet do I love L. M for her work's sake. – It was a joy to have the opportunity of offering those attentions which others neglected" &c. &c. – She then goes on to speak of the narrow-minded bigotry of those at the Convention, who excluded women – not seeing herself on another subject, equally a bigot. "Oh, wad some Power"<sup>24</sup> &c. I can truly say "Father forgive her," &c[.] I loved her for her courage in paying us so much attention & identifying herself with us. I shall write to her as soon as I finish this sheet, & try to convince her that altho' I do not interpret the "sacred text" precisely as she does, I am not on that count entitled to all the hard names, branded by a self-styled orthodoxy. She expresses a wish to have some of J. M.'s Books, wh. I shall take great pleasure in sending her – We have not sent one to England for we did not know but they would regard it an insult. I intend also to write & send one to Elizh. Pease. She wrote a kind letter to us last summer, which we have not yet acknowledged. I have little time to write – save a constant correspondence with my absent sister & a few friends in this land. I am travelling from home so much that, I have to be the more devoted to my family & domestic avocations when with them. And until I do [as?] Richard approves in Sarah Pugh – break off my attachment to our religious Society, I shall have frequent demand on my time & services in its behalf. An application has been made to our & Balte. Yearly Mg. for the establishment of a new Yearly-Mg. west of the Alleghany Mountains in this State. I visited the meetings to compose this Mg. this winter in co. with several of the Com. furnished also with a minute to appoint Meetings. We were absent 5 weeks, – travelled near 700 miles, and averaged nearly a Meeting a day during our absence. In some places where Orthodoxy pro-slavery had hitherto closed the door against us, access was now readily found. Elizh. Robson & companions preceded us & were not slow to represent the "Hicksites" as deniers of all that was sacred. We met with a gentleman in Mifflin County an entire stranger to Friends of either division. He told us what 'Mrs.' Robson & Co. had said & remarked this difference, that while they had much to say against us, we seemed to have nothing to say against them. He exerted himself to procure a house for a Mg. for us, & induced several who were opposed to Womens preaching to go & hear for themselves. He has since been in this City & took pains to come & see us & assure us, we should ever have a ready hearing at Lewistown.

You wish to hear all we can tell you of J. G. Whittier. Truly he is almost lost to us. Months & months pass without our hearing from him. New-Organizn. claims him and not without far too much

24. "Oh wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us/ To see oursels as others see us!" (Robert Burns, "To a Louse").





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reason. Maria Chapman wrote me, that he was in, a few moments, at the Boston Fair; adding, "he sins against the clearest light, & I may say – when I recall what our love for him was, before he destroyed it – the truest love. He was in the Office a few months since, bemoaning to Garrison, that there should have been any divisions. 'Why could we not all go on together?' 'Why not indeed' said Garrison, 'we stand just where we did. I see no reason, why you cannot co-operate with the American Socy.' 'Oh,' replied Whittier, 'but the Am. Soc is not what it once was. It has the hat, & the coat & the waistcoat of the old Socy. but the life has passed out of it'. 'Are you not ashamed then,' said Garrison 'to come here, wondering why we cant go on together. No wonder you cant co-operate with a suit of old clothes'." Now I would far prefer to write something pleasant about him. He seemed to enjoy going from place to place with [Joseph Sturge](#), and we were glad of their little calls on us.<sup>25</sup> I cant help loving Whittier & J. Sturge too, even tho' they have wronged us, in the course they have pursued. So long as they retain any sympathy for the suffering bondsman, I shall feel a tender regard for them, even tho' in other respects they go halting. This is especially my feeling toward each component part of that London Convention – with the very slight exception of N. Colver & one or two others. Even Jesus – "the son of the Blessed", treated hypocrites with severity. You will see in the Liberator that Colver was ready to make excuse for the Mg. houses being refused. "A work of Grace was going on," &c.<sup>26</sup>

What an interesting account of the Mass. Meetg. & of J. C. Fuller N. P. Rogers gives in the Herald of Freedom and how characteristic of the man, are his leading editorials! You will be pleased, as we have been, to hear how well Remond has been received since his return from your land; laden with the praises of Ireland – and with the Irish Address.<sup>27</sup> Miller M'Kim says, there has been quite a run on the A. S. Office here by the Repealers since that Address has been re-printed for gratuitous distribution. The seed sown seems to be taking root in Irish hearts. We are cheered on by some late manifestations in that quarter.

You will see H. B. Stanton's name among the 3rd. party speakers in Boston. How sorry I am that he has thus sold himself! They might have had Colver, if we could have kept him – and Whittier – & T. D. Weld. You will see in the Standard ^Feb.[3]^ or Liberator, the Washington correspondence of the N. York

25. Sturge visited the U.S. in the spring of 1841 and traveled with Whittier meeting abolitionists. See Whittier to Moses Cartland, 12 May 1841, in John B. Pickard, ed., Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1975), 3 vols., 1:500.

26. In a letter signed "W.," the writer described the Liberty Party convention taking place in Boston on February 16th, where Rev. Nathaniel Colver declared that Boston churches were already occupied "in the work of grace going on in the city" and therefore unavailable for the next day's session (Liberator, 25 February 1842:31).

27. Two articles reprinted from the Herald of Freedom described an antislavery meeting at the Massachusetts State House where Wendell Phillips, [Abby Kelley](#) and [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke. About Irish Quaker James C. Fuller (1793?-1847), who had emigrated to New York in the 1830s, Rogers wrote, "we have never known him speak so well." See Liberator, 18 February 1842:26. Charles Lenox Remond (1810-73), black abolitionist from Salem, Mass. and a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, had stayed with the Webbs when visiting Ireland in December 1841. He returned to the U.S. with an address to the Irish-Americans written by Webb and Haughton, urging them to work to abolish slavery. See Liberator, 11 March 1842: 39; Richard S. Harrison, Richard Davis Webb: Quaker Printer, 1805-1872 (Dublin: Red Barn, 1993), 26.



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American, signed R.M.T.H. – giving an account of Adams's defence. It is supposed & with some reason, tho' yet a secret, that Theodore D. Weld is the writer of that & sundry other letters from Washn.<sup>28</sup> He has been there several months. Our New-Organ. Abolitionists are not idle. Let us give them credit for all the good they do. Elizabeth C. Stanton – noble soul! is at Johnstown N. Y. at her Father's; where they will remain while Henry is but a student at Law. The latest accot. of her is in a letter I lately recd. from C. C. Burleigh. I have half a mind to enclose it to Anne Allen, as another specimen of his familiar style; – only I fear it will give the impression, of a want of becoming reverence for institutions, regarded sacred. I will [send?] what Jas. says to it. E. Stanton writes to her frd. E. J. Neall, that she has lately made her debut in public, – in a Temperance speech, & was so eloquent in her appeals, as to affect not only her audience, but herself to tears – About 100 women were present. She infused into her speech a homoeopathic [sic] dose of Womans Rights, & does the same in many private conversations. She wishes as many copies of S. Grimkes Letter on the Equality of the Sexes, we can send her – for that little book does execution. In a letter to me some time ago she says – "The more I think on the present condition of woman, the more am I oppressed with the reality of her degradation. The laws of our Country, how unjust are they! – our customs how vicious! What God has made sinful, both in man & woman, – custom has made sinful in woman alone. In talking with many people I have been much struck with this fact." After saying much more wh. my limits forbid my copying – she adds, "I have commenced the study of medicine. Having a great horror of both medical & theological quacks, I have come to the conclusion to take care of my own soul & body. I am examining Homoeopathy [sic]." &c – She will probably become a Mother in a few weeks.<sup>29</sup> I can readily imagine your brother James a fond Father; from the little evidence I had of his affection in the conjugal relations. I was pleased with his nice wife – and the addition since made to their family, is all that seems necessary in their beautiful abode, to render their bliss complete. We are glad that he & Thomas, do not leave their br. Richd. 'to serve alone'. We notice their honorable names occasionally, in the proceedings of your meetings. Oh; that delightful day at the sea-side with Thos. & Mary & the 3 little ones! how is the little lame

28. In his letter of 25 January, "R. M. T. H." described in vivid language Adams's confrontation with the congressional Southern caucus: "in a tone of insulted majesty and reinvigorated spirit, [Adams] said, in reply to the audacious and atrocious charge of 'high treason,' — 'I call for the reading of the first paragraph of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE! Read it! READ IT! And see what THAT says of the right of a people to reform, to change, to dissolve their government'" National Anti-Slavery Standard, 3 February 1842:139. Weld had agreed to go to Washington to perform research on subjects such as colonization and the slave trade for a group of anti-slavery congressmen, including Adams. See Weld to Lewis Tappan, 14 December 1841, in Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight Dumond, eds., Weld-Grimké Letters, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934), 2: 879-80, 905.

29. No record of Stanton's speech has been recovered. Mott quotes from Stanton's letter of 26 November 1841. A son, Daniel, was born 2 March. Elisabeth Griffith, In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (NY: Oxford UP, 1984), 41; Ann D. Gordon, Ed., In the School of Anti-Slavery: Selected papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 34. Sarah Moore Grimké published Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman in 1838. For more on the impact of the Grimkés on moral reform in this period, see, "What Was the Appeal of Moral Reform to Antebellum Northern Women?" also on this website.



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daughter? The walk up Killiney hills – the prospect from the top – the addition to our company – all, all are remembered with dear delight. When, think you will come here? I cannot convey by expression how much I want to see you again. Why, we are far better acquainted now, than when we were with you. These dear, familiar letters to S. Pugh & A. Kimber & to ourselves – some of wh. are lying before me, bind you to our hearts, as bosom friends. Richd. takes pains to make us well acquainted with your valued friend R.R.R. Moore.<sup>30</sup> He forgets that we knew him so well in the 'Convention.' We were glad however of all he wrote about him. Among the scenes wh. made an indelible impression, was his very earnest speech & rapid utterance standing I think not far from the excluded women. Deleg[at]es. then – when we made a visit to you, at your lodgings – he was quite as earnest in protesting against some measure under discussion. I often smile when recurring to that visit. For I had scarcely learned where we were going – or to distinguish you from the numerous English Frds. who had been introduced. Hannah walked with me – took me thro' part of Covent Garden Market, which I had so oft read of when a child. Reaching your house, there were so many couples of the same name; beside Richd. & Anne Allen, that it was long before I could learn "who was who". Then your venerable Father sat there looking so grave as if he had some misgivings as to the propriety of his juxtaposition with heretics of the Hicksites order – his prudential silence when I ventured a little ultraism. – and withal the "Irish hospitality" with which we were entertained – each one doing so much to minister to our hungry appetites – and then crowning the eveg by R.D. Webb & R. Allen taking that long walk home with us – If I forget these things my memory will forget its office. Again, when in your social circle in Dublin, I presumed to read what I had written home, of your non-committal course in matters of Theology – suggesting as one reason, the fear of your Orthodox leaders – the earnestness & openness of countenance with which your brother Thomas ejaculated, "I'm not afraid," gave me a sensation of delight. It needs some to be "not afraid", in order to withstand the high-handed measures of the Quaker Hierarchy. I doubt whether the domination of any sect is more arbitrary. A handful of the distinct order in Rhode Island Yearly Mg placed their veto on the opening of Mg. houses for the lectures of the Abolitionists, and lo! they are nearly all closed. Hereaway the young people are kept from the benevolent efforts of the day – as if there would be defilement in the touch. I dont wonder that Richd. Webb feels the evils of these Sectarian organizations. Altho' I have written as I have on another page – I agree with him, (in the abstract,) that for those who are accustomed to reflect & come to conclusions for themselves, they are unnecessary.

When you have read the controversy between Paul & Amicus,<sup>31</sup> we

30. In addition to Richard and Hannah Webb, members of the Webb family were James Webb Sr. (1776-1854), his sons Thomas Webb (1806-1884) and James H. Webb Jr. (1810-1868), his wife Ann, all of whom attended the 1840 London convention. Mott described her visits with the Webb family in Dublin on 24-25 July in her diary. Robert Ross Rowan Moore (1811-1864) was active in antislavery and peace reform. See Tolles, Diary, 34, 63-64; Harrison, Richard Davis Webb, 23, 28.



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*should like to have your opinion of the work. It was first published in the 'Berean',<sup>32</sup> a periodical, edited, in Wilmington Del. by Dr. Gibbons, Benjn. Ferris & a number more Friends of talent & worth – as well as of liberal views. 'Amicus' was Benjn. Ferris. He told us that every answer to Paul was written after his family had retired for the night – that frequently when he went to put his effusions into the Office, it was daylight. He never submitted one of them to the criticism of his friends, & never had any objection made to them. After the controversy was ended, the "Mg. for Sufferings" issued a kind of disclaimer of it – or protest against it – at the suggestion of Jonan. Evans – the Pope of that day, because it had not been submitted to their Orthodox tribunal, previously to its publication [']according to the 'good' order', prescribed in the Discipline. This occurred about a year or two before the 'Separation'. ^say 1823 or 4^ Our friends did not relish a reproof from that quarter – All the Editors of that paper, were on our side when the division took place. Not long after this Fanny Wright – R. D. Owen & some others of that school were at Wilmington, & some of these liberal writers & their childn. went to hear them lecture on 'knowledge' – 'education' & .c. This alarmed Dr. G. B. Ferris, & .c – & they came out with an "Expose of Modern Skepticism". Immediately another Paper was issued by B. Webb & .c – called the "Delaware Free Press". Whereupon Dr. G. & co. entered a complaint to the Mg. of their Ultraism, & about 5 or 6 were disowned.<sup>33</sup> They appealed in vain to our Yearly Mg. many thinking it were better these should suffer, than that our august body should be in any manner identified with the 'Infidel Owenites'. The childn. of these persecuted brethren withdrew & Wilmington Mg. has had 'Ichabod' on its walls from that time to the present. These disowned members were among their most active, benevolent citizens and have continued respected & beloved. Now such arbitrary measures I detest My husband & self came near "losing our place", by uttering our indignant protest against their intolerance. These are the evils of religious – or sectarian organizns. We cry out against assumption of power & oppression – But no sooner do we successfully resist their influence, than the same weapons are wielded by us against those who take one step in advance of ourselves. We can be mighty charitable to the poor weaklings we consider behind us – but let some go on before, – we are as ready to cry stop & to condemn, as were those at*

31. In a long series of exchanges from May 1821 until November 1822 in the Christian Repository, Presbyterian clergyman Eliphalet Gilbert (1793-1853), writing as "Paul" attacked Friends for "the characteristic notions and conduct of your society," describing Quakers as "Deists" and "Infidels." Writing under the name of "Amicus," the pro-Hicksite Quakers, including William Gibbons (1781-1845), a Wilmington, Delaware, doctor, denounced "Paul" and repudiated the doctrine of the Trinity. Jonathan Evans (c. 1759-1839), was clerk of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, the body which received reports and grievances from local meetings. Larry Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation (Wallingford: Pendle Hill, 1998), 17-18, 98-102.

32. James tells me I am mistaken – It was not published in the Berean – but in another Wilmington Paper – Paul is a Presbyterian Minister by the name of Gilbert.

33. According to Ingle, the Hicksite Wilmington meeting disowned Benjamin Webb for supporting the views of women's rights advocate and liberal reformer Fanny Wright (1795-1852) and the socialist and newspaper editor Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877). See Quakers in Conflict, pp. 61, 131.



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*whose hands we suffered such abuse. Where is our confidence in the Truth, that we are so fearful to meet error without denunciation. I never felt any special interest in Owen or his followers, but desired to meet them in a Christian spirit – knowing they would not ultimately prevail, only as they were in the right. Our dear Elizh. Pease & some others quaked with fear when Owen called on Wm. L.G. & the other American frds. at Mark Moore's, lest it might give us a bad name, but I regarded not such fears. How could a common observer of heads & countenance tremble for the influence of such a man[?] The most successful refutation of his visionary scheme is to suffer him to be his own expositor.<sup>34</sup>*

*I forgot to tell you when speaking of E. Robson, that she has lately met with a little 'damper', by the Mo. Mg. of the Southern district of this City, refusing to receive family visits from her. She had been thro' the two or (I believe) three other Meetgs. – What the obstruction was, we have not heard. Josh. J. Gurney knew better than to try to his strength at that Mg. They have the name of being opposed to him – but we had thot. E. Robson was Anti-Gurney too. Perhaps her frds. thot. she was staying here too long.*

*Your frd. Elizh. [Cosins?] I have not seen since I took her Richard's letter last summer. She was highly gratified to receive it – & may have acknowledged it before now. Neither have we seen for a year past, the Irish Friend or stranger against whom Richd. kindly warned us, with a graphic description of his appearance – "as if butter would not melt in his mouth" &c. We gave his partner a hint of his character – of wh. he appeared to be somewhat apprised; but hoped he would retrieve his good name[.]*

*The few lines from Hannah in your last letter to S. Pugh were much to my liking. The liberal Spirit breathed thro' it – and her remarks on Elisha Bates just suited me. It is truly astonishing that one who once occupied the place he did in the Society of Friends, should be a ranting, – 'Hellfire,' Methodist preacher – or indeed a preacher of any other Society – (unless it be Unitarian & not then for hire.)<sup>35</sup> Several young Frds. of the Orthodox order have joined the church. This is not surprising, educated as they have been, these 10 years past, seeking "to be made perfect by the flesh".<sup>36</sup> Not having the inspection of the Boston Bazaar boxes we had not the oppy. to see the Articles or Letters on Slavery – & find out which was written by Hannah. Wasn't that description of the Fair, by M[aria]. W[eston]. C[hapman]. good? When anything of interest appears in the Libr, Standard, or Herald of Freedom, I read it with the more zest, knowg. you will enjoy it too.*

*I have not told you what a nice visit we had from Lord Morpeth. It will do to place with yours from Father Mathew – the accot. of wh., & your remarks of him pleased us well. We felt some*

34. When Mott met the Scottish socialist and textile manufacturer Robert Owen (1771-1858) in London on 30 June 1840, she described him as "altogether visionary — great benevolence." Tolles, Diary, 51.nT.

35. Elisha Bates (c.1779-1861), printer and orthodox Ohio Quaker, was disowned in 1837.

36. GALATIANS 3:3.





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hesitancy about calling on "his Lordship," thinking he would not remember us – but in a letter from Dr. Channing to his son who is passing the winter here, he expressed a hope that we would see him.<sup>37</sup> So we went to his lodgings, card in hand reducing him to a common man, on our Republican principles. He was not at home. He soon returned the call, made himself very agreeable, accepted an invitn. the day following to breakfast with us & came each time unattended, walking as any of our Citizens would. We were pleased with the ease with which he accommodated himself to our American & Quaker simplicity. We invited an intelligent few Abolitionists to meet him here and had a delightful time. He gives general satisfaction in passing thro' the country. His amiable disposition & manner are pleasing, 'tho' rather awkward at the graces. Elizh. J. Neall has since met him in Washington. I wish she had a correspondent in Dublin – so that she might give you a description of their meeting.

I began this letter as dated. It is now 3 Mo. 7th. I can only write a little each day – having many interruptions. Another Lion has just arrived in the City – Charles Dickens. Our childn. have a strong desire to see him. I too have admired the benevolent character of his writings – tho' I have read very little in them. I did not expect to seek an interview, nor to invite him here, as he was not quite one of our sort – but just now there was left at the door, his & his wife's card, with a kind & sweet letter from our dear friend E. J. Reid – London – introducing them & expressing a strong desire that we would make their acquaintance.<sup>38</sup> There is not a woman in London whose draft I would more gladly honor. So now I have a grand excuse to call on them, and our girls are in high glee. I regret that in Boston & New York, they have been so extravagant in their reception of the man.

I wonder if I could not keep on to the end of the year & find something to write you from day to day. I must stop so as to leave somewhat for Sarah Pugh & Abby Kimber to tell you. There may be much in this that they have already written – for Sarah filled & sent Abby's last to you, without my seeing it. Abby has lately made a short, but pleasant visit to the City. Her enjoyment in retrospect is fresh as ever – & when she comes, Sarah accompanies her hither, so that we may all talk over past scenes. E. Neall too comes in for her share. Elizh. Reid asks me in her letter recd today, if the report is true that E. J. N[eall]. & J. G. Whittier are married. How wide of the truth it is! Mary Grew has lived too far from us quite in the lower part of the City, to meet with us often, when our Friends are with us – but there is a strong binding tie of affection with the band of rejected Delegates. Isaac Winslow is now in France, attendg to his br. Jerreh's. business, while he is in this country. He was in the City last week with two of his sisters – but we had only a little share of their compy. E Neall was more

37. George William Frederick Howard (1802-64), then Lord Morpeth, later the 7th Earl of Carlisle, was on an extended tour of the U.S. Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856) was a Franciscan priest and an Irish temperance leader. William Francis Channing (1820-1901) was then a medical student at the University of Pennsylvania.

38. Elizabeth Jesser Reid (1795?-1866), Unitarian and close friend of Harriet Martineau's. Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 2:663.





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*avored, having been at his house at Havre. Emily will probably return with her Father.<sup>39</sup> We yesterday attended the funeral of Jas. Forten.<sup>40</sup> You will see an accot. of his death in the Standard – an obituary written probably by Mary Grew.<sup>41</sup> It was a real amalgamation funeral – hundreds of white people & thousands of colored – Kindest remembrances to all thy loved circle. Will your Father come to America this season? – Remember us with much affection to C. Corkran when you write –*

*Yours truly Lucretia Mott*

*12th [March]. I have opened my envelope to say how rejoiced we are at the news of the safety of the Caledonia. Great anxiety has been felt. We have recd. several Dublin papers and the Irish Friend – all of which interested us & we are obliged by these continued marks of your attention. The article on Free Produce I rejoiced to see, for consistency calls loudly on us for this stand to be made – ask R. Allen to write on. His sympathy & appeals for the poor murderer Delahunt were grateful to my feelings.<sup>42</sup> How I felt that they were in vain! But the appeal will not be lost. Neither will Jas. Haughton's to his poor brethren on Peace – Slavery – &c – I liked his proposal to tax waste land. We called on Dickens – but he was [so? ??] that we could have but a few minutes interview We tried to engage a visit from him, but his stay in this City was only 3 or 4 days & was engaged all the time. 5 or 600 gentlemen called on him the mornng. we were there. Jas. Mott talked to him about his travels in the South and hoped he would not be deceived by the outside appearance – but try to get a peep behind the scenes – I too said a word or two on the same subject. – <sup>43</sup>*

*How gratifying is the decision of your Parliament on the Creole case – that & the Amistad are doing well for our cause – <sup>44</sup>*

*17th J.M. M'Kim's letter giving an account of Jas. Forten's funeral in todays Standard is good – & true – so was H.C. Wrights announcing his death<sup>45</sup>*

39. Both Isaac (1787-1867) and Jeremiah Winslow lived in France for some years while engaged in whaling. Isaac Winslow's daughter Emily Annette (later Taylor) accompanied her father on his trip to the 1840 London convention. See Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 2:209; Tolles, Diary, 13.

40. The obituary of James Forten, who died 4 March, was published in the Standard, 10 March 1842:159.

41. No – that written by Mary Grew did not reach New York in time – the notice published was quite inferior to that written by Mary.

42. John Delahunt, who pleaded not guilty, was being tried in Dublin for the murder of a child. See The Times (London), 17 January 1842:6.

43. The visit of Charles Dickens (1812-70) to Philadelphia is briefly described in his American Notes, chapter 7. Theodore Cuyler reports that, on a visit to Dickens in London later in 1842, the latter told him, "If you see Mrs. Lucretia Mott tell her that I have not forgotten the slave." Letters of Charles Dickens, ed. Madeline House, Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1974), 3:357.

44. On a voyage from the U.S. in November 1841, slaves on the American ship the Creole mutinied and forced the vessel to dock at the British port of Nassau. When British officials there freed all the slaves except the mutineering crew, the U.S. demanded that all the crew be returned to the U.S. for criminal proceedings. The British, however, refused. In another slave mutiny off Long Island in June 1839 on the Amistad, the slaves were also freed, thanks to John Quincy Adams's defense before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1841. For more on this famous case, see the website, "Exploring Amistad."



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*I have written my letter to Anne Knight[.] M.W. Chapman says "Poor, dear Anne Knight! how sorry she will be to see my name to the call for the Bible Convention actually thinking me as good as Orthodox!"<sup>46</sup> I grieve to grieve her or any one else; but it would never do to be obliged to despise myself for a whole life-time, for neglecting an opport[unit]y. to do good, lest I should give offence". I was glad that C. Corkran withdrew from those Temperance bigots in London[.]*

*I have filled my sheets with out a word on Non-Resistance, Capital punishment, & other subjects, wh., tho' they do not "fill my head from mornng till night," yet occupy much of my thought. Thanks for the "Rhymes for the people" —, "[Hints?] about the Army" &c[.] Such appeals cannot fail to do good. I saw a lecture on Education I think, by the same author when in Lond[on] & have it somewhere among my papers. A parcel was just left at the door, containg 50 copies of "Four Letters to the Rev Jas. Caughey" — I turned to that from R. Allen wh. is all I have had time to read. I am glad he dealt so faithfully with the Priest.<sup>47</sup> We shall circulate them[.] Jas. Motts love he cant add*

*Jas. thinks it not best to send more than one of each of P. E. Thomas's books — If you would like to have more you can send for them.*

45. James Miller McKim's obituary on James Forten appeared in the Standard on 17 March 1842:162. H.C. Wright's tribute and description of the funeral on 6 March was published in The Liberator, 11 March 1842:89. McKim, a noted abolitionist, went on to found The Nation in 1865. See Document 6 of "How Did White Women Aid Former Slaves during and after the Civil War and What Obstacles Did They Face," also on the website, "Exploring Amistad."

46. Chapman was one of four signers to a call for a Bible Convention for a "public discussion of the credibility and authority of the Scriptures" to be held in Boston 29 March (Liberator, 21 January 1842:11).

47. Rhymes for the people about battle, glory, and murder (Dublin: Webb and Chapman, n.d.); Four Letters to the Reverend James Caughey, Methodist Episcopal minister; on the participation of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in the sin of American slavery — three from Robert Johnston and one from Richard Allen (Dublin: S. J. Machen, 1841).



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1843

July 21, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to his sister [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#) in Roxbury MA from Staten Island, mentioning that [tomatoes](#) were being raised by the acre on this island on which [Huguenots](#) had settled,

*Dear Helen,*

*I am not in such haste to write home when I remember that I make my readers pay the postage— But I believe I have not taxed you before.— I have pretty much explored this island — inland and along the shore — finding my health inclined me to the peripatetic philosophy— I have visited Telegraph Stations — Sailor's Snug Harbors — Seaman's Retreats — Old Elm Trees, where the Hugonots landed — Brittons Mills — and all the villages on the island. Last Sunday I walked over to Lake Island Farm — 8 or 9 miles from here — where Moses Prichard lived, and found the present occupant, one Mr Davenport formerly from Mass. — with 3 or four men to help him — raising sweet potatoes and tomatoes by the acre. It seemed a cool and pleasant retreat, but a hungry soil. As I was coming away I took my toll out of the soil in the shape of arrow-heads — which may after all be the surest crop — certainly not affected by drought.*



and also describing immigrants he had seen on the streets of New-York, and speaking of the [Quaker](#) meeting shortly before July 7th, in the Hester Street meetinghouse in Brooklyn on *Paumanok* Long Island at which



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[Lucretia Mott](#) had spoken:

*I liked all the proceedings very well -their plainly greater harmony and sincerity than elsewhere. They do nothing in a hurry. Every one that walks up the aisle in his square coat and expansive hat- has a history, and comes from house to a house. The women come in one after another in their Quaker bonnets and handkerchiefs, looking all like sisters and so many chick-a-dees- At length, after a long silence, waiting for the spirit, Mrs Mott rose, took off her bonnet, and began to utter very deliberately what the spirit suggested. Her self-possession was something to say, if all else failed - but it did not. Her subject was the abuse of the BIBLE -and thence she straightway digressed to slavery and the degradation of woman. It was a good speech -[transcendentalism](#) in its mildest form. She sat down at length and after a long and decorous silence in which some seemed to be really digesting her words, the elders shook hands and the meeting dispersed. On the whole I liked their ways, and the plainness of their meeting house. It looked as if it was indeed made for service.*



The biographer Henry Seidel Canby has commented, about this worship service, that “Already, and long before [Emerson](#), [[Henry Thoreau](#)] sensed the dangerous quietism of the [Quakers](#), which was to be content with solidity and reform, and let the spirit speak too mildly. Indeed, his final conclusion as to all these idealists is a distrust of reformers.” Canby seems not to have been aware that Quakerism had torn itself apart, and that the very person and presence of this [Hicksite](#) traveling minister, Mott, was a reproach to these evangelical Quakers Canby so rightly here contemns for their dangerous self-righteous and self-satisfied quietism. With an understanding of what was going on within Quakerism at that point, we must place quite a different interpretation on that particular worship. Clearly Thoreau had no inclination to mouth his favorite gibe at those



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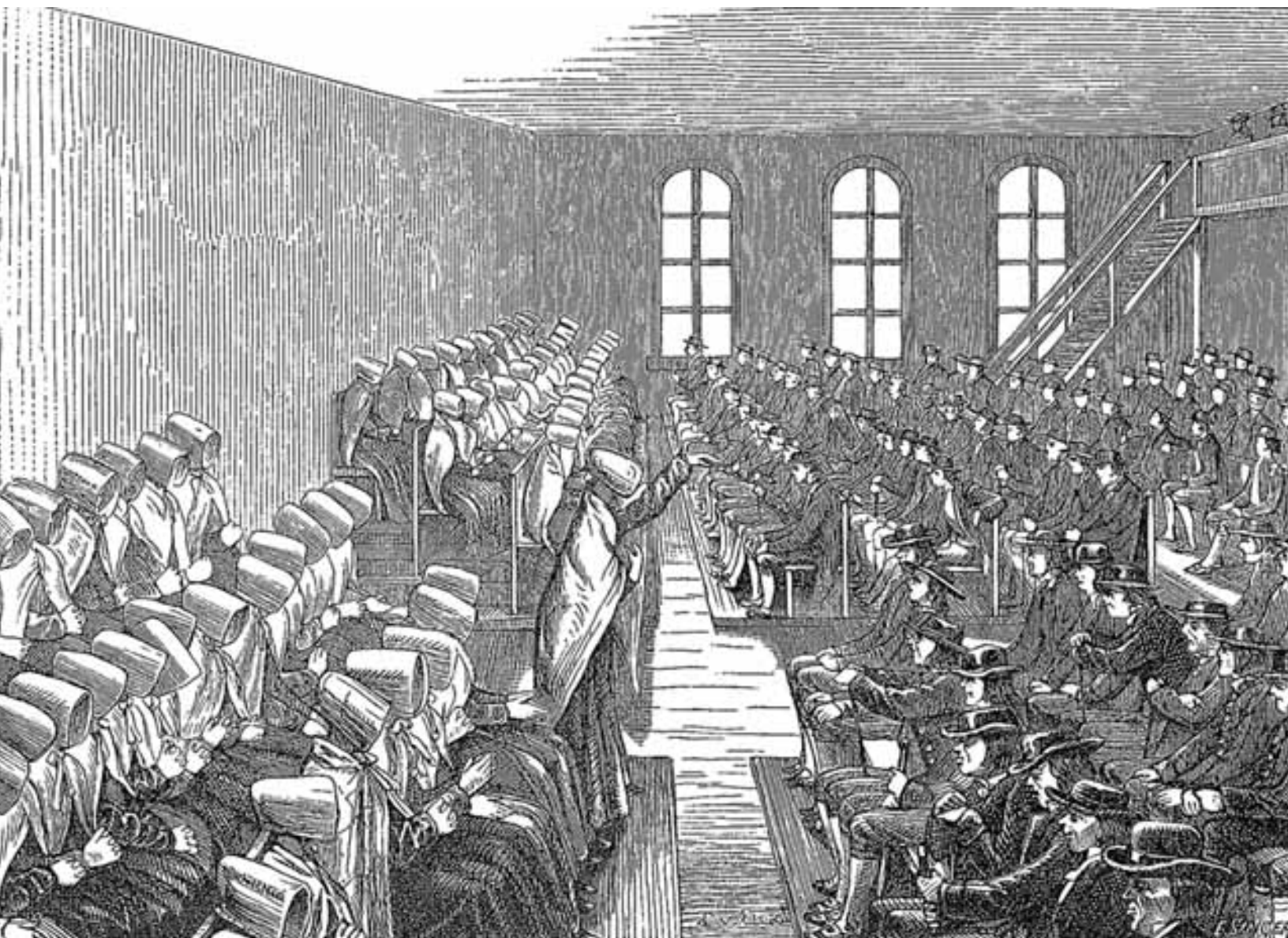
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who replace faith in deity with membership in community,

*"Why do all your prayers begin  
'Now I lay me down to sleep'?"*



What precisely was it that Friend Lucretia said? The Herald incorrectly asserted that she handed her bonnet to



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another woman before beginning to speak and incorrectly asserted that a handkerchief was laid over the



railing, so there is little in its report that we can accept as reliable. Those who wish to learn how she spoke to the condition of a [Henry Thoreau](#) she somehow knew, must consult representative sermons that we know were accurately transcribed, such as “Abuses and Uses of the BIBLE,” “Likeness to Christ,” and “Keep Yourself from Idols.”<sup>48</sup> One of the things she might have urged was:

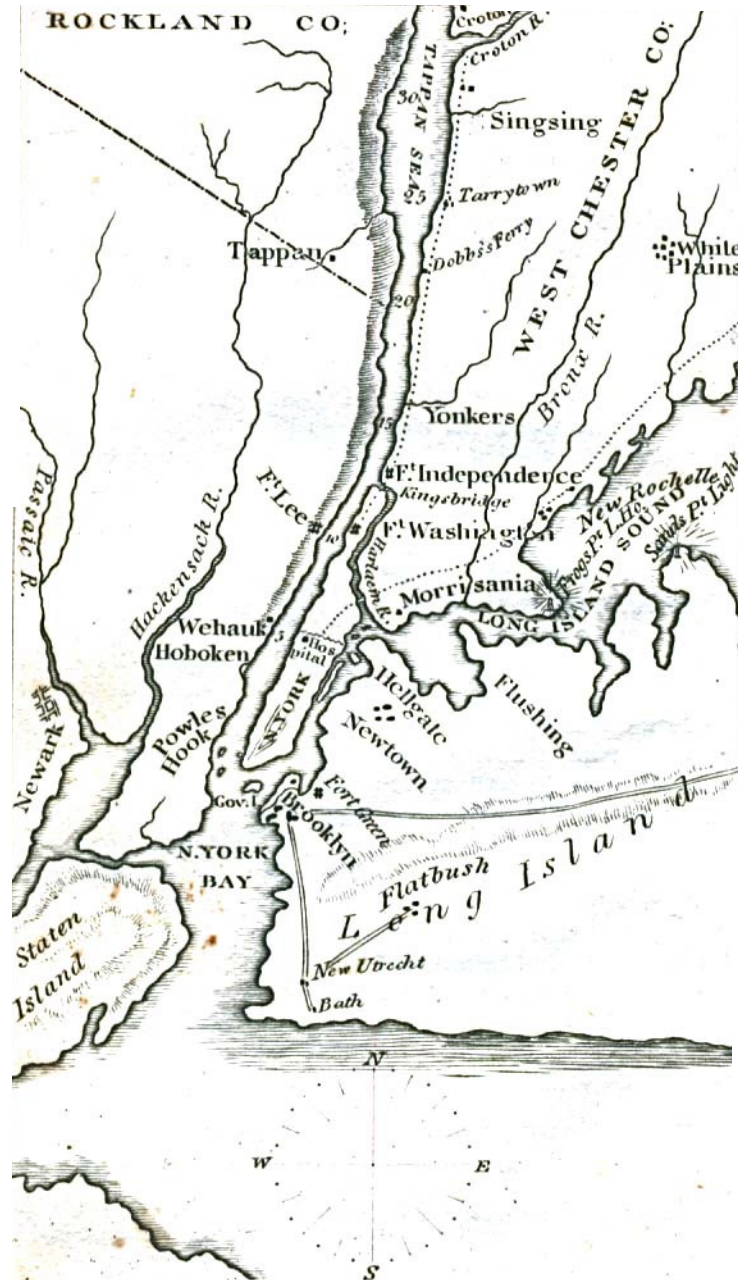
*“First that which is natural, afterwards that which is spiritual.” It is theology, not the Scriptures, that has degraded the natural ... skepticism has become a religious duty -skepticism as to the scheme of salvation, the plans of redemption, that are abounding in the religious world ... this kind of doubt, and unbelief are coming to be a real belief, and ... a better theology will follow -has followed. ... We need non-conformity in our age, and I believe it will come.*

Another agenda she might have urged:

*That while we are applying our principles to civil government we will not be unmindful of their application to ourselves in the regulation of our own tempers and in the government of our families, leading to the substitution of the law of peace and love.*

Whatever. In that meeting at the [Religious Society of Friends](#) meeting-house on Hester Street in New York City shortly before July 7, 1843, despite the sectarian turmoil of the split between [Hicksite](#) and non-[Hicksite](#) Quakers, clearly Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) succeeded in putting a defensive 26-year-old man more or less at ease.

48. Mott 279-80. The volume does not, however, include a transcript of what she said at the Hester Street meeting in 1843 (which indicates there is more research that needs to be done, than I have as yet been able to do).

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In this letter he characterized [Horace Greeley](#) as “cheerfully in earnest” and contrasted this with the “sadly in earnest” Reverend [William Henry Channing](#) with his Fourierist fantasies of resolving all human frictions. He mentioned obliquely that Greeley was at that point deeply involved in the creation of the [Eagleswood](#) intentional community — the [New Jersey](#) grounds of which, incidentally, he would one day, upon its failure and dissolution, be surveying into individual house lots:





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Staten Island July 21<sup>st</sup> 43

Dear Helen,

*I am not in such haste to write home when I remember that I make my readers pay the postage— But I believe I have not taxed you before.— I have pretty much explored this island – inland and along the shore – finding my health inclined me to the peripatetic philosophy— I have visited Telegraph Stations – Sailor’s Snug Harbors – Seaman’s Retreats – Old Elm Trees, where the Hugonots landed – Brittons Mills – and all the villages on the island. Last Sunday I walked over to Lake Island Farm –8 or 9 miles from here– where Moses Prichard lived, and found the present occupant, one Mr Dav-enport formerly from Mass.— with 3 or four men to help him – raising sweet potatoes and tomatoes by the acre. It seemed a cool and pleasant retreat, but a hungry soil. As I was coming away I took my toll out of the soil in the shape of arrow-heads – which may after all be the surest crop – certainly not affected by drought.*

*I am well enough situated here to observe one aspect of the modern world at least – I mean the migratory – the western movement. Sixteen hundred imigrants arrived at quarrantine ground on the fourth of July, and more or less every day since I have been here. I see them occasionally washing their persons and clothes, or men women and children gathered on an isolated quay near the shore, stretching their limbs and taking the air, the children running races and swinging – on this artificial piece of the land of liberty – while their vessels are undergoing purification. They are detained but a day or two, and then go up to the city, for the most part without having landed here. In the city I have seen since I wrote last – WH Channing – at whose house in 15<sup>th</sup> St. I spent a few pleasant hours, discussing the all absorbing question – What to do for the race. (He is sadly in earnest – — About going up the river to rusticate for six weeks— And issues a new periodical called The Present in September.)— Also Horace Greeley Editor of the Tribune – who is cheerfully in earnest. – at his office of all work – a hearty New Hampshire boy as one would wish to meet. And says “now be neighborly” – and believes only or mainly, first, in the Sylvania Association somewhere in Pennsylvania – and secondly and most of all, in a new association to go into operation soon in New Jersey, with which he is connected.— Edward Palmer came down to see me Sunday before last— As for Waldo and Tappan we have strangely dodged one another and have not met for some weeks.*

*I believe I have not told you anything about Lucretia Motte. It was a good while ago that I heard her at the Quaker church in Hester St. She is a preacher, and it was advertised that she would be present*



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*on that day. I liked all the proceedings very well – their plainly greater harmony and sincerity than elsewhere. They do nothing in a hurry. Every one that walks up the aisle in his square coat and expansive hat – has a history, and comes from a house to a house. The women come in one after another in their Quaker bonnets and handkerchiefs looking all like sisters and so many chic-a-dees— At length, after a long silence, waiting for the spirit, M{MS torn} Motte rose, took off her bonnet, and began to utter very deliberately what the spirit suggested. Her self-possession was something to say if all else failed – but it did not. Her subject was the abuse of the Bible – and thence she straightway digressed to Slavery and the degradation of woman. It was a good speech – transcendentalism in its mildest form. She sat down at length and after a long and decorous silence in which some seemed to be really digesting her words, the elders shook hands and the meeting dispersed. On the whole I liked their ways and the plainness of their meeting-house— It looked as if it was indeed made for service. I think that Stearns Wheeler has left a gap in the community not easy to be filled. Though he did not exhibit the highest qualities of the scholar, he possessed in a remarkable degree many of the essential and rarer ones – and his patient industry and energy – his reverent love of letters – and his proverbial accuracy – will cause him to be associated in my memory even with many venerable names of former days— It was not wholly unfit that so pure a lover of books should have ended his pilgrimage at the great book-mart of the world. I think of him as healthy and brave, and am confident that if he had lived he would have proved useful in more ways than I can describe— He would have been authority on all matters of fact – and a sort of connecting link between men and scholars of different walks and tastes. The literary enterprises he was planning for himself and friends remind me of an older and more studious time— So much then remains for us to do who survive.*

*Tell mother that there is no Ann Jones in the Directory. Love to all—  
Tell all my friends in Concord that I do not send m{sealing wax}e to them but retain it still. yr affectionate Brother H.D.T.*

November 28, Tuesday: Friend [Elizabeth Buffum Chace](#) resigned from the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) because of the increasing difficulty encountered by abolitionists like herself in obtaining the use of Quaker meetinghouses for anti-slavery meeting (she would later comment “When the Friends shut the slave out of their religious houses, they shut me out also”).

TO PROVIDENCE MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS



28th of 11th mo., 1843.



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Dear Friends:

After many months of serious deliberation, attended not unfrequently by severe conflicts, with sincere desires for the direction of the Spirit of Truth, I have arrived at the conclusion that it will no longer be right for me to remain a member of your body.

By birthright and education connected with the Society of Friends, I very early became attached to the Christian principles it professed, and this attachment, growing with my growth and strengthening with my strength, has remained with me through my riper years, and is now strong, and, I trust, enduring. But when, for many years, I have looked for the fruits of these righteous principles in the proceedings of the Society, or the practice of its most highly professing members, I have been forced to admit that they were not suffered to produce their legitimate effects, but that the Society, having become blindly attached to mere formal observances and in a great measure dependent thereon, instead of carrying out those principles which it was called to maintain in the face of the world, had settled down quietly to enjoy the exalted reputation it had obtained by its early reformatory labors, in apathy and indifference concerning the crying sins of "a world lying in wickedness," and the suffering and degradation occasioned thereby; and (I have been forced also to admit) that it was only aroused by the fear that individual members were doing what they believed to be right independently of its authority.

The pro-slavery position assumed and maintained by New England Yearly meeting, and consequently by its subordinate branches, has, for many years, been a subject of painful regret to my mind; and I long cherished the hope that, the principles of truth and righteousness finally prevailing, this large and influential body would yet come up, with its strong band of spirits yearning to do right, to the rescue of down-trodden humanity. But I have hoped and waited in vain. It still, like the priest and the Levite, "passes by on the other side," incurring the fearful responsibility of continuing in cruel slavery millions of our fellow-countrymen. For I fully believe that had the Friends in this country rightly persevered in their Anti-Slavery efforts since the time that they ceased from actual participation in the guilt of holding human beings as property, no slavery would now pollute the soil of these United States, no tears would flow from the eyes, no blood from the lacerated flesh of its wretched suffering victims.

The delinquency of the Society in this respect has, probably more than anything else, been made instrumental in opening my eyes to perceive that many corruptions have become too deeply interwoven with its present organization to be ever separated therefrom, and my firm belief now is that by the hand of Providence they will be removed together.

The love of dominion and its unlimited exercise by the few over the many, the practical denial to the weak of the right to call in question the authority of the powerful, whose power is too



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often seen to rest on the influence of wealth and worldly station and on the favor of those possessing these earthly gifts, more than on holiness of heart and life, and the countenance and support given to a blood-stained government are not the least among the abuses which I find so deeply rooted in the Society, that I feel that it would be sinful for me any longer to share its responsibilities.

In reply to any enquiries concerning the important step I am now taking, I can only answer, that, firmly believing in the doctrine of the immediate influences of the Holy Spirit, I, as firmly, believe that it requires this of me, and I can find no peace in resisting the pleadings of its "still, small voice." With those who, seeing the corruptions, do not believe it to be their duty to withdraw from the Society, I have no warfare. I have been in the same state myself, and it would have been very agreeable to my natural feelings to have remained so. Their path of duty may be different from mine. I would only urge them to walk carefully by the light of truth shed abroad in the heart, and fearlessly to follow its dictates.

Neither have I enmity towards those who sincerely believe that the Society is still in its purity, following in the footsteps of our Lord and Master, who "went about doing good." Some of them are my personal friends, and the fault shall not be mine if they do not remain so. My earnest desire for them is that "by a light let in from above" they may be led to see things as they really are. So let us all seek that we may find the truth; "proving all things and holding fast that which is good." And now, one and all, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

ELIZABETH B. CHACE.

**THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT**





**WHAT?**



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1846

In this year the Phrenological Journal announced that

among nations, as among individuals, force of character is determined by the average size of head; and that the larger-headed nations manifest their superior power, by subjecting and ruling their smaller-headed brethren – as the British in Asia, for example.

## PHRENOLOGY

Ever careful of the sensitivities of its subscribers, who might for some reason have tender feelings toward their wives, this journal forbore to belabor the obvious, that their average reader's manly brain was considerably more massive and ponderous than that of his sweet little wife. Their point, after all, was "We can dominate



foreigners,” and they all already knew “We can domesticate domestics.” And in Europe, [Louis Agassiz](#), a professor at Neuchâtel, declared, in regard to the collection of human skulls that Samuel George Morton had created in Philadelphia in order to demonstrate beyond a shadow of a doubt the basic differences between human races, that

This collection alone is worth a journey to America.

(It's worth a journey to America because it reassures us that we white people are inherently superior to any and all other people, irregardless of whether we comport ourselves with decency.)



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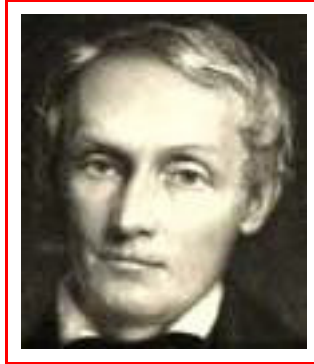


"Scientists have power by virtue of the respect commanded by the discipline. We may therefore be sorely tempted to misuse that power in furthering a personal prejudice or social goal – why not provide that extra oomph by extending the umbrella of science over a personal preference in ethics or politics?"

– [Stephen Jay Gould](#)  
BULLY FOR BRONTOSAURUS  
NY: Norton, 1991, page 429



When [Louis Agassiz](#) elected to remain in the USA after his lecture tour, to become professor of zoology and geology at [Harvard College](#), Asa Gray promptly escorted him to Philadelphia to meet the famous scientific racist [Professor Samuel George Morton](#).



(In this year [Professor Morton](#)'s "Observations on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the American Aborigines" appeared in [Silliman's Journal](#).)

Professor Agassiz would found the American Association for the Advancement of Science as a vehicle for advancing his covert agenda of favoring the laboratory scientist over the field scientist and the technician/specialist over the generalist<sup>49</sup> and would then condemn [Charles Darwin](#)'s development theory as not only "mischievous" but also "unscientific." He would also enact his overtly declared agenda to preserve the racial purity of our nation's schools, starting with his own elementary school in which the [Emerson](#) children were

49. To his credit, [Henry Thoreau](#) would suspiciously decline to become involved with this group of people.



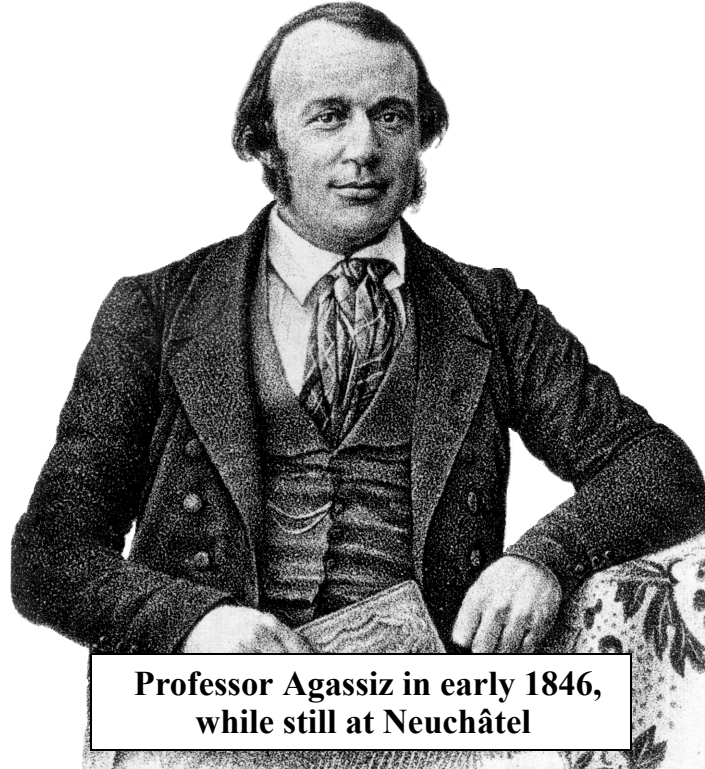


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being educated, and with the sacred halls and classrooms of [Harvard](#).



Professor Agassiz in early 1846,  
while still at Neuchâtel

Not strangely, this scientist was a follower of the theory of the progressive development of types associated with the name of Jean-Baptiste de Monet de Lamarck, or “Lamarckism,” which was merely a 19th-Century adaptation of the old doctrine of the “great scale of being” (*Scala Natura*) according to which all of nature reflects human society, some obviously being worth more than others. As an illustration of how such belief systems functioned at that time, [Elias Hicks](#) had asserted in a sermon of December 1, 1824 in Philadelphia that “We are on a level with all the rest of God’s creatures.”  After theories of evolution had become current, an adherent of a Lamarckian theory put on the hat “objective scientist” to attack such “leveller” allegations as being not only theologically pernicious, but also scientifically false. As a mere lay person, a nonscientist, Friend Elias did not understand, this scientist declared, that some current forms of life have been shown by science to be more **advanced**, and others more **primitive**, on the great scale of being! It is not amusing, but profoundly saddening, to see professed scientists oppose the trends that would become established in their own disciplines, and watch them lump [Waldo Emerson](#) together with Friend Elias as unscientific thinkers — in order to legitimate social agendas of viciousness such as black slavery. And, likewise, it is **notable** that some gifted amateurs like [Henry Thoreau](#) were able to get past this scientific smoke screen. What was it in Thoreau’s spirit that enabled him to be a better scientist than some of the most accredited scientists of his day?



June 25, 1852: What a mean & wretched creature is man by & by some Dr Morton may be filling your cranium with white mustard seed to learn its internal capacity. Of all the ways invented to come at a knowledge of a living man — this seems to me the worst — as it is the most belated. You would learn more by once paring the toe nails of the living subject. There is nothing out of which the spirit has more completely departed — & in which it has left fewer significant traces.



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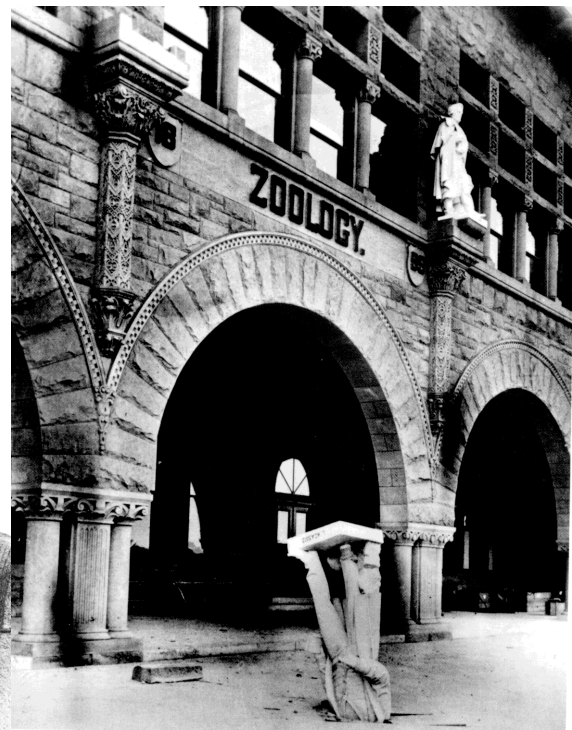
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I asked what it was in Friend Elias's spirit, and then in Henry's spirit, that enabled them to be better scientists than some of the most accredited American scientists of their day. Yes, I do have a theory — can you figure out what it is?



**Not a theologian pretending to be a scientist  
(Some of us understood that all along)**



**Agassiz standing on his head and stacking BBs  
(Please don't attempt this at home)**



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1848

[Friend Lucretia Mott](#) spoke on “The Law of Progress” in New-York, at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society.



In this year Friend Lucretia became ill while attending a meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in Indiana. A medical doctor who was a member of that meeting, in disagreement with her views, refused to treat her. Did he suppose that it would be a good thing, if Friend Lucretia were to die due to lack of medical attention?<sup>50</sup> Later, in justification of this unseemly and one might almost be tempted to say “un-Christian” conduct,<sup>51</sup> this physician sponsored a resolution to condemn those who were “running to and fro in the earth ... babbling of temperance, and non-resistance, and slavery, and benevolence, and communities ... and women’s rights.” In this resolution Friend Lucretia and those like her were characterized as

...the thieves that cannot abide the way of humility and the cross, but climb up some other way, and steal the testimonies of Jesus, and are lifted up in their self-sufficiency...

Was this merely a case of one solitary physician in Indiana, who needed most of all to heal himself? Evidently not, for in fact that man’s intemperate diatribe was **adopted** by his branch of the Indiana Quakers — and his branch was the [Hicksite](#) branch! Perhaps it was a temporary plague of the *Boobus Hoosieranus* virus? –Go figure.<sup>52</sup>

50. I am here, of course, pretending to accept the consensus platitude that what people die of is lack of medical attention, when we now know perfectly well that statistically a larger %age of the Americans who were receiving medical attention in the 19th Century were dying of it, than were dying of lack of it. If you were wounded on a Civil War battlefield, for instance, crawl, crawl, to get away from the male nurses who would take you to the surgeons!

51. Or, might one be tempted to say that this sort of conduct is all too typical of types who consider themselves Christians?

52. Time would tell that this man really did have something to worry about. According to statistics of the Civil War period, quite as great a %age of the Quaker young men of Indiana marched off to kill their brothers during this period of national insanity, as of other Indiana young men not anointed by contact with the Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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1850

By this point the Orthodox Friends and the [Hicksite](#) Friends (the two groups created by the great split among the Quakers) had in effect each divided again: the majority of Orthodox Friends were presumably becoming Episcopalians, while the majority of Hicksite Friends were presumably going off in the direction of the Unitarians; both these were amalgamating with the world's people. The residual of each group, of the Orthodox Friends and the Hicksite Friends, remained serious Friends and looked forward to the day when they would be able to again worship together and remain untainted by entanglement with non-[Quakers](#) — even entanglement with non-Quaker abolitionists.

The splitting had begun, in Lynn and in [New Bedford](#), at a very early point in the 1920s and not as a direct expression of the views of Friend Elias Hicks, as a conflict between “New Light” individualistic inspirational Quakers and traditional authoritarian Quakers. The Ricketson family of New Bedford had gone with the New Lights. Here are [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) and Friend Louisa Sampson Ricketson as of this year, at the age of 37 — and you will immediately notice that they are no longer attired in Quaker costumes (no hat, no bonnet, cravat, lace):






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1852

In 1806,  a Philadelphia [Quaker](#) discipline had stipulated “that no monuments, either of wood or stone, be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds.” At this point a [Hicksite](#) group of Quakers modified this to read:

that no costly or showy monuments be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds; or any mark be permitted exceeding six inches in height above the level of the ground, or more than sixteen inches in width and four inches in thickness, with the name and age of the deceased.

(A similar pattern can be found in other yearly meetings: the older rule would have been no gravestones at all, then a later rule would permit stones of a limited height with nothing on them other than the name, age, and date of death of the deceased. The Orthodox branch of Quakers would make a similar amendment in 1893. In the Quaker burying grounds of Newtown Square, Pennsylvania, which were founded in the 1690s, the earliest grave sites have no markers, but starting in the mid-18th Century simple stone markers appear. Rather large and ornate markers are common from 1850s-1890s, and then gradually the markers become simple and small again. A number of Quaker markers now sport iron “Grand Army of the Republic” emblems in addition to the grave and foot stones, indicating that this Quaker had served as a soldier during the civil war — and perhaps that he or his family was not embarrassed at that fact.)





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1853

May 25, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 50th birthday.

An influential "Exposition of Sentiments" document was adopted by the Pennsylvania [Yearly Meeting](#) of Progressive Friends at Kennett Square. Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) helped draft this, although she remained with Philadelphia's [Hicksite](#) Yearly Meeting. Friend Joseph Dugdale, one of the Clerks who signed it, later removed to [Illinois](#) and became a major figure in the new Illinois Yearly Meeting. Friend Jesse H. "Ducky" Holmes, a Swarthmore professor and Clerk of the Progressive Yearly Meeting during its final two decades, was also a member of Swarthmore Meeting, and would be a very active figure in the Friends General Conference until his death in 1940. This Progressive reformation of liberal Quakerism would come to fruition in 1926, when the Friends General Conference would adopt a Uniform Discipline. This document would become the basis and template for new editions of all the Friends General Conference yearly meetings, which emerged in rapid succession thereafter, and closely resembled it. The Uniform Discipline codified such Progressive principles as the idealization of the individual seeking conscience, a congregational polity, the quiet abolition of Ministers and Elders, the near-total abandonment of disownment, and a renewed emphasis on humanitarian reform as the goal and sign of authentic religion. The result would become "meetinghouse" or "unprogrammed" Quakerism as we know it today.

### EXPOSITION OF SENTIMENTS ADOPTED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS, 1853

To the Friends of Pure and Undeified Religion, and to all Seekers after Truth, of whatever name or denomination, the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends sendeth Greeting;

DEAR FRIENDS: Having been led, as we trust, through obedience to the revelations of truth, to form a Religious Association upon principles always too little regarded and often trampled under foot by professing Christians and popular sects, we are constrained to address you in explanation of our leading sentiments, purposes, plan; and hopes.

If, as we believe, the basis of our organization, and the arrangements we propose for the culture of man's religious powers, are in harmony with the Divine laws, and adapted to the wants of human nature and the demands of the present age, it is certainly incumbent upon us to diffuse true knowledge thereof as widely as possible; and if, on the other hand, "the light that is in us be darkness," it is proper that we should invoke your earnest efforts to redeem us from our errors, and turn our feet into the highway of holiness and truth. We, therefore, ask your serious and unprejudiced consideration of the matters presented in this Exposition, so that, whether you shall accept or reject our propositions, your conclusions may minister to your own peace of mind and growth in the love and practice of the truth.



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In our efforts to apply the principles of Christianity to daily life, and to social customs and institutions which we deemed subversive of individual and national morality, as well as in conflict with the laws of God, we encountered the hostility of the popular sects, to one or another of which most of us belonged, and to which we were bound by ties that grew with our growth and strengthened with our strength. Mingling with the chime of church bells and with the tones of the preacher's voice, or breaking upon the stillness of our religious assemblies, we heard the clank of the slave's chain, the groans of the wounded and dying on the field of bloody strife, the noise of drunken revelry, the sad cry of the widow and the fatherless, and the wail of homeless, despairing poverty, driven

By foul Oppression's ruffian gluttony  
Forth from life's plenteous feast;

and when, in obedience to the voice of God, speaking through the holiest sympathies and purest impulses of our Godlike humanity, we sought to arouse our countrymen to united efforts for the relief of human suffering, the removal of giant wrongs, the suppression of foul iniquities, we found the Church, in spite of her solemn professions, arrayed against us, blocking up the path of reform with her serried ranks, prostituting her mighty influence to the support of wickedness in high places, smiling complacently upon the haughty oppressor, "justifying the wicked for a reward," maligning the faithful Abdiels who dared to stand up for the truth and to testify against popular crimes-thus traitorously upsetting the very foundations of the Religion she was sacredly bound to support and exemplify, and doing in the name of Christ deeds at which humanity shuddered, obliterating her indignant blushes only with the tears that welled up from the depths of her great loving heart.

For a time, though not without deep mortification and discouragement, we bore this appalling delinquency, thinking in our short-sightedness that it was mainly the result of a temporary mistake, and not of an incurable leprosy tainting the whole body. In the "patience of hope" we toiled on, seeking to reform alike the Church and the world, and deeming it certain that the former would speedily abandon her false and sinful position, and "come up to the help of the Lord" against the hosts of unrighteousness and oppression. Our hopes in this respect were doomed to a sad and bitter disappointment.

The leaders of the Church, instead of retracing the false step which they had taken, grew more and more hostile to the cause of Christian Reform, while there was not found in the body enough of moral principle to reject their counsels and repudiate their impious claims to a Divine warrant for their criminal apostasy. Inflated with spiritual pride, and claiming to be the anointed expounders of God's will, they mocked at Philanthropy as no part of religion, exalted in its place the Dagon of man-made Disciplines, charged obedience to the decisions of Yearly



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Meetings or other ecclesiastical assemblies, as the sum of human obligation, bade us stifle the gushing sympathies which link us to our kind, and passively "wait God's time" for the removal of the evils that afflict and curse our race; as if God had not revealed his purpose of doing this work by human instrumentality – as if there were times when deeds of charity and mercy are offensive in His sight – as if the cry of suffering Humanity and the emotions it stirs within us were not a sufficient revelation of His will, and we were bound to wait in listless inactivity for some supernatural or miraculous manifestation of His authority and power!

Alas! how many have thus waited, until at last the spiritual ear has become too dull and heavy to vibrato under the gentle tones of the "still, small voice," and the head so hard and cold, that it has ceased to beat at the cry of mortal woe! Superstition has woven around their souls her impenetrable veil, excluding the warm sunlight of God's presence, paralyzing their moral energies, and leaving their holiest sympathies to stagnate for lack of use; thus unfitting them for the work the good Father sets before them in common with all His children, and defeating the great end and purpose of their earthly life.

When we refused to obey the mandate of our ecclesiastical rulers, choosing to hearken to the voice of God rather than unto the voice of man, we found our worst foes in our own religious households; the rod of ecclesiastical power was lifted above our heads, and some of us were made to understand that excommunication was the price to be paid for the exercise of that liberty which Jesus proclaimed as the birthright of his disciples. We might have devoted our energies, to the acquisition of wealth, and, in imitation of the example of many who stood high in the Church, entered into close relations with men devoid of religious principle in the pursuit of that object and no voice of censure or reproof would have been lifted against us; but when we associated with noble men and women, not of our sect, for the purpose of abolishing slavery, war, intemperance, and other crying abominations, and our zeal for humanity made us indifferent to the forms of the Church, though more than ever alive to the great principles she had so long professed to believe and revere, we were treated as offenders; and the strange spectacle was witnessed of bodies, claiming to be God's representatives on earth, excluding from their pale, men and women of blameless lives for loving peace, purity and freedom so devotedly, as to be willing to co-operate with all whose hearts prompted them to labor for the promotion of those heavenly virtues. Thus were the great and ennobling principles of our common humanity subordinated to sectarian shibboleths, and that Divine charity, which is the essence of the God-like, and the sum of every virtue in man, narrowed down to the dimensions of a particular creed, or smothered under the petty limitations of speculative theology.

Driven thus to choose between our loyalty to sect and our allegiance to God, and feeling still the need of some outward



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helps in the cultivation of the religious sentiment, we were naturally led to investigate the whole subject of religious organization, its nature, uses and sphere, and the source and extent of its powers. The result of our inquiries is a clear conviction, that Churches, however high their pretensions of authority derived from God, are only human organizations, and the repositories of only such powers as may have been rightfully conferred upon them by the individuals of whom they are composed, or derived from the laws of our social nature. It is time that this truth, so long obscured by the sorcery of priestcraft, were clearly understood and boldly proclaimed.

Too long have the common people been deluded with the idea that the Church holds a mysterious or organic relation to the Infinite, — a relation distinct from that existing between the soul and its Creator, and conferring special powers and prerogatives. Perhaps no error has done more than this to debase and enslave the mind of man, to fetter his godlike powers, and make him the ready instrument of superstition and priestcraft. It is the most vicious element of Popery, from which our Protestant sects are not yet delivered. Our religion, which should make us free and self-reliant, willing to bend the knee only to God, as he stands revealed to our own consciousness, withered by the touch of this superstition, becomes, in the hands of ambitious and designing men, the instrument of our degradation the symbol of littleness, meanness, bigotry and hypocrisy.

The Romish Church sets up for herself a claim of absolute infallibility, and the various Protestant sects, professing to deride her pretensions, yet tax our credulity scarcely less. From the Episcopal Church, with her imposing ritual and elaborate ceremonials, down to modern Quakerism, with its professed abjuration of all forms, its rustic garb and look of "meek simplicity," all seem deluded with the idea that the Church, being made after a Divine pattern, is supernaturally preserved from error. Even the Quaker regards the decision of his Yearly Meeting with a superstitious reverence scarcely inferior to that which the Catholic awards to the decrees of the Pope and the Cardinals. Do his reason and common sense suggest that the Yearly Meeting has decided erroneously or unjustly, he banishes the thought as little less than impious, becomes silent if not acquiescent, and mayhap lays his reason and common sense a sacrifice on the altar of the Church. Poor man! let him be once fairly convinced that ecclesiastical bodies, however sacred their professions, however worthy of esteem within their legitimate sphere, are yet only human, and without authority to bind the conscience even of the humblest of God's children, and he will no longer dare to offer such a sacrifice, to dishonor his Creator by debasing his powers.

It would be easy to show that this claim of supernatural power, on the part of the organized Church, is at war with the whole genius and spirit of Christianity as exhibited in the life and teachings of Jesus, and without warrant in the writings of the



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Apostles and primitive Christians, as well as subversive of individual rights and responsibilities. Jesus nowhere indicated an intention to organize a Church clothed with such power. Indeed, it does not appear from his recorded words that he even contemplated any organization whatever of those who should embrace his doctrines, He specified no such work as incumbent upon those whom he sent forth as witnesses of the truth, but left them to adopt such instrumentalities as might recur to them adapted to promote the object of their mission.

The Apostles did indeed organize Churches, but they did not pretend that they were framed after a Divinely prescribed pattern, still less that they were clothed with a supernatural power. "It was not," says a learned writer, "until the number of personal followers of Jesus increased by thousands, and the need of some organization began to be felt, that any thing like the institution of a distinct and permanent religious society appears to have been definitely contemplated. And then nothing more was done, than was necessary to that present exigency. Thus the whole institution of the Church at Jerusalem grew up by degrees, as one step after another was called for by a succession of circumstances altogether peculiar." A religious periodical of high authority in matters of ecclesiastical history, testified, some years since, as follows:

Men have clung as with a dying grasp to a few shreds of ancient tradition, and deemed it sacrilege to meddle with these consecrated relics. They have attached a peculiar sacredness to their own constitutions, councils, ordinances, creeds and decisions, as if they rested on Divine right and apostolic authority.... The beautiful theories of Church government, devised with so much care and put together with so much skill and art, have, we are sure, no manner of resemblance to the Churches mentioned in the Acts and Epistles. The primitive Christians, could they come among us, would be not a little surprised to hear their assemblies, gathered by stealth for worship, with or without particular standing officers, referred to as the models after which the superstructure of denominational Churches is supposed to be fashioned. They were simple-hearted men and women, exposed to continual persecution, and bound together in Christian love; forming and modifying their regulations exactly as was needed; never once dreaming that they or their successors were bound to a single system by some great code, provided by Divine authority.... The reason of associating together was, to further this great end, mutually to enliven the feelings of devotion, strengthen the principles of piety, and aid in, and urge to, the discharge of duty.... Some things were practiced in some Churches and not in others. Some officers existed in one and not in another; some met in one place and not in another; and all had a right to do whatever



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might be conducive to the general good.

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because we deem it of fundamental importance. This claim of organic communion with God lies at the root of many evils in the Churches around us, and hence we desire to make our denial of its validity as emphatic as possible. We would impress upon the minds of all whom our voice may reach, the truth, that there is no mysterious alchemy whereby a company of men, mean and selfish as individuals, are transmuted into a holy body; no Divine afflatus vouchsafed to them in the mass, superseding the necessity of personal conformity to the will of God.

Such a claim is the acme of superstition and imposture. It is amazing that it should for so long a period have deceived and befouled the nations! When will the people learn that there is nothing Divine, nothing too sacred for investigation, in the artificial arrangements and prescribed formalities of sects? Alas! what multitudes join the popular Churches, submitting to their rites and paying the expenses of their administration, deluding themselves meanwhile with the idea that they are thus ensuring their eternal salvation, even though their daily lives are defiled by sordid and debasing acts, and they scarcely lift a finger or breathe one honest aspiration for their own or the world's moral improvement!

Our inquiries into the nature and uses of Religious Organization have also brought us to the conclusion, that the Churches around us have made a vital mistake in demanding uniformity of belief in respect to scholastic theology, ordinances, rites and forms, as a condition of religious fellowship and the basis of associated effort. It would hardly be possible to exaggerate the evils resulting from this mistake. It has led the Church into dissensions, hypocrisy and all uncharitableness, and instead of promoting a manly, vigorous and healthful piety, which ever manifests itself in works of practical benevolence and would make her a burning and a shining light in the presence of surrounding darkness, it narrows the scope of her vision, dwarfs the intellect, smothers the heart, and makes her the purveyor of traditions and shams, a covert for meanness and treachery, and a hiding-place for the perpetrators and apologists of popular wickedness. It reverses the arrangements proposed by Jesus and his early followers, putting that first which should be last, the incidental in place of the primary, the temporary in place of the eternal. Jesus enjoins it upon his bearers to "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness;" but the popular Church practically tells us, on pain of eternal perdition, to seek first of all the theology of that kingdom, assuring us, with impious tongue, that if we only master that, get its different parts properly arranged and labeled, and learn to believe them, however inconsistent with each other, and contrary to our reason and common sense, the righteousness may safely enough be left to take care of itself!

Instead of requiring as the evidence of our piety the "fruits" demanded in the Gospel of Jesus, it sneers at "good works" as





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"carnal" and inefficacious, bids us mind our catechisms, disciplines and confessions of faith; to come regularly to its assemblies, and worship according to its prescribed forms! It is no wonder that politicians, bent upon schemes of selfish aggrandizement, mock at the Higher Law, and declare their own oppressive statutes a finality, when the Church is found thus corrupt and apostate. No marvel that insatiate Wealth tramples upon lowly Poverty; that War's "red thunders" reverberate round the world that Drunkenness counts its victims by tens of thousands; that Land Monopoly grinds humanity in the dust; that Lust is doing his work of defilement and shame with impunity; that immortal beings are driven to their daily toil tinder the lash, and even sold in the shambles, when the Church proffers absolution for such crimes upon terms so easy of fulfilment.

The natural counterpart of this false and superstitious devotion to creeds and forms is an unnatural sourness and melancholy – a Pharisaical spirit, which frowns upon amusements as an offence to God, and which would cover the face of society with a sanctimonious gloom as repugnant to Religion as to unperverted human nature. The victims of this spirit converse about religion, not in manly and natural tones, indicative of sincerity and earnestness, but in a whining, canting manner, as if it were a burden hard to be borne, but which they reluctantly consent to carry during their mortal life, as the only means of eternal salvation!

We are persuaded that the exhibitions of this spirit on the part of the Church have produced incalculable mischief, by exciting the prejudices of the young against all Religion as necessarily of an ascetic character, and by placing amusements beyond the pale of Christian influence, thus making them liable to excesses which might otherwise be avoided. The Christian, of all other persons, should not be of a sad countenance, but ever cheerful and hopeful in his demeanor, making the very atmosphere he breathes a witness of the serene joy that dwells in his heart. No false idea of sanctity, no superstitious or fanatical "worry" about his soul, should he ever suffer to make his presence distasteful and unwelcome to the young.

We cannot undertake to particularize all the errors of principle and practice in the popular Churches, which our investigations have revealed to us; but there is one more which we must not pass in silence. We allude to that vicious and despotic feature in the organization of most of them, which, beginning in the subordination of the individual to the local Church, or to Elders. Overseers, or other officers thereof; ends in the subjection of local bodies to some larger assembly or central power. There are, indeed, some Churches which have attempted to abolish this system, but they are still too much bound by usage to practices inconsistent with their theories.

Experience, as well as observation, has taught us that local organizations should in the first place be formed upon principles which will offer the best possible safeguard to the equal rights of the individual members, and discourage tyranny,



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whether of the many or the few; and, in the next place, that they should never allow any other body, however numerous or imposing, to exercise authority over them. The forms of Church organization, instead of being such as are suggested by the ideas of individual freedom and responsibility which pervade the teachings of Jesus, would seem to have been borrowed from anti-Christian and despotic systems of civil government, whereof force is the vital and controlling element. Under such forms religious tyranny, always difficult of repression is sure to spring up into a vigorous life.

It would be easy to illustrate this truth by a reference to the history of any of those Churches in which the affiliated and subordinating system of government prevails, but the experience of many of our number naturally leads us to point to the Society of Friends as a warning against this lamentable evil. The setting apart of ministers as a distinct order of persons, and for life; the appointment of Elders to sit in judgment upon the services of the Ministry, and to determine officially what is and what is not inspiration; the subjection of individual liberty to official dictation; the subordination of Preparative to Monthly, of Monthly to Quarterly, of Quarterly to Yearly Meetings; all this affords a covert for despotic authority. It is an arrangement whereby the few are enabled to control the many, and to carry into successful operation their plans for keeping the Church popular with the world, while she is trampling upon her own most vital principles, and obstinately refusing to do the work for which she was originally established. It aggravates, moreover, all the other evils which have crept into the body, and renders the work of reform extremely difficult, if not impossible.

But while we thus earnestly deny the claims of Religious Associations to Divine authority, and maintain that they form no exception to the rule, that "institutions are made for man, not man for institutions," and while we would fearlessly expose all that is wrong in existing Churches, we do not therefore repudiate such associations as necessarily evil. Founded upon right principles, adjusted to the wants of our social nature, within their legitimate sphere as the servants and helpers, not the masters of the soul, as a means and not an end, we esteem them of great importance. It is only when they interpose between our consciences and God, assuming to tell us authoritatively how much and what we must believe, and virtually trampling under foot the right of private judgment, that our manhood prompts us to reject them.

The mistakes which men have made in their efforts to realize the benefits of Religious Association, however strange and even preposterous they may appear to us at this advanced period of the world's history, were only the incidents of Humanity imperfectly informed and developed. They should not therefore discourage us, still less lead us into other errors at the opposite extreme. Men have also made great mistakes in science, and in things pertaining to physical life — in astronomy,



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chemistry, and the mechanic arts, and even in agriculture; and it would be no more absurd to urge these mistakes as a reason for abandoning all associated effort in such matters, than it would be to allege the similar blunders into which men have fallen in regard to Religion, and the abuses growing out of them, as a reason why we should resist the strong impulse of our nature which prompts us to combine our efforts for the promotion of piety and good morals.

Past errors and present imperfections, instead of affording an argument against organization, are only illustrations of its necessity, as a means whereby the strong may help the weak, the highly cultivated soul minister to the edification of those less enlightened, and social influence become the aid and support of individual virtue. Beavers do not more naturally combine to build their habitations, than men and women, inspired by a common love of God and Humanity, and a common thirst for religious excellence, mingle and combine their individual efforts for the promotion of pure and undefiled religion among themselves and throughout the world.

In forming The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, we have followed the instincts of our moral and social nature, and acted Upon the settled conviction, that such an organization was necessary to our highest efficiency in the work which our Heavenly Father has given us to do. We seek not to diminish, but to intensify in ourselves the sense of individual responsibility – not to escape from duty, but to aid one another in its performance – to lift up before all who may be influenced by our words or actions a high standard of moral and religious excellence – to commit ourselves before the world as the friends of righteousness and truth, and as under the highest obligations to labor for the redemption of mankind from every form of error and sin.

It has been our honest endeavor to avoid, if possible, the mistakes into which previous organizations have so generally fallen, and especially those radical errors which are pointed out in this address. To this end we have made our association as simple as possible, having done little more than to provide for an annual assembly. We claim for this organization no other powers than such as we ourselves have conferred upon it in consistency with our own and others' individual freedom. We make no draft upon the veneration of our fellow-men for any arrangement that we have adopted, or may adopt hereafter. Veneration is due only to God, and to those eternal principles of Rectitude, Justice and Love, of which He is the embodiment. We have set forth no forms nor ceremonies; nor have we sought to impose upon ourselves or others a system of doctrinal belief. Such matters we have left where Jesus left them, with the conscience and common sense of the individual. It has been our cherished purpose to restore the union between Religion and Life, and to place works of goodness and mercy far above theological speculations and scholastic subtleties of doctrine. Creed-making is not among the objects of our association.



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Christianity, as it presents itself to our minds, is too deep, too broad, and too high, to be brought within the cold propositions of the theologian. We should as soon think of bottling up the sunshine for the use of posterity, as of attempting to adjust the free and universal principles taught and exemplified by Jesus of Nazareth to the angles of a man-made creed.

Churches which undertake this impious and impracticable work doom themselves thereby to barrenness and death. Instead of being warmed and animated by that living faith which "works by love" and overcomes the world, they lapse into bigotry and intolerance, and their formularies, having no life in themselves, become at length mere petrifications, fossil remains of ideas, which, however significant once, have no longer any adaptation to the condition of the race. It is sad to behold a Church, with Christ's name upon its brow, turning away from the wells of immortal truth, and clinging with superstitious pertinacity and veneration to the shell of an ancient creed, or the letter of an ancient Discipline, from which the original soul long since took its flight; swift to frown upon the slightest departure from its forms and theories, but slow to utter a testimony against a popular sin; ever zealous in tithing "mint, anise and cumin," but heavy of step and slow of speech when the great interests of Humanity are at stake.

Our terms of membership are at once simple, practical and catholic. If we may be said to have a test, it is one which applies to the heart and the life, not to the head nor to any of its speculations. Our platform is broad as Humanity, and comprehensive as Truth. We interrogate no man as to his theological belief; we send no Committees to pry into the motives of those who may desire to share the benefits of our Association; but open the door to all who recognize the Equal Brotherhood of the Human Family, without regard to sex, color or condition, and who acknowledge the duty of defining and illustrating their faith in God, not by assent to a creed, but by lives of personal purity, and works of beneficence and charity to mankind. If, by any possibility, there should be found here and there a sincere inquirer after truth, who may not feel himself included in this invitation to membership, we shall still bid him welcome to our assemblies, and listen with patience to whatever his highest convictions may prompt him to offer.

We do not seek to bind our Association together by external bands, nor by agreement in theological opinions. Identity of object, oneness of spirit in respect to the practical ditties of life, the communion of soul with soul in a common love of the beautiful and true, and a common aspiration after moral excellence, — these are our bond of union; and when these shall die out in our hearts, nothing will remain to hold us together; and those who shall come after us will not be subjected to the trouble of tearing down a great ecclesiastical edifice, constructed by our hands, before they can make provision for the



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supply of their own religious wants.

The name of our Association is suggestive of its history and principles. As a sign of our adherence to the great moral testimonies which the Society of Friends has so long professed, as well as for historical reasons, we have adopted in part the name chosen by Fox, Penn, and other reformers of a past generation, for the Societies which they founded, and which, we regret to say, have in our day widely departed from the spirit and principles of those illustrious men. The term "Progressive" is intended as a recognition of the fact, that our knowledge of truth is limited, and as an indication of an honest purpose on our part to "go on unto perfection," and to avail ourselves from time to time of whatever new light may be shed upon our path. Our meetings are at present conducted very much like those of the Society of Friends, except that they are not ruled by Elders, and that we have among us no privileged class called Ministers. We welcome alike the word of exhortation, the voice of prayer, and the song of praise and thanksgiving, whichever may well up from the "inner fulness" of the devoted heart; and if at any time words shall be uttered that appear to us to savor not of life but of contention and speculation, while we may feel called upon to speak our own sentiments with freedom, we hope not to be found denying the liberty of speech to others. Some may fear that liberty so unrestricted may lead to disorder and confusion, but we are persuaded that gentleness and forbearance are more potent than official dictation, and that the instinctive sense of right and wrong, in the breast of even a misguided and obtrusive man, will afford the best safeguard of propriety and order in our assemblies.

As a Yearly Meeting, we disclaim all disciplinary authority, whether over individual members or local Associations. We shall, from time to time, declare our sentiments on such subjects as may demand our attention; but they will be armed with no other force than that which our moral influence may impart, or which may belong to the nature of truth when earnestly and honestly spoken. It will be our aim to cherish freedom of thought and speech, on every subject relating to man's highest welfare. In saying this, we have no mental reservations to mock the earnest seeker after truth. We have no thunderbolts to launch at those whose perceptions of truth lead them to different conclusions from those of the majority; no edicts of excommunication to scare the soul from its researches; no sanctimonious scowl to dart at him who carries the torch of free inquiry into the very holy of holies. We know of no question too sacred for examination nor in respect to which human reason should yield to human authority, however ancient or venerable.

Our organization is formed upon such principles, that while the body will not be responsible for the acts of individuals, so, on the other hand, individuals and minorities may avoid responsibility for any acts of the body which they do not approve, by recording their votes against such acts, or, if they think the case demands it, by a protest. It will, more-over, be



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the right of any individual to withdraw from the Association at any moment, without being required to give reasons for so doing, and without being subjected to censure on the part of the meeting.

Believing that local Associations, similar in their principles and aims to ours, would meet the wants of multitudes at the present day, and that they would be likely to accomplish great good, we hope to see such established in every community where a sufficient number of persons are found ready for the work. The men and women who are engaged in the various moral reforms of the day, and who have become weary of the prevalent sectarianism, might, we believe, gain strength for their special labors by establishing regular meetings on the First day of the week, for mutual edification and improvement for an interchange of the sympathies growing out of common pursuits and trials, and for the cultivation of their moral and religious powers. The principle of human fraternity would be thereby strengthened among them, and their children be preserved from many unhealthful influences, and prepared to meet the responsibilities of, life in a spirit becoming to the age in which their lot has been cast

Surely, these are objects worthy of our earnest thought and most careful attention. Our province is not that of iconoclasts alone. We must build as well as destroy. If there are evil institutions to be overthrown and pernicious customs to be uprooted, so also is there need of a new social fabric, of which righteousness and peace are to be the foundations. If there are vices to be done away, so also are there virtues to be promoted; if there are corrupt freedoms to be hewn down and cast into the fire so also are there plants of godliness to be trained, and flowers of heavenly beauty and fragrance to be nurtured. And in this work we must help each other, not occasionally and incidentally alone, but regularly and systematically.

The arrangements for meetings should in every case be adapted to the peculiar wants and tastes of the communities in which they are respectively held, care being taken to keep forms subordinate to works of practical goodness and beneficence. It is neither necessary nor desirable that one meeting should be an exact copy of another. Adhering closely to fundamental principles, there will still be scope for a variety of modes and forms.

The local Associations should do more than hold weekly meetings. They should regard it a sacred duty to provide for the visitation and help of the poor in their respective neighborhoods, to lend their sympathy and encouragement to such as are borne down under heavy trials, and to afford prompt and efficient aid in every right effort for the promotion of Temperance, Peace, Anti-Slavery, Education, the Equal Rights of Woman, &c.; that thus the public may be convinced that the Religion they seek to diffuse and establish is not an aggregation of mysteries, abstractions, and unmeaning forms, but a Religion for practical, every-day use, whose natural tendency is to fructify the





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conscience, intensify the sense of moral responsibility, purify and ennoble the aims of men, and thus to make society wiser, better, and happier. Such Associations, moreover, ought to regard it as their special function to cultivate and develop the religious sentiment among their members, and, so far as possible, in the community generally. For this purpose they would do well to establish libraries, in which the works of eminent anti-sectarian writers upon moral, ethical, and religious subjects might become accessible to all classes, especially to the young.

Such Associations would naturally communicate, by letter or otherwise, with the Yearly Meeting, each giving That body the results of its own peculiar experience, and receiving in return the experiences of others, with such suggestions as the Quarterly Meeting, upon a careful comparison of the whole, may be qualified to make. The various Yearly Meetings may also strengthen one another's hands by fraternal, correspondence and counsel; and thus, without ecclesiastical authority or domination on the part of any, the whole body of believers in practical Christianity throughout the country may be cemented together in Christian love, and prepared to labor in harmony for the redemption of mankind from every evil and false way, and for the establishment of universal righteousness, purity, and peace. A Church thus united would wield a moral power like that of the Apostles and immediate followers of Jesus, and the means by which it would conquer the world are those which an Apostle has described:

BY PURENESS, BY KNOWLEDGE, BY LONG-SUFFERING, BY THE HOLY SPIRIT, BY LOVE UNFEIGNED, BY THE ARMOR OF RIGHTEOUSNESS ON THE RIGHT HAND AND ON THE LEFT.

Dear Friends! are these ideas of a Church Utopian? Are we dreamers and enthusiasts? or is the day foretold by ancient prophets and bards beginning to dawn upon our darkness and to light the dull horizon with its reviving rays? Are we always to walk amid shadows and shams? Do we not hear the voice of God speaking to us in the deep silence of our souls, and uttering itself in the events that are passing before us, bidding us awake from our slumbers, to cast away our doubts, and purify ourselves for the work of building up a pure Christianity upon the earth. Are not the fields every where white unto the harvest? and are there not all around us men and women, whose hearts God hath touched with holy fire, and who stand ready to enlist with us in this glorious cause?

Let us, then, not falter, nor hesitate. What if our numbers are few, and the hosts of superstition and sin stand before us in menacing array? What are their boasts to us, when we know that the truth we promulgate is "a part of the celestial machinery of God," and that, "whoso puts that machinery in gear for mankind hath the Almighty to turn his wheel?"

O, brother man I fold to thy heart thy brother



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Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;  
To worship rightly, is to love each other,  
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.

Follow with reverent steps the great example  
Of Him whoso holy work was 'doing good;'  
So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,  
Each loving life a psalm of gratitude.

Then shall all shackles fall; the stormy clangor  
Of wild war music o'er the earth shall cease;  
Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger,  
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace.

Signed on behalf and by direction of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, held at Old Kennett, Chester County, by adjournments, from the 22d to the 25th of Fifth Month, 1853.

Joseph A. Dugdale,  
Sidney Peirce,  
Clerks



May 25: I quarrel with most botanists' description of different species, say of willows. It is a difference without a distinction. No stress is laid upon the peculiarity of the species in question, and it requires a very careful examination and comparison to detect any difference in the description. Having described you one species, he begins again at the beginning when he comes to the next and describes it *absolutely*, wasting time; in fact does not describe the species, but rather the genus or family; as if, in describing the particular races of men, you should say of each in its turn that it is but dust and to dust it shall return. The object should be to describe not those particulars in which a species resembles its genus, for they are many and that would be but a negative description, but those in which it is peculiar, for they are few and positive.



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1856

August 31, Sunday: From the [Rhode Island](#) diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): “Heard [Lucretia Mott](#) the Quakeress at Dr. Hedges’ church in the evening.”<sup>53</sup>

[Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth](#) died.

Early September: [Bronson Alcott](#) set [Henry Thoreau](#) up for a large surveying job with Friend [Marcus Spring](#) of a colony for [Hicksite Quakers](#) expelled by their meetings, near Perth Amboy, [New Jersey](#) across the water from Staten Island.

View [Henry Thoreau](#)’s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

[http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau\\_Surveys/Thoreau\\_Surveys.htm](http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm)

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

[http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau\\_Surveys/116.htm](http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/116.htm)

53. Since in this year the Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#), who had been since 1850 the [Unitarian](#) minister in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), was being called to minister in Brookline MA, we should not take this to mean, necessarily, that the Reverend Hedge was present when [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) spoke.

(One marvels when one learns that when Friend Lucretia came to Providence, she wound up speaking at the Unitarian church, until one becomes aware that as a known [Hicksite](#) Quaker, one in favor of racial integration rather than of racial apartheid, she would have been turned away from the local Quaker meetinghouse at its door.)



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This was the colony in which [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) and his wife [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) and her sister



[Sarah Moore Grimké](#) had started their [Eagleswood](#) School, financed in part by the Mott family, and this was the school in which Ellen Wright, a niece of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) who later married a son of William Lloyd Garrison, was educated, as well as other Wright children.



ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ

SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ

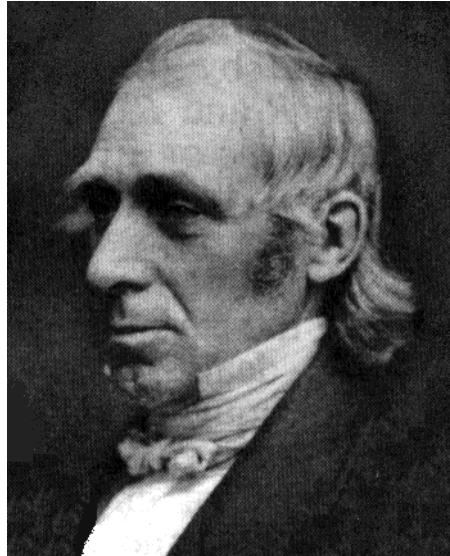


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[Thoreau](#) took the train to Fitchburg and from there walked to Westminster; took the train to Brattleboro VT; explored the Connecticut River and Mount Wantastiquet and investigated plants and animals in Vermont; took the train to Bellows Falls; climbed Fall Mountain; took a wagon to Walpole, New Hampshire to visit [the Alcott family](#).



Here is a recollection by Mary Brown Dunton as reported in Elizabeth B. Davenport's "Thoreau in Vermont in 1856," [Vermont Botanical Club Bulletin](#) III (April 1908), page 37:

He struck me as being very odd, very wise and exceedingly observing. He roamed about the country at his own sweet will, and I was fortunate enough to be his companion on a walk up Wantastiquet Mt. I was well acquainted with the flora and could meet him understandingly there, but was somewhat abashed by the numerous questions he asked about all sorts of things, to which I could only reply "I do not know." It appealed to my sense of humor that a person with such a fund of knowledge should seek information from a young girl like myself, but I could not see that he had any fun in him. The only question I can now recall is this. As we stood on the summit of Wantastiquet, he fixed his earnest gaze on a distant point in the landscape, which he designated, asking "How far is it in a bee line to that spot?"

Before dawn on his 1st morning in Brattleboro VT, on his way to visit the Alcotts in New Hampshire, Thoreau reviewed a [botanical](#) catalog of Vermont plants. Then, as daylight appeared, he sauntered south along the railroad tracks and back along the banks of the Connecticut River, inspecting plants along the way. He climbed down the embankment to "the cold water path" of Whetstone Brook along neighboring Canal Street and Flat Street. Swamp maples along the Whetstone were beginning to turn color. Deep, dark columns of flowers rose like thick red ropes from the pale green leaves of sumac. He spent the afternoon inspecting plants, testing the murky water, and noting the wildlife. He made a note that Brattleboro appealed to him "for the nearness of primitive woods and mountain." He stopped to munch on raspberries and made a note of their "quite agreeable taste." Later that morning he tasted some grapes that were "pleasantly acidic."

On his 2nd morning in the town, Thoreau wandered far north along the Connecticut River, noting the level of



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the river, the shape of the gravel on its banks, and the explosion of late summer flowers that bloomed everywhere. “Will not the prime of the goldenrods and asters be just before the first severe frost?”

On his 3rd day in the town, Thoreau again went “a-botanizing” up Whetstone Brook. The witch-hazel was out, hemlock lined the stream and asters bloomed everywhere. That night he created a two-page list of each plant. He described the Indian rope plant, named for its use as twine: “How often in the woods and fields we want a string or a rope and cannot find one.... This is the plant which Nature made for that purpose.” He noted that farmers in Vermont used the dried bark to tie up their fences, and wondered if it should be cultivated for that purpose.

While in Brattleboro a man who had recently killed a catamount showed Thoreau its skin and skull. By 1856, the mountain lion had become quite rare in southern Vermont. The skin measured nine feet, including its long tail, and the animal had weighed 108 pounds. Thoreau noted that the man had gotten a \$20 bounty for his kill.

On the morning of his last day in the Vermont town, Thoreau climbed Wantastiquet Mountain, the hill that rises out of the Connecticut River, towering above the downtown buildings. From the top he could see as far as Mount Ascutney, but he was more attentive to the horses and people he could see below him. “Above all this everlasting mountain is forever lowering over the village, shortening the day and wearing a misty cap each morning.” His considered opinion was that “this town will be convicted of folly if they ever permit this mountain to be laid bare.”





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**THE HICKSITE**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**THOREAU IN VERMONT:**

**WALKING WITH HENRY DAVID**

**BY ALAN BOYE**

The glorious late-summer sunlight shone golden on the hills above downtown Brattleboro. Ignored by the people passing by, a man stood at the edge of Main Street and tightened the laces of his boots. He checked to see that his pencil and paper were in his backpack, and then climbed down the embankment to the babbling waters of Whetstone Brook.

The swamp maples that grew like weeds along the Whetstone were already showing the first hint of autumnal glory on their leaves. Deep, dark columns of flowers rose like thick red ropes from the pale green leaves of sumac. In the last of summer's brilliant air, insects flickered and then vanished like sparks of memory.

The man paused a moment and then set out on "the cold water path" of Whetstone Brook. He spent the beautiful afternoon inspecting its plants, testing the murky water, and noting the wildlife that scurried along its banks. All the while, the busy residents of the town hurried by on neighboring Canal and Flat streets, unaware of the strange creature below them.

The man was America's greatest naturalist, Henry David Thoreau. It was early September 1856. Thoreau was on his way to visit a friend in New Hampshire and stopped to spend four days walking around Brattleboro. It would be the only time in his life that he would explore Vermont on foot. He wrote in his journal that Brattleboro appealed to him "for the nearness of primitive woods and mountain."

A truck blasts past me and, in a low whine of gears, begins to climb Canal St. from downtown Brattleboro. Behind me, the Whetstone squeezes between a canyon of brick buildings. The water tumbles over massive rocks and then, just as suddenly, surrenders to the placid calm of the wide Connecticut. Cars clanging over the long bridge into New Hampshire nearly drown the sound of the rapids.

I head straight for the Whetstone past the somber, concrete-gray walls behind a bagel shop. A motion distracts me from the ordinary. Something mysterious watches me from the shadowed banks of the brook.

In the weedy edge of the stream stands a creature; the sharply angled body looks more like Egyptian hieroglyph than bird. A green heron walks away cautiously. The spear point of its stout head stabs at the sky with each of its jerking, upstream



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steps. I move to the bank and follow him, each of my unsure steps an attempt to catch a glimpse of the ghost of Thoreau.

In 1856, Thoreau was at the peak of his literary talents. *Walden* had been published only two years earlier. He was gaining a reputation as a profound lecturer. On podiums across New England, he read aloud the essays that would make him famous for centuries to come.

In any era, Thoreau would not have fit well into polite society. First of all, an eagle-sized beak of a nose hung down over a bow-tie mouth; ever a practical man, he had grown a weird, neck-only beard in order to see if it might keep him from getting colds. His hair was almost always unkempt, and his active life gave him the broad, hard look of an athlete.

Thoreau had begun to turn away from the broad, philosophical contemplations that made *Walden* a masterpiece and towards writing focused on the natural world. Ever a keen observer of the world around him, he had turned more and more of his attention to a close study of the plants and animals. He believed that by paying strict attention to the details of the natural world, humankind would finally come to understand and appreciate the essence of life. "In wilderness," he wrote at about this time, "is the preservation of the world."

Before dawn on his first morning in Brattleboro, Thoreau was studying a catalog of Vermont plants. At daylight he sauntered south along the railroad tracks and then back along the banks of the Connecticut, inspecting every plant along his way. His journal describes with the exactness of a trained botanist each plant he encountered. He stopped to munch on raspberries; he scribbled a note about their "quite agreeable taste." Later that morning, he found some grapes that tasted "pleasantly acidic." On his second morning in Brattleboro, Thoreau wandered far north along the Connecticut, noting the level of the river, the shape of the gravel on its banks, and the explosion of late summer flowers that bloomed everywhere.

"Will not the prime of the goldenrods and asters be just before the first severe frost?" he wrote.

Just twenty yards past the bagel shop, I seem to be in the deepest Vermont wilderness. I have been fighting my way through thick underbrush and stepping from one side of the brook to the other, trying to work my way along the steep banks that tower above me. I stop to inspect an unfamiliar leaf. I spend a good ten minutes with a tree-identification book, only to find the golden treasure I hold is simply the leaf of an ordinary yellow birch.

On the third day in Brattleboro, Thoreau was elated because he could "go a-botanizing" up the Whetstone. The witch-hazel was out, hemlock lined the stream and asters bloomed everywhere. Late that night in his sometimes-erratic handwriting, he meticulously scrawled a list of every plant he had found along the Whetstone. The journal entry fills nearly two pages, but he saves the most extensive entry for the Indian rope plant, named for its use as twine. "How often in the woods and fields we want



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a string or a rope and cannot find one," he wrote. "This is the plant which Nature made for that purpose."

He noted that farmers in Vermont used the dried bark to tie up their fences, and - ever practical - decided it would be a good idea if they were to cultivate it for just that purpose.

The stream is littered with good-sized, practical rocks. I lift a smaller one from the mud of the bank. It is cool in my hand. A thin sheen of moss hugs the rough surface of the stone. It's easy to see why early settlers used these for grinding and sharpening tools. Where could a fella get a good sharpener? Why over to the Whetstone Brook, of course.

I set the stone back in its place in the mud. We don't have much need of whetstones anymore or, for that matter, of Indian rope plant. Neither do we have any pressing need for Thoreau's detailed record of Vermont's plants. The days of hook-nosed Transcendental philosophers carefully noting every one of nature's wonders have passed. Perhaps my search for some remnant of Thoreau is as quaint and as useless as sharpening a horse-drawn ploughshare on a pale white whetstone drawn from a mossy brook. Two cold and electronic chirps from my watch mark the passing of another hour. I turn around and start back down the stream.

While in Brattleboro Thoreau saw something that he would spend pages of his journal trying to describe. The man who had recently killed it showed Thoreau the skin and the skull of a catamount. Even in 1856, the mountain lion was a rare creature in southern Vermont. It would be the only catamount, living or dead, that Thoreau would ever see in his lifetime. The beast measured nine feet, including its long tail, and had weighed 108 pounds. Thoreau tried to capture every detail of the beast that he could in his journal. He noted without comment that the man had gotten a \$20 bounty for the kill.

I spy a ragged and worn house cat, long since having known the comforts of a human home, slinking through the thin underbrush across the brook from where I walk. A series of rusted steel bars poke up through the thin water of the brook.

On the morning of his last day in Brattleboro Thoreau climbed Wantastiquet Mountain, the high hill that jumps straight out of the Connecticut River and towers above downtown Brattleboro. Although from the top he could see as far as Mount Ascutney, he was most fascinated by watching horses and people far below. He marveled at how close nature came to the bustling village. "Above all this everlasting mountain is forever lowering over the village, shortening the day and wearing a misty cap each morning." He cautioned that "this town will be convicted of folly if they ever permit this mountain to be laid bare."

I am nearly back to the bagel shop. Through the trees I see the dark massive shape of Wantastiquet Mountain. Near the top, still covered in thick forest, is the spot where nearly 150 years ago a great man stood and contemplated how the ways of humankind are made small by the glory and grandeur of the remarkable ways of nature.



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I look away from the mountain, distracted by a sound. Something stirs near the base of a yellow birch tree. The green heron steps into a clearing and stands at the edge of the water. It stares at me through a black, wild eye. In the brook a few small fish weave threads of pure light through quick, silvery curtains of shadow and water.

November 9, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#) and [Bronson Alcott](#) were traveling to Brooklyn Heights on *Paumanok* "Long Island" in order for them to hear the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher preach in his Plymouth Church. In Cincinnati, Ohio on this Sunday morn, the Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), on trial, was preaching an anti-slavery sermon in the Unitarian church at 4th and Race streets overlooking the Ohio River and, on the opposite shore, the laboring slaves of Kentucky. The sermon accorded better with the political climate in Cincinnati than it did with the political climate either of that opposite bank or of Washington DC.<sup>54</sup>

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The sermon by the Reverend Conway might have been more congenial to Thoreau than the one he actually heard from the Reverend Beecher, a message which distressed him considerably: although the Reverend Beecher was a favorite of Walt Whitman's, Thoreau found he most definitely was not impressed with this proffered mixture of pantheistic life-worship and self-worship disguised as God-worship. After the sermon, Thoreau and Alcott visited the Whitman home on Portland Avenue twice, finally meeting Whitman.<sup>55</sup>

Remember that it had been at the Hester Street meetinghouse, in 1826,  that the English evangelical preacher Thomas Shillitoe had declared the cause of Friend [Elias Hicks](#) to be "unchristian," and that it had been at this meetinghouse, in 1828,  that Samuel Mott had had to be raised up and handed over the heads of the crowd to reach the Clerk's table, after being duly elected Clerk, whereupon the clerk's table was torn apart and the evangelical Quakers walked and the great division occurred. (We can be sure that people there informed Thoreau of these utterly infamous events.) Remember that in 1830  the corpse of Friend Elias had been dug up at night to make a bust which Whitman purchased: this bust, set up in Whitman's home, must have been of great interest to Thoreau, who had heard Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) preach in the meetinghouse in which Samuel Mott had been handed along over the heads of the resisters. After meeting Whitman, Thoreau went on to the [Eagleswood](#) community on the [New Jersey](#) shore. On First Day evening with these [Hicksite Quakers](#), Thoreau read "Walking."<sup>56</sup>

54. [Moncure Daniel Conway](#). VIRTUE VS. DEFEAT: A DISCOURSE, PREACHED ON NOVEMBER 9, 1856 (THE FIRST SUNDAY AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION), IN THE [UNITARIAN](#) CHURCH, CINCINNATI, OHIO, BY MONCURE D. CONWAY, MINISTER OF THE CHURCH. Pamphlet. Printed by the Cincinnati Gazette Company, 1856, Cincinnati.

READ THE FULL TEXT



55. He at that time was putting out his expanded 2d edition of his LEAVES OF GRASS, the edition that [Thoreau](#) would own.  
56. Walter Harding, "A Check List of Thoreau's Lectures," [Bulletin of the New York Public Library](#) 52 (February 1948): 85.



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November 16, Sunday Evening: On First Day evening, [Henry Thoreau](#) delivered his “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” sermon for the benefit of the little community of [Quaker](#) exiles on the [New Jersey](#) at the intentional [Eagleswood](#) community.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

BRAD DEAN'S  
COMMENTARY

THOREAU'S SERMON

[Various versions of “LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE”, variously titled, would be delivered:

- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 6, 1854 at Railroad Hall in [Providence](#)
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 26, 1854 in the [New Bedford](#) Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 28, 1854 at the Athenaeum on [Nantucket Island](#)
- On January 4, 1855 in the [Worcester](#) Lyceum, as “The Connection between Man’s Employment and His Higher Life”
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on February 14, 1855 in the [Concord](#) Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on November 16, 1856 for the [Eagleswood](#) community
- “Getting a Living” on December 18, 1856 in the vestry of the Congregational Church of Amherst, New Hampshire
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday morning, October 9, 1859 to the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)’s 28th Congregational Society in Boston Music Hall
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday, September 9, 1860 at Welles Hall in Lowell.]

November 23, Sunday: On his last worship day at the [Eagleswood](#) community on the [New Jersey](#) shore, [Henry Thoreau](#) rose during [Quaker](#) First Day morning silent worship and spoke, and someone wrote down his words,<sup>57</sup> and I would like to suggest here the reason why his words were written down. I submit that they were written down so they could be carried and presented to the Miss [Sophia Foord](#) who was known to love him from a distance.

Sunday forenoon, I attended a sort of Quaker meeting at the same place— (The Quaker aspect & spirit prevails here— Mrs Spring says “—does thee not?”) where it was expected that the spirit would move me (I having been previously spoken to about it) & it, or something else, did, an inch or so. I said just enough to set them by the



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ears & make it lively.

*Quality, fineness, durability, is the test of unity. Thus it is like attracts like; thus it is, friends, in my ever-seeking, everyyearning for truth, I have chanced to intrude upon your quiet retreat, and the path is so clear, so crystal in its attraction, I slipped into recognition. It is a pleasure to me as exquisite as when I chanced to meet some friendly moss or lichen, that answered to the vacant spot in my soul on earth...*



*O friends, to such, with pure, noble, truthful spirits, the world is a vast field of action; too large to admit languor or repining, too glorious to be an aimless labor. I love your blessed spirit, and quietly I will withdraw, lest I become overpowered by the delicious calmness and unity, and forget to leave my guest. But I shall come again, and hope you will greet me kindly.*



I had excused myself by saying that I could not adapt myself to a particular audience, for all the speaking & lecturing here has reference to the children, who are far the greatest part of the audience, & they are not so bright as N.E. children. Imagine them sitting close to the wall all around a hall with old Quaker looking men & women here & there.... Some of them I suspect are very worthy people.... On Sunday evening, I read the moose-story to the children to their satisfaction.<sup>58</sup>

57. It is not **entirely** without precedent, that what someone says during the Quaker silent worship should be recorded, as witness the following singular publication from the turn of the 19th Century: However, it must again be emphasized how utterly exceptional this was (unless, as has been in the case once upon a time in [Adolf Hitler](#)'s 3d Reich and at the present time in George W. Bush's America, a Quaker meeting was infiltrated by a paid informer).

Savery, William (1750-1804). SEVEN SERMONS AND A PRAYER PREACHED AT THE MEETINGS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND. Philadelphia: Benjamin C. Buzby, 1808.

The [Quaker](#) speakings recorded in this volume had been offered by traveling ministers and were taken down in shorthand at various monthly meetings at or just prior to the turn of the century during "silent" meeting for worship.

Wells, John I. ESSAY ON WAR. 52 pages, 1808.

This [Quaker](#) was against war — except of course where, as in the OLD TESTAMENT, this had been ordered by a wrathful God Almighty himself.





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It seems to me to be utterly phenomenal, and exceptional, that someone wrote down what [Henry Thoreau](#) said. We are aware of very few other occasions on which such a thing has happened in a [Quaker](#) silent worship, unless, as has been in the case once upon a time in [Adolf Hitler](#)'s 3d Reich and at the present time in George W. Bush's America, a Quaker meeting was infiltrated by a paid informer. Quakers not only don't write down what someone else has said during silent worship, they also don't write down what they themselves have said during silent worship. When God spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai, of course Moses sat right down and wrote it down: "I am that I am." And, of course, the ten commandments, and again, ten commandments. So one would suppose that in a group which believes that the Holy Spirit speaks through them during the silence, would you not expect there to be official recorders, pen poised, and official records? Would the voice of the Holy Spirit not be the substance, or at least a major portion, of what is recorded in the meeting's minutes book? But no. What you typically find, in the journal entry of a Friend, on First Day evening, one who has that day spoken during silent worship, one who may have preached for even an hour during silent worship, is — "Truth prevailed," or perhaps "We had a favored meeting" or even "We had a precious meeting." Something about the manner in which these things occur makes them peculiar to the discrete group and the particular circumstance, and creates no desire to extend them beyond the discrete and the particular. Thoreau was adhering to Quaker tradition when we find, in his journal, and in his letter to his sister, no record of what he had said. Who-ever wrote down what he said, however, was not adhering to Quaker tradition, and such a deviation is utterly phenomenal and utterly unexplained.

58. Here is a contemporary photograph in which two men are mourning the recent death of a moose (one of the two was willing to pay \$3,450 to the other of the two, in a jet boat at Chilko Lake BC, to lead him to this moose so he could off it):





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Unless, of course, there is, as I suggested above, a personal explanation. Could some woman present have written this down because they were intimate friends with [Sophia Foord](#), –and knew how she had been loving Henry from a distance though her love was rejected, –and wanted to convey this slip of paper to her, unknown to him, as a personal memento of him? Oh, rankest speculation. About all that could be said that such a hypothesis has going for it is that it does not contradict any of the known facts of the situation.

But is that sort of supposition not preferable to inaccuracy? On the following page, by way of contrast, is the utterly inappropriate manner in which [Henry Thoreau](#) can be presented in a book that is allegedly “Quaker history,”<sup>59</sup> by relying primarily upon the Canby biography for the background of his life.

59. This is from pages 100-1 of George A. Sellick's QUAKERS IN BOSTON 1656-1964: THREE CENTURIES OF FRIENDS IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, published in Cambridge MA by the Friends Meeting at Cambridge, 5 Longfellow Park, Cambridge MA 02138; printed Boston MA by the Thomas Todd Company, in 1979. My underlining is for emphasis on the inaccuracies.



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HOW MANY QUAKERS  
HAVE STUDIED  
SEWEL'S HISTORY  
AND READ  
FOX'S JOURNALS  
AS THOREAU AND  
EMERSON DID?

RICKETSON WAS A  
WELL-TO-DO QUAKER  
WHO BECAME QUITE  
SPIRITUAL IN 1861  
WHILE THOREAU WAS  
IN MINNESOTA

NO, HE WAS HELPING  
THE COLONY  
DURING ITS STAGE OF  
DISINTEGRATION

Henry Thoreau ... had read little about the early Quakers, and knew Friends mainly through a few modern representatives. Although he admired some of those he met, his impressions of Quakerism in general were not favorable. In 1843,  he was much impressed by hearing an address in the Hester Street meeting house in New York by the great Quaker reformer, Lucretia Mott. It was in his account of this meeting that he commented on the Quaker women as "looking all like sisters or so many chickadees." Lucretia Mott's point of view appealed to him; he described it as "transcendentalism in its mildest form." When Thoreau gave his nature lectures in New Bedford he usually stayed with Friend Daniel Ricketson, a well-to-do Quaker who had read WALDEN and was one of Thoreau's admirers. Although Ricketson was a Friend, he was "plain and unspiritual," and apparently had little Quaker influence upon Thoreau. He loved nature and was occasionally chosen by Thoreau as a companion in his rambles over the countryside. On one of their trips near Fairhaven in the summer of 1856  they came upon an elderly Quaker minister who made a very unfavorable impression upon Thoreau. Thoreau thought the old man spoke "with a sanctified air" and was conceited and narrow-minded. He had earlier commented that "even the quietness and perhaps unworldliness of an aged Quaker has something ghostly and saddening about it, as it were a preparation for the grave." Thoreau had one more encounter with Quakers, which again left him unimpressed. In the autumn of 1856  he was employed as a surveyor to help lay out an educational colony called Eagleswood, near Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Not all the members of the colony were Quakers but Quaker influence was strong. There he attended the Friends meeting for worship, which he described in a letter to a friend as follows: "Sunday forenoon I attended a sort of Quaker meeting ... where it was expected that the Spirit would move me ... and it or something else, did - an inch or so. I said just enough to set them a little by the ears and make it lively." But Quakerism, as he saw it, seemed too mild and too encrusted with tradition to suit his taste. Emerson, on the other hand, openly acknowledged his interest in Quakers and even his debt to them. From his earliest years Emerson seems to have been influenced by Quaker ideas.

MY SISTER,  
MY FRIEND!



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## My Interpretation is not the Only One Possible

Edward Dahlberg came up with an interesting comment in 1941, which may indicate that many people who encounter [Henry Thoreau](#)'s letter to the absent [Waldo Emerson](#) about Ms. [Sophia Foord](#)'s proposal do so through a self-imposed lens of what may perhaps be legitimately characterized as sexism. I will first paraphrase Dahlberg's attitude toward the Thoreau/Foord affair, and then quote at length from his book in substantiation of my paraphrase: My paraphrase of Dahlberg's rant would be that although we can safely acknowledge that Thoreau was making a stab at being an ethical metaphysician, or at least a moral teacher, his stab was a total failure because his egregious distaste for humans tainted all his efforts to set an example and tainted all his efforts to give good advice. Thoreau, so earnest and truthful, was just another one of those rationalists deficient in blood pigmentation. Which is to say, the man wasn't a real man: his emotionality was deficient. Thus although Thoreau was an adept in the humanity cult, he was blocked in arriving at his love for humankind directly through his emotionality, and was forced to arrive at it through the multiplication-tables, that is, by way of bloodless categories created in the mind. Celibate Thoreau, in order to be PURE, cast out demons, but in so doing – like Adam after the Fall– he hid in quagmire, mud and fen, and so in effect it was he himself who entered the swine, or, to change the idiom: he turned his snorting hot-blooded steed Pegasus into a sneaking cold-souled cat. Thoreau's very life was his disgrace, a devil's nuptial of man and pond. When the man fell in love, it was but with a scrub oak. We should consider, as an example of this, Thoreau's refusal of the proposal by Ms. Foord, a repudiation which must be described as having been not only "orgiastic" but also "savage." This episode of his life amounted to the carnal error of a man with a spirit-glutted soul, or amounted to the blood-revenge of a man with an *apriori* bosom. It is not by chance that no women appear in the [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) book, or in the life at the pond. Thoreau, the "bachelor of nature" erecting in [WALDEN](#) the Western Fable of Ennui, altogether excluded women from his life and his surroundings and his writing, replacing this human contact with but the emeritic patience of ruminative sitting and waiting.

Oh wow!

Now what appears on the following pages are the direct quotations from Dahlberg's writings which support the above paraphrase of what he offered. Warning: they make painful reading<sup>60</sup>

60. Dahlberg, Edward. CAN THESE BONES LIVE. Norfolk CT: New Directions, revised edition 1960, pages 61-2, 64, 91-4, 127, 129 passim.



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See what all the spirit-glutted souls, the rationalists and the ethical metaphysicians, who took to their apriori bosoms the remote abstract Mass Man – see what the spectral humanity-guzzlers have done.

All, from [Plato](#), [Immanuel Kant](#), [G.W.F. Hegel](#), [Waldo Emerson](#), [Henry Thoreau](#), [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and Kropotkin, to the socialists and communists, have been adepts in the humanity cult. The brotherhood of man has always attracted men without adequate blood-pigmentation, like Kant and Thoreau, who arrive at the love of man through the multiplication-tables and the categories. Both of these moral teachers had an egregious distaste for man. Kant kept himself closeted all his life in Königsberg because he would encounter fewer specimens of the genus, man. [Henry Thoreau](#), so earnest and truthful, ate a muskrat to overcome his flesh-revulsion. Immanuel Kant devoured the categorical imperatives instead, and neither the muskrat nor the categories helped.

But the end of rationalism is not its own abstractions, but carnal error, or blood-revenge, as [Henry Thoreau](#)'s orgiastic and savage refusal of the woman who had proposed to him, or [Immanuel Kant](#)'s vile definition of marriage as "a treaty of reciprocal possession by the two parties which is made effective by the reciprocal use of their sex properties." Immanuel Kant embraced godhead, the universe, the abstract Man, and, as he himself confessed, [masturbated](#)! While [Aristotle](#), Master of Schoolmen, as the story goes, crawled on all fours, his rider, not the Golden Mean, but his mistress flourishing a whip! ... "How men lust after a piece of spirit," cried Friedrich Nietzsche, "when a piece of flesh has been denied them."

...

How the Christian moan of ennui hovers over the Puritan; Emily Dickinson "plaited the residue of woe with monotony," and [Henry Thoreau](#) bequeathed a bog at the Temple and the Table.



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[Jesus](#) the bridegroom has perished; but the dogma, the ambiguous statutes, have endured: the nails, the cross, the hyssop, the dirty paraphernalia of sorrow, horror, and belief have remained. The cup that was too galled for Christ - "Father, if Thou be willing, remove this cup from me" - has been drained by sectaries, visionaries, artists. A whole generation of poets, Emily Dickinson, [Herman Melville](#), [Henry Thoreau](#), [Edgar Allan Poe](#) and Walt Whitman, went to Bethesda and to skulled Golgotha.

Yet we trumpet Emily Dickinson straitened craft. Infolded Puritan lips become the beauteous, skeletal, Lacedaemonian line! And Emily Dickinson's apocalyptic poetry accents Christ's admonitory "Yea, yea; Nay, nay"; it is as life and vision, as we have observed it in the lowly and surly habits of Rappites, Shakers and Quakers, a jeopardy and chastisement.

And [Henry Thoreau](#)'s bog is what? the marsh, rocks, cindered veins of ravines, the charred and livid shells of trees lit by Charon's eyes. Nothing blooms here: all is doomed: "Dead Water Mountain," "dead water of Second Lake," of "Large Lake"; "Among the rivers which empty into the Merrimac [*sic*], the Concord is known ... as a dead stream."

Is this the serpent, or the fish?

All of Nature's Table is not for man, who sometimes has for repast Banquo's ghost.

There are many Natures - marsh, fen, mountain, mouse, bird, dove and men, whose touch, sight and smell yield a sweet Elysium or a reechy, blasted Erebus.

[Henry Thoreau](#)'s life is a half parable: to be PURE he cast out the devils, but entered the swine. His Nature is Bethesda's Sink in whose mired waters he sought ablution from the Fall.





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In LEVITICUS man is enjoined to keep the blood, the flesh and the brain, the altar of memory, undefiled. There are abominations in nature, fitch, kite, raven, rat or toad, that paint their loathsome image upon the tender mind: the body or raiment touched and fouled by these must be bathed; the earthen vessel upon which an Unclean Animal has fallen must be broken so that the veins may not unravel in revulsion. Had not [Henry Thoreau](#) said that the Imagination is wounded long before the conscience, and then turned his own Pegasus into a reptile.

His star was blighted by the First Shame; he wrote, "our very life is our disgrace." [Henry Thoreau](#), like Adam after the Fall, hid in quagmire, mud and fen. How can fallen "man ascend pure and fragrant"? asked he who went INTO NATURE to be clean. His life was a sorcerer's mixing of separate natures. It was a devil's nuptial of man and pond, bird, pine, muskrat and ravine; "I fell in love with a scrub oak," "I felt a positive yearning toward one bush."

Human literature and lore are a warm, loose bounty of the tongue – how tall Ulysses was when he sat, or how high Agamemnon was when standing. What noble gossip are Sancho's gristled proverbs. Here are the flour, grain, wine and barley, all the goodly, brewing curd and milk of talk. This is the BREAD for which we ask our Poets only to get a Stone – [Henry Thoreau](#)'s swamp, Emily Dickinson burial sod, and [Herman Melville](#)'s watery grave.

The nineteenth century socialist settlements, Economy, New Harmony, New Lebanon, Fruitlands, Oneida, and the visions of the poets, [Henry Thoreau](#)'s [WALDEN](#), Emily Dickinson poems, Poe's "Eureka" and [Herman Melville](#)'s BILLY BUDD, are NEW TESTAMENT allegories.

Celibate [Henry Thoreau](#), spinster Emily Dickinson, and the ascetic Shakers partake of the bread of original sin.

...



THE HICKSITE

THE ORTHODOX

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

[Henry Thoreau](#), "bachelor of nature," indeed! wrote of war, economy, ruminative sitting, waiting and eremitic patience, altogether excluding women, and erected in [WALDEN](#) the Western Fable of Ennui.

...

Had [Jesus](#) married the illuminated prostitute, Magdalene, he would have forsaken the Acts, the overthrowing of the tables of the pigeon and money-venders, and the Bleeding Cross and given man as inheritance an imperishable generation of gentle little children or Galilean verse. But there is no Magdalene, not even a Mary or Martha, in the Puritan Testament; woman does not exist in these literary masterpieces, in MOBY-DICK, or in [WALDEN](#).



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1857

July 28, Tuesday: In Concord, [Waldo Emerson](#) recorded in his journal his experiences of the preceding day, with [Ellery Channing](#) on the river behind the home of Cyrus Hubbard, as musings in regard to consolations of nature far superior to those of art:

*Yesterday the best day of the year we spent in the afternoon on the river. A sky of Calcutta, light, air, clouds, water, banks, birds, grass, pads, lilies, were in perfection, and it was delicious to live. Ellery & I went up the South Branch, & took a bath from the bank behind Cyrus Hubbard, where the river makes a bend. Blackbirds in hundreds; swallows in tens sitting on the telegraph lines; & one heron (ardea minor) assisted. In these perfect pictures, one thinks what weary nonsense is all this painful collection of rubbish -pictures of rubbish masters- in the total neglect of this & every lovely river valley, where the multitudinous life & beauty makes these pictures ridiculous cold chalk & ochre.*



Sojourner Truth bought a house lot in Harmonia, a community of [Hicksite](#) integrationists, Quakers-becoming-Spiritualists, which was close to Bedford, about five miles from Battle Creek, Michigan.

SPIRITUALISM



**THE HICKSITE**

**THE ORTHODOX**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**THE BATTLE CREEK INVOLVEMENT:**

**Christopher Densmore <DENSMORE@UBVM.CC.BUFFALO.EDU> has contributed the following**



**THE ORTHODOX**

**THE HICKSITE**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**explanation of the history of the Battle Creek meeting to a Quaker discussion list on the Internet:**

The Battle Creek MI meeting had a very interesting history in the 19th Century. The meeting was begun in the 1830s by Quakers from central and western New York who were then migrating to Michigan. The Battle Creek meeting was Hicksite and part of Genesee Yearly Meeting. In the 1840s, Michigan Quarterly Meeting (Hicksite) wanted to "lay down" the meetings of ministers and elders on the belief that the authority of the ministers and elders over the spiritual life of the meeting was retarding spiritual growth of the members. That issue is tied up with the desire of many Friends to become more actively involved with abolitionist organizations. Other Friends considered these abolitionist organizations too worldly – participation would involve Quakers in non-Quakerly activities like working with hireling ministers, engaging in politics. Other Quakers, coming from the universal Quaker belief in the evil of slavery, embraced the abolitionist organizations and resented being "elderred" about such matters. Anyway, Michigan Quarter wanted to abolish the meetings of ministers and elders, but the action was not approved by the Yearly Meeting and in 1848, Michigan Quarter itself was laid down and the meetings and members attached to the presumably more conventional Pelham Quarterly Meeting – which at that time consisted of the Hicksite meetings in nearby Canada.

The radicals resented the yearly meeting's action, and formed a new organization called the Michigan Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends. They were also known as Progressive Friends and later Friends of Human Progress. The Yearly Meeting –Genesee that is- dithered for a few years about what to do about those Friends who had "set up meetings contrary to discipline" first saying that they could come back without any acknowledgment of error and apparently never disowning anyone. Like the anti-slavery schism in Indiana Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) about this same time, it appears that the old yearly meeting regretted the split and therefore found it difficult to take any action against their erring members.

Anyway, Battle Creek Monthly Meeting (Hicksite) continued as part of Pelham Quarter of Genesee Yearly Meeting for the remainder of the century. The Congregational or Progressive Friends initially intended to set up meetings on the Quaker model, but liberated of what they saw as too much hierarchy and sectarianism. In some places these meetings operated, but it isn't clear for how long. In Michigan and New York such groups were nearly identical with the Garrisonian abolitionists and seems to have been absorbed into the general reform movement and quickly lost their specifically Quaker identity. To make matters more confused, Spiritualism which was arising at this time seemed to many both scientific and reformist, and some of the Progressive Friends seem to have allied with Spiritualists. The Harmonial Society near Battle Creek in the 1850s seems to have been the product of ex-Quaker Progressive Friends, Spiritualists, abolitionists, etc.



THE HICKSITE

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## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Quite probably some Battle Creek Quakers considered themselves both Progressive Friends and members of Battle Creek MM (Hicksite). The categories were not mutually exclusive.

Sojourner Truth was close to both groups. She attended Battle Creek Meeting (Hicksite) and lived for a time in the Harmonial Society. She was present at the dedication of the new Battle Creek Meeting house and at that time sang a hymn -something otherwise not done in Hicksite meetings at the time- and claimed that she would have become a Quaker if Quakers had allowed music. Another local Quaker -though I believe she was Orthodox- was Elizabeth Margaret Chandler - who wrote anti-slavery poems and a column for the GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION and is credited with being the first important female voice in the abolitionist movement.



July 28, Tuesday. As I remember, [Hodge](#) mistakes when he says [of Chamberlain Lake] that “it is erroneously represented on the charts, for it extends in a north-northeasterly, south-southwesterly direction about twelve miles.” He appears to be thinking of the easterly part.<sup>61</sup> On the north side there is quite a clearing, and we had been advised to ascend the bare hill there for the sake of the prospect.... Great trunks of trees stood dead and bare far out in the lake, making the impression of ruined piers of a city that had been, while behind, the timber lay criss-a- cross for half a dozen rods or more over the water.... We were glad to find on this carry some raspberries, and a few of the *Vaccinium Canadense* berries, which had begun to be ripe here.



July 28, Tuesday, Morning: ... When we awoke we found a heavy dew on our blankets. I lay awake very early, and listened to the clear, shrill *ah-tette-tette-te*, of the white-throated sparrow, repeated at short intervals, without the least variation, for half an hour, as if it could not enough express its happiness. Whether my companions heard it or not, I know not, but it was a kind of matins to me, and the event of that forenoon. It was a pleasant sunrise, and we had a view of the mountains in the southeast. Ktaadn appeared about southeast by south. A double-topped mountain, about southeast by east, and another portion of the same, east-southeast. The last the Indian called *Nerlumskeechticook*, and said that it was at the head of the East Branch, and we should pass near it on our return that way.

We did some more washing in the lake this morning, and with our clothes hung about on the dead trees and rocks, the shore looked like washing-day at home. The Indian, taking the hint, borrowed the soap, and walking into the lake, washed his only cotton shirt on his person, then put on his pants and let it dry on him. ...



July 28, Tuesday, Mid-day: ... We were now fairly on the Allegash River, which name our Indian said meant hemlock bark. These waters flow northward about 100 miles, at first very feebly, then southeasterly 250 more to the Bay of Fundy. After perhaps two miles of river, we entered Heron Lake, called on the map *Pongokwahem*, scaring up forty or fifty young *shecorways*, sheldrakes, at the entrance, which ran over the water with great rapidity, as usual in a long line....

61. [James Thacher Hodge](#)'s SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON THE GEOLOGY ... OF MAINE AND MASSACHUSETTS (Augusta, Maine: Severance, 1838).

## JAMES THACHER HODGE

“Having determined to visit Moosehead Lake, before proceeding to the St. John waters, I continued up the west branch to the lower carry into that lake.... The upper carry is about eight miles above the lower, and between them are rapids and falls.”

EDWARD HOAR





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July 28, Tuesday, Late Afternoon: ... We landed on the southeast side of the island, which was rather elevated, and densely wooded, with a rocky shore, in season for an early dinner. Somebody had camped there not long before, and left the frame on which they stretched a moose-hide, which our Indian criticised severely, thinking it showed but little woodcraft. Here were plenty of the shells of crayfish, or fresh-water lobsters, which had been washed ashore, such as have given a name to some ponds and streams. They are commonly four or five inches long. The Indian proceeded at once to cut a canoe-birch, slanted it up against another tree on the shore, tying it with a withe, and lay down to sleep in its shade.... We had for some time seen a thunder-shower coming up from the west over the woods of the island, and heard the muttering of the thunder, though we were in doubt whether it would reach us; but now the darkness rapidly increasing, and a fresh breeze rustling the forest, we hastily put up the plants which we had been drying, and with one consent made a rush for the tent material and set about pitching it. A place was selected and stakes and pins cut in the shortest possible time, and we were pinning it down lest it should be blown away, when the storm suddenly burst over us....



July 28, Tuesday, Evening: ... At length, just before sunset, we set out again. It was a wild evening when we coasted up the north side of this Apmoojenegamook Lake. One thunder-storm was just over, and the waves which it had raised still running with violence, and another storm was now seen coming up in the southwest, far over the lake; but it might be worse in the morning, and we wished to get as far as possible on our way up the lake while we might. ... It was twilight, too, and that stormy cloud was advancing rapidly in our rear. It was a pleasant excitement, yet we were glad to reach, at length, in the dusk, the cleared shore of the Chamberlain Farm. We landed on a low and thinly wooded point there, and while my companions were pitching the tent, I ran up to the house to get some sugar, our six pounds being gone; — it was no wonder they were, for Polis had a sweet tooth. He would first fill his dipper nearly a third full of sugar, and then add the coffee to it. Here was a clearing extending back from the lake to a hill-top, with some dark-colored log buildings and a storehouse in it, and half a dozen men standing in front of the principal hut, greedy for news. Among them was the man who tended the dam on the Allegash and tossed the bullet. He having charge of the dams, and learning that we were going to Webster Stream the next day, told me that some of their men, who were haying at Telos Lake, had shut the dam at the canal there in order to catch trout, and if we wanted more water to take us through the canal we might raise the gate, for he would like to have it raised. The Chamberlain Farm is no doubt a cheerful opening in the woods, but such was the lateness of the hour that it has left but a dusky impression on my mind. As I have said, the influx of light merely is civilizing, yet I fancied that they walked about on Sundays in their clearing somewhat as in a prison-yard. ... When I returned to the shore it was quite dark, but we had a rousing fire to warm and dry us by, and a snug apartment behind it. ... Invariably our best nights were those when it rained, for then we were not troubled with mosquitoes.... Some who have leaky roofs in the towns may have been kept awake, but we were soon lulled asleep by a steady, soaking rain, which lasted all night. To-night, the rain not coming at once with violence, the twigs were soon dried by the reflected heat.




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1858



January 13, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) lectured at Lynn, visiting Nahant and Danvers. At Lynn he lectured in the parlor of John and Mercy Buffum Alley,<sup>62</sup> [disowned Hicksite Quakers](#) who were the parents of the [Mary Buffum Mansfield](#) who had heard Thoreau speak during silent worship at Eagleswood on October 26, 1856  (am I sure this was not November 1??), and had written down what he said.<sup>63</sup>

62. [What relation was this Mercy Buffum Alley to the James N. Buffum, successful carpenter of Lynn MA, who had been Frederick Douglass's traveling companion in steerage aboard the *Cambria* to Ireland in 1845?]

63. It appears that Charles Chauncy Shackford and John B. Alley were responsible for Thoreau's being invited to lecture in Lynn at the end of 1857.



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On his way Henry Thoreau checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY volume for 1857, in which is to be found, on pages 9-136, Henry C. Murphy's translation "Voyages from Holland to America, A.D., 1632 to 1644" of [David Pietersz. de Vries](#)'s *KORTE HISTORIAEL ENDE JOURNAELS AENTHEYCKENINGE VAN VERSCHEYDEN VOYAGIENS IN DE VIER DEELEN DES WERELDTS — RONDE, ALS EUROPA, AFRICA, ASIA, ENDE AMERIKA GEDAEN, DOOR D. DAVID PIETERSZ. DE VRIES, ARTILLERIJ-MEESTER VANDE ED: M: HEEREN GECOMMITTEERDE RADEN VAN STATEN VAN WEST-VRIESLANDT ENDE 'T NOORDER-QUARTIER WAERIN VERHAELT WERD WAT BATAILJES BY TE WATER GEDAEN HERFT: YDER LANDTSCHAP ZIJN GEDIERTE, GEVOGELT, WAT SOORTE VAN VISSSEN ENDE WAT WILDE MENSCHEN NAKR 'T LEVEN GECONTERFAEYT,*

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)[THE HICKSITE](#)[THE ORTHODOX](#)[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

*ENDE VAN DE BOSSCHEN ENDE RAVIEREN MET HAER VRUCHTEN (1655).*

[COLLECTIONS NYHS](#)

In this same volume, on pages 163-229, is to be found John Gilmary Shea's translation "The Jogues Papers" of an account by [Père Isaac Jogues](#), and on pages 309-322, Shea's translation "Narrative of a Voyage made for the Abnauquois Missions..." of an account by [Père Gabriel Duillettes](#). (Thoreau would copy from these two translations into his Indian Notebook #11.)

[COLLECTIONS NYHS](#)



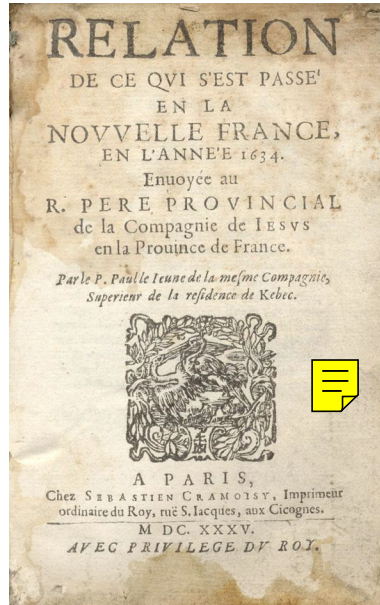
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Having already perused the JESUIT RELATION volumes for the years 1633-1643, and the volumes numbered 11 through 26, he checked out the volumes for 1662-1663 and for 1663-1664.<sup>64</sup>

<http://www.canadiana.org>



January 13, Wednesday: Go to Lynn to lecture, via Cambridge.  
4:30 P.M.—At Jonathan Buffum's, Lynn. Lecture in John B. Alley's parlor. Mr. J. Buffum describes to me ancient wolf-traps, made probably by the early settlers in Lynn, perhaps after an Indian model; one some two miles from the shore near Saugus, another more northerly; holes say seven feet deep, about as long, and some three feet wide, stoned up very smoothly, and perhaps converging a little, so that the wolf could not get out. Tradition says that a wolf and a squaw were one morning found in the same hole, staring at each other.

JONATHAN BUFFUM

64. Thoreau presumably read each and every volume of the JESUIT RELATIONS that was available in the stacks at the [Harvard Library](#). We know due to extensive extracts in his Indian Notebooks #7 and #8 that between 1852 and 1857 he did withdraw or consult all the volumes for the years between 1633 and 1672. Thoreau took notes in particular in regard to the reports by [Father Jean de Brébeuf](#), [Father Jacques Buteux](#), [Father Claude Dablon](#), [Father Jérôme Lallemant](#), [Father Paul Le Jeune](#), [Father François Le Mercier](#), [Father Julien Perrault](#), [Father Jean de Quens](#), [Father Paul Ragueneau](#), and [Father Barthélemy Vimont](#).

Cramoisy, Sebastian (ed.). *RELATION DE CE QUI S'EST PASSÉ EN LA NOUVELLE FRANCE IN L'ANNÉE 1636: ENVOYÉE AU R. PERE PROVINCIAL DE LA COMPAGNIE DE JESUS EN LA PROVINCE DE FRANCE, PAR LE P. PAUL LE JEUNE DE LA MESME COMPAGNIE, SUPERIEUR DE LA RESIDENCE DE KÉBEC. A Paris: Chez Sebastian Cramoisy...*, 1637



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**1869**

[Hicksite Friends](#) created a coeducational college in Pennsylvania, Swarthmore College.

**QUAKER EDUCATION**





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1892

W.D. O'Connor's THE CARPENTER, a sequel to his 1866 THE GOOD GRAY POET in which he even more straightforwardly portrayed Walt Whitman as a Christ figure.<sup>65</sup>

Whitman managed an oblique reference to the hanged Friend [Mary Dyer](#) in his NOVEMBER BOUGHS, in a snippet anent the [Hicksite](#)/Orthodox split among Friends, as an assertion regarding there having been “no persecution worth mentioning” of Friends in America subsequent to her hanging:

### “The Separation”

**Note. — The Separation.** — The division vulgarly call'd between Orthodox and Hicksites in the Society of Friends took place in 1827, '8 and '9. ...A reviewer of the old dispute and separation made the following comments on them in a paper ten years ago: “It was in America, where there had been no persecution worth mentioning since Mary Dyer was hang'd on Boston Common, that about fifty years ago differences arose, singularly enough upon doctrinal points of the divinity of Christ and the nature of the atonement. Whoever would know how bitter was the controversy, and how much of human infirmity was found to be still lurking under broad-brim hats and drab coats, must seek for the information in the Lives of Elias Hicks and of Thomas Shillitoe, the latter an English Friend, who visited us at this unfortunate time, and who exercised his gifts as a peacemaker with but little success. The meetings, according to his testimony, were sometimes turn'd into mobs. The disruption was wide, and seems to have been final. Six of the ten yearly meetings were divided; and since that time various sub-divisions have come, four or five in number. There has never, however, been anything like a repetition of the excitement of the [Hicksite](#) controversy; and Friends of all kinds at present appear to have settled down into a solid, steady, comfortable state, and to be working in their own way without troubling other Friends whose ways are different.”

(It is to be noted that Walt Whitman forwards the notion that Friend [Mary Dyer](#) was hanged on Boston Common despite the fact that there is no preserved historical evidence whatever that she had not been hanged at the usual place for such events — at the municipal gallows on the Boston Neck.)

Had he made a more careful study of the records of Revolutionary persecution of male Friends, persecution in which our Peace Testimony was taken to be equivalent to traitorous Loyalism to the Crown, of course Whitman would have been able to forward no such simplistic opinion.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS  
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

65. NOVEMBER BOUGHS, published in this year of Walt Whitman's death, contains additional material on the [Hicksite](#) split among Friends:





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Walt Whitman also mentioned, in NOVEMBER BOUGHS, a collection of 5,000 poems that had been donated to [Brown University](#):

### “Five Thousand Poems”

There have been collected in a cluster nearly five thousand big and little American poems — all that diligent and long-continued research could lay hands on! The author of ‘Old Grimes is Dead’ commenced it, more than fifty years ago; then the cluster was pass’d on and accumulated by C. F. Harris; then further pass’d on and added to by the late Senator Anthony, from whom the whole collection has been bequeath’d to Brown University. A catalogue (such as it is) has been made and publish’d of these five thousand poems — and is probably the most curious and suggestive part of the whole affair. At any rate it has led me to some abstract reflection like the following.

I should like, for myself, to put on record my devout acknowledgment not only of the great masterpieces of the past, but of the benefit of **all** poets, past and present, and of **all** poetic utterance — in its entirety the dominant moral factor of humanity’s progress. In view of that progress, and of evolution, [Page 1185] the religious and aesthetic elements, the distinctive and most important of any, seem to me more indebted to poetry than to all other means and influences combined. In a very profound sense **religion is the poetry of humanity**. Then the points of union and rapport among all the poems and poets of the world, however wide their separations of time and place and theme, are much more numerous and weighty than the points of contrast. Without relation as they may seem at first sight, the whole earth’s poets and poetry — *en masse* — the Oriental, the Greek, and what there is of Roman — the oldest myths — the interminable ballad-romances of the Middle Ages — the hymns and psalms of worship — the epics, plays, swarms of lyrics of the British Islands, or the Teutonic old or new — or modern French — or what there is in America, Bryant’s, for instance, or Whittier’s or Longfellow’s — the verse of all tongues and ages, all forms, all subjects, from primitive times to our own day inclusive — really combine in one aggregate and electric globe or universe, with all its numberless parts and radiations held together by a common centre or verteber. To repeat it, all poetry thus has (to the point of view comprehensive enough) more features of resemblance than difference, and becomes essentially, like the planetary globe itself, compact and orbic and whole. Nature seems to sow countless seeds — makes incessant crude attempts — thankful to get now and then, even at rare and long intervals, something approximately good.





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1893

In 1806,  a Philadelphia [Quaker](#) discipline had stipulated “that no monuments, either or wood or stone, be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds.” In 1852  a [Hicksite](#) group of Quakers had modified this to read:

that no costly or showy monuments be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds; or any mark be permitted exceeding six inches in height above the level of the ground, or more than sixteen inches in width and four inches in thickness, with the name and age of the deceased.

At this point an Orthodox group of Quakers made a similar amendment. (A similar pattern can be found in other yearly meetings: the older rule would have been no gravestones at all, then a later rule would permit stones of a limited height with nothing on them other than the name, age, and date of death of the deceased. In the Quaker burying grounds of Newtown Square, Pennsylvania, which were founded in the 1690s, the earliest grave sites have no markers, but starting in the mid-18th Century simple stone markers appear. Rather large and ornate markers are common from 1850s-1890s, and then gradually the markers become simple and small again. A number of Quaker markers now sport iron “Grand Army of the Republic” emblems in addition to the grave and foot stones, indicating that this Quaker had served as a soldier during the civil war — and perhaps that he or his family was not embarrassed at that fact.)



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1950

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[Joseph Nichols](#) and the [Nicholites](#) of Caroline County" ([Maryland Historical Magazine](#) 45, pages 47-61).<sup>66</sup>

The Brooke Grove Foundation was established as the first licensed group home for the elderly near Sandy Spring.

The [Hicksite](#) Friends and the Orthodox Friends merged to form Sandy Spring Friends United. What had that been all about? A Conference of American Friends ([Quakers](#)) in Richmond, Indiana produced the following statement:

Though we meet under the shadow of loyalty oaths, restriction of liberties, conscription, and a governmental policy relying on armed force, we are neither [intimidated] nor fearful. Out of similar conflicts grew Friends' original testimonies, and in the face of these conflicts one of the most searching tests of Friends' principles and way of life today ... will be the extent of our enlightened and dedicated implementation of the peace testimony. Both the inescapable involvement of Friends in a war-making and war-breeding culture and the sense Friends have of responsibility to society lead us to affirm that more is required than the refusal to bear arms, more is demanded than opposition to war. Conscientious objection to evil must be complemented by conscientious projection of God's spirit into affirmative peace action.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

UNAMERICANISM

66. The Nicholites began in about 1760 with Joseph Nichols of the region of Delaware near the Maryland border. During an escapade one of Joseph's best friends became ill and died, and the experience shook him. Soon he was testifying to friends of a light he had experienced, that was leading to obedience to an "Inward Director." His group would not believe in paid ministers; and may have taken a stand against slavery even before the local Quakers. Their wedding ceremonies were similar to those of the Quakers and marriage outside the group was cause for disownment. Nicholites, like Quakers, opposed fighting during the American Revolution. They referred to each other as Friends and were often referred to by others as "New Quakers." They differed from Quakers in being dubious of the benefit of education — their children seldom learned more than to read and write and some could not sign their names. Nicholites influenced by Friend John Woolman were plain and austere to an extreme, wearing only undyed cloth, not mixing natural colors of yarn in woven cloth, not wearing black leather or using blacking on their shoes, etc. Their furniture was simple and their gardens without flowers. Whenever possible they traveled on foot. Joseph Nichols died during December 1770 after only a few years of ministry, and his widow Mary remarried with Levin Charles and migrated to the Deep River section of Guilford County. The Nicholite group organized itself there during December 1774 to meet monthly at the house of a new leader, James Harriss. Meetings were held in various members' houses and sometimes at nearby Quaker meetinghouses. By 1775 the group had three meetinghouses of their own in the border area of Maryland and Delaware.



THE HICKSITE

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1998

Ingle, H. Larry. QUAKERS IN CONFLICT: THE HICKSITE REFORMATION. 2d edition. Pendle Hill, 1998

**Review by MCH:** "And what sort of religion is this?" So asked Jonathan Taylor, clerk of Ohio Yearly Meeting, 1828, as he lay on the ground after tumbling out the door of the Mount Pleasant meeting house following a struggle with [Hicksite](#) reformers over physical possession of the clerk's desk. Needless to say, he lost the desk (it was literally pulled apart) and his usurper reconvened the meeting using the desk drawer as a table top. So it was that [Quakers](#) in Ohio split themselves (not unlike that clerk's desk) into two separate groups. Like the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting before it, this was a division that was repeated (although not always with the same energy) in New York, Indiana, Baltimore, New Jersey, and elsewhere in New England. Not until 1955, nearly three generations later, were any of these factions reconciled.

What led to this division? Who were the main players? What was at issue? How could this happen among Friends? These are important questions, and Ingle takes it upon himself to answer them all, at the same time arguing -persuasively, I think- that the religious reformation promulgated by the predominantly rural Hicksites was in no small part a response to the new world order brought by the explosion of industrial capitalism in the US. Indeed, how to live an authentic Christian life, how to live daily in the Spirit, how to share with our children our values, how to keep marriages together, how to avoid alienation, how to do this in a surly world of profit, pleasure, credit, and consumption - this is the legacy Christians must now struggle with every day. To see this all played out over a hundred and seventy years ago is both exciting and dispiriting, because we know how the story ends.

As this poignant narrative of [Quakers](#) in the nineteenth century unfolds, doctrinal divisions become more apparent. Orthodox Friends stress traditional Christian doctrine and often rely upon the Bible for guidance. The reformers, on the other hand, follow the leadings of the Holy Spirit and place far less trust in the Bible as God's living word. Thus battle lines are drawn along doctrinal boundaries, although beneath this plain-looking surface is a surge of unrequited social tensions. And so continues a thrilling tale of things outlandish among our tradition: disrupted worship, hurled invectives, Bible-burning, threats of violence, mobs and gangs, broken communities.

Elias Hicks, who started the controversy, was a gifted Quaker minister with a theological position that rankled orthodox Friends for several years, and it brought him frequent censure



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from ruling elders. Sometimes his position is hard to find among the many other voices that took up his cause -especially in the pamphlet tug-of-war that preceded the splits- but Ingle does an admirable job of making it distinct. Ingle is equally successful in explicating the orthodox position, which he labels "evangelical," and is careful (as he does in a fine introductory chapter) to show how both attitudes are inherent in the very beginnings of Quaker religious thought.

In Ingle's treatment, Hicks and his reformers wanted to uproot a growing reliance upon scripture in the ministry, the adoption of a pastoral method common to other Protestant denominations, and the introduction into Quaker worship of the external trappings of orthodoxy, through creeds, rituals, and rules.

That the orthodox members were moving in this direction is perfectly clear from Ingle's solid study, as are other facts about orthodox Friends that made them suspicious in the eyes of the reformers: they were generally wealthy, socially powerful, some at times less than charitable in business dealings with others within their own faith communities, and authoritarian and reactionary in matters of religious belief. That these urban [Quakers](#) were also seen as eager in the pursuit of riches and honor, promoted Bible toting, missions, theological disputations, ecclesiastical hierarchies, and social progress could only make them seem like foreigners among rural Friends - especially since the principle of the [Hicksite](#) reformation stressed faithfulness to the light of Christ within each believer and faithfulness to God alone as the sovereign lord of conscience.

By the same token, the reformers (and Hicks especially) did champion tenets alien to historical Christianity and very clearly invited being cast as Unitarians, non-Christians, and Ranters, although these are charges they denied with as much verve as their orthodox accusers. Still, as we read them here, they even espouse beliefs that seem suspiciously like old, discredited heresies. Hicks himself appears unwilling to "test the spirits" [see 1 John 4:1-3], and must surely have appeared in the orthodox light as a false prophet.

In the end, the most significant issue rested on the true source of authority within the community of Christian believers. Each side here answered with a different voice, neither side being faithful -really, sadly- to the common tradition of Friends.

This second edition of Ingle's well-written study includes a new preface and lights on new scholarly material for further study.



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1926

[Friend Elbert Russell](#)'s "The Seed Picker" series by "Spermologos" was appearing regularly in the [Friends' Intelligencer](#).

Friend Chuck Fager has discovered that there is reason to doubt the common consensus that, after some generations and an adventure into spiritualism, the Hicksites had no longer involved themselves with Quakerism, a common consensus that discounts evidence that the Hicksites continued under another name — as the Progressive Friends. He does recognize that [Friend Elbert Russell](#)'s HISTORY OF QUAKERISM on its pages 370-71 awarded the Progressive Friends but one paragraph, Barbour and Frost's THE QUAKERS on its page 181 awarded them but one paragraph, Friends Rufus Jones's THE LATER PERIODS OF QUAKERISM on page 596 of its 2d volume relegated them to a summary footnote, Friend Howard Brinton's FRIENDS FOR THREE HUNDRED YEARS alleged on its page 191 that among the Hicksites "no further separations occurred," and neither Punshon's PORTRAIT IN GREY nor Williams's THE RICH HERITAGE OF QUAKERISM mentioned the Progressive Friends at all. However, he has uncovered evidence of a historical continuity that had been overlooked. He has pointed, in the Quaker archives, to a miscataloged 140-page document labeled SUGGESTED REVISION OF THE RULES OF DISCIPLINE AND ADVICES OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, a document authored by Progressive Friends that dates to this year, that had been considered by the seven Yearly Meetings of the Friends' General Conference. This document he considers to constitute evidence of a continuity between the Hicksites of the 19th Century and the "meetinghouse" Quaker monthly meetings that nowadays exist in the vicinity of American college campuses (one fine example being the Quaker monthly meeting near the campus of Duke University in [Durham, North Carolina](#), of which he himself is a member).

**"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING, HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"  
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: March 21, 2014





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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.