

GO BACK TO THE PREVIOUS CENTURY

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

QUAKERISM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 18TH CENTURY



"I know histhry isn't thrue, Hinnissy, because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halsted Street. If any wan comes along with a histhry iv Greece or Rome that'll show me th' people fightin', gettin' dhrunk, makin' love, gettin' married, owin' th' grocery man an' bein' without hard coal, I'll believe they was a Greece or Rome, but not befur."



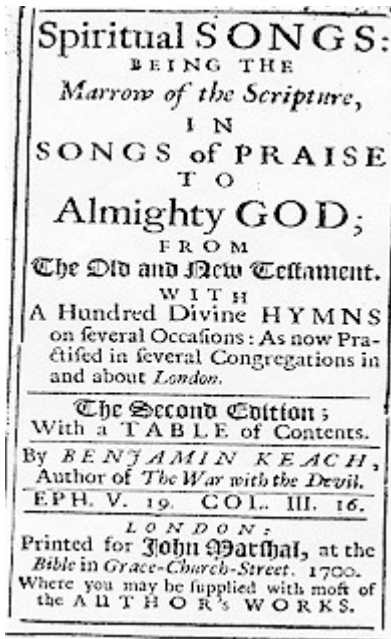
— Dunne, Finley Peter,
OBSERVATIONS BY MR. DOOLEY,
New York, 1902

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1700

The Reverend [Benjamin Keach](#)'s SPIRITUAL SONGS: BEING THE MARROW OF THE SCRIPTURE (London: John Marshal).



Awake, my soul, awake, my tongue,
My glory wake and sing,
And celebrate the holy birth,
The birth of Israel's King!

O happy night that brought forth light,
Which makes the blind to see,
The Dayspring from on high came down
To cheer and visit thee.

The careful shepherds with their flocks
Were watching for the morn,
But better news from Heav'n was brought;
Your Savior now is born!

In Bethlehem the Infant lies,
Within a place obscure,
Your Savior's come, O sing God's praise!
O sing His praise fore'er.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The [Baptists](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) who had been meeting in private homes, began their first meetinghouse.¹

In a related piece of news, in this year the old [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) was sold to Joseph Mosey for £11 14s. and a new meetinghouse was in the process of being erected. On a following screen are three postcard views of the new construction, the first dating to about 1905, the second to 1908, and the third to 1955:

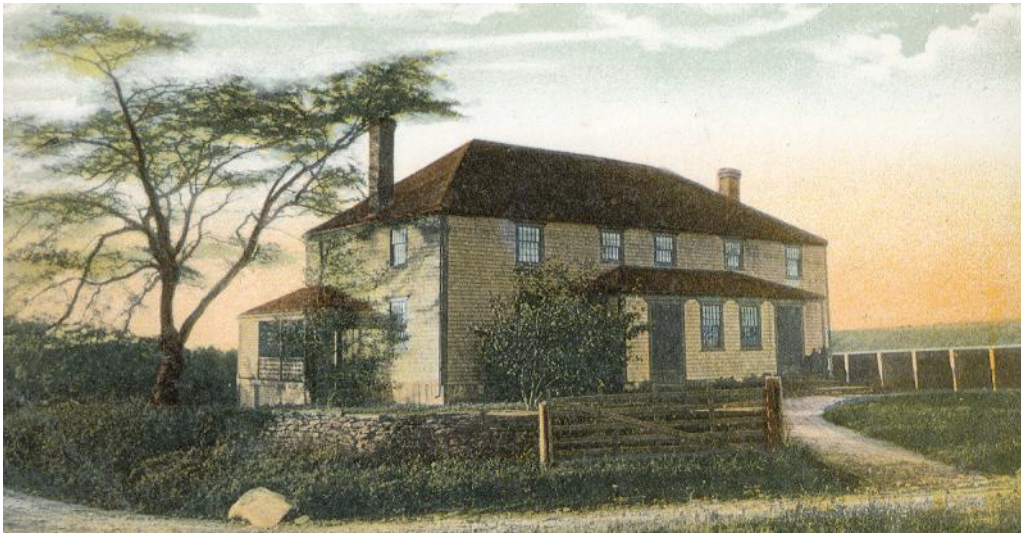
[Quakers](#) were no longer being persecuted in Maryland.

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)

1. A plaque at the picturesque white “First Baptist Meeting House” in beautiful downtown Providence, Rhode Island asserts quite sincerely that “This church was founded by Roger Williams, its first pastor and the first asserter of liberty of conscience. It was the first Church in Rhode Island and the first Baptist Church in America.” That structure, however, was not in existence prior to 1775 — which would be three full generations of human life beyond this point in time. Also, some Baptists do not claim Roger William now as having been a Baptist minister, although he had indeed toyed with a religious group in Providence for some months in the year 1639 before separating himself from them, and that religious group with which he had toyed in 1639 would, fifteen years afterward upon the migration of some Particular Baptists from England, begin to identify itself as Baptist.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[George Keith](#) was being a busy little badger. His A NARRATIVE OF HIS PROCEEDINGS AT COOPER'S HALL IN BRISTOL, IN DETECTING THE ERRORS OF BENJAMIN COOL. Also, his A SNAKE IN THE GRASS CAUGHT AND CRUSHT. OR A THIRD AND LAST EPISTLE TO G. KEITH, BY TREPIDANTIUM MALLEUS. Also, his ACCOUNT OF A NATIONAL CHURCH, AND THE CLERGY. Also, his REASONS FOR RENOUNCING QUAKERISM. Also, his AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUAKERS POLITICKS. Also, his BRISTOL QUAKERISM EXPOSED. Also, his SERMON ON 2 COR. v. 14, 15. Also, his TWO SERMONS.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

It would have been in approximately this year Friend [George Fox](#)'s widow, Friend [Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox, issued an incendiary notice, eldering the [Quakers](#) for what she perceived to be their growing attention to outward uniformity and to rules imposed by their groups, and for their correspondingly diminishing attention to the Light Within.

But Jesus Christ saith that we must take no thought what we shall eat or what we shall drink or what we shall put on; but bids us consider the lilies, how they grow in more royalty than Solomon. But, contrary to this, we must not look at no colours, nor make anything that is changeable colours, as the hills are, nor sell them, nor wear them. But we must be all in one dress and one colour. This is a silly, poor gospel. It is more fit for us to be covered with God's eternal Spirit and clothed with His eternal Light, which leads us and guides us into righteousness; and to live righteously and justly and holily in this present evil world. This is the clothing that God puts on us, and likes, and will bless.



The Narragansett Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Rhode Island](#), only one year old, changed its name to the East Greenwich² Monthly Meeting.

August 17: Friend [Daniel Gould](#) reported on the death watch of an infant in [Newport, Rhode Island](#):

In an assemblage of people, sitting together in silence, in a house by the corpse of a dead infant ready for Burial & being a silence, comes in the High mosier (a papist Preacher,) and sett [sic] it may a minute or two, but silence in an assemblage being a strange thing unto him, he soon spoke to y^e purpose & saying, "here is silence; and though in silence many have a good

2. Note that this is New England, not Old England. The name is pronounced "Green-witch" rather than "Gren-itch."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

meditation yet meditation edifies not the people." "There must be Doctrine of spirit to edify y^e church" as if meditation was not profitable for Doctrine, ffor [sic] without meditation man runs a great hazard in his Doctrine of words, confusedly along, as indeed did he at that very time. Solomon saith "a fools mouth is his own destruction, and his lips a snare to soulls" Pro. 18. 7. But the Psalmist saith – "I will meditate of all thy works and talk of y^e doings" Psa. 77-12. So here is meditation before talking.

1701

[Friend William Penn](#) granted a charter to the city of Philadelphia, and provided for the incorporation of the schools that had been founded there by the Friends. Penn granted Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) control over the appointment of the overseers of the educational system.

QUAKER EDUCATION

In [Kingston](#), [Rhode Island](#), [Quaker](#) meetings for worship began.

1st mo.: During March 1700/1701, in the records of the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), a notation indicates that a weekly worship meeting had been taking place in the town of [Providence](#). The proposal to erect a Friends' meetinghouse inside the town would be laid before the [Portsmouth](#) monthly meeting. The monthly meeting would forward this proposal to the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July: Friend [William Penn](#) wrote to James Logan that “I cannot prevail on my wife to stay [here in Pennsylvania], and still less with Tishe. I know not what to do.” He indicated that those who feared that once gone, he would never return, were mistaken, as “I shall have no need to stay (in England) and a great interest to return.” Watson, in his ANNALS, would suppose himself able to discern, from hints made by Penn and members of his family, various personal dissatisfactions such as this which were making it preferable to return to England.

This was [Friend](#) William’s old Quaker meetinghouse in Chester, Pennsylvania:



October 25: A charter was officially granted to the city of Philadelphia by [Friend William Penn](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October 28: The Charter of Delaware.

READ THE FULL TEXT

As a “Charter of Privileges” for his colonists, [Friend William Penn](#) began to enumerate the freedoms which residents of his settlement, “Pennsylvania and Territories,” were to enjoy. The American Philosophical Society now alleges that it was this document which established Penn’s words as “the most liberal of the British colonies.”

I doe hereby Grant and Declare that noe person or persons Inhabiting in this Province or Territories who shall Confesse and Acknowledge one Almighty God the Creator upholder and Ruler of the world ... shall be in any case molested or prejudiced in his or their person or Estate because of his or their Conscientious perswasion or practice nor be compelled to frequent or maintaine any Religious Worship place or Ministry contrary to his or their mind or doe or Suffer any other act or thing contrary to their Religious perswasion.

Edward Shippen was to be the mayor of Philadelphia, and Thomas Story its recorder. However, we note that Judge Shippen was not the first mayor of this population center, for as early as 1691 Humphrey Murrey had been using that title in the signing of official acts. Governor Penn gave explicit directions as to how much each person was to be paid:

To Colonel Hamilton, as deputy governor, give him £200 per annum, of your money, – this, till I procure an approbation from him, – afterwards, let it be £300. To John Moore, as the attorney-general, give £30 a year. Use your endeavors. Judge (J.) Guest expects £100 a year; – I would give him £50.

November 1: [Friend William Penn](#) left Philadelphia for England. By this point the colony’s Assembly was being elected yearly and was more powerful even than the governor (who had only a veto power). Penn left behind instructions as to the valuation of the customs:

This year the customs from Pennsylvania, for amount goods, amount to £8000. The year I arrived there, in 1699, it was but £1500 – a good encouragement for me and the country. New York has not the half of it. But oh, that we had a fur trade instead of a [tobacco](#) one. Fur is almost any price, – I would say, 16 shillings, – ay, 20 shillings.”

2d of 10th mo.: On December 2d, 1701, a minute was made by the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

It was proposed and agreed unto, that two [Friends](#) should go to [Providence](#), the persons are Gideon Freeborn and Abraham Chace, to see what encouragement Friends and Friendly people will give, every way, toward building said house, and make their return to said meeting at [Portsmouth](#) this day, five weeks.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1702

Friend [Deliverance Smith](#) had charge of building an addition to the 1st Quaker meetinghouse at Apponegansett.

[Margaret Askew Fell](#) Fox died.

Proprietor [William Penn](#)'s rents were largely paid in the form of bulk [tobacco](#), since this was being much cultivated about Philadelphia and in the lower counties. In this year the Pennsylvania colony sent off 8 vessels to England, each loaded with 80-90 hogsheads of the [sotweed](#).

Being temporarily without a regular agent in England, since Friend [William Penn](#) was high in favor at the court of Queen Anne, [Rhode Island](#) entrusted him with its colonial affairs. Soon he helped some influential Rhode Island [Quakers](#) who had been allying with the enemies of Connecticut to understand this to be a wrong choice.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

On Long Island in New York, a public Friend who was traveling from place to place giving ministry was guilty of speaking out against the Church of England and was clapped in jail. While Friend Samuel Bownas (1676-1753) was imprisoned, he was visited by an English-speaking native headman ("an Indian King") and three of his sub-chiefs. They wanted to find out what were the differences between his brand of Christianity and the other sorts. The [Quaker](#) minister was able to expound to them, among other things, upon the our Peace Testimony, and found them to be a surprisingly receptive audience:

[The Christians who are not Quakers] held it *lawful* to kill and destroy their enemies; but we cannot think that good and right in us; but rather endeavour to overcome our enemies with courteous and friendly offices and kindness, and to assuage their wrath by mildness and persuasion, and bring them to consider the injury they are doing to such as can't in conscience revenge themselves again. He assented, *that this was good: but who can do it?* said he; *when my enemies seek my life, how can I do other than use my endeavour to destroy them in my own defence?* My answer was, That unless we were under the government of a better spirit than our enemies, we could not do it; but if we are under the government of the good Spirit, which seeks not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, and teaches us to do good for evil and to forgive injuries, then we can submit to Providence, putting our trust in the great God to save us from the violence and wrath of our enemies. The King said, *Indeed this is very good; but do you do thus when provoked by your enemies?* I said, sundry of our Friends have done so, and been saved from the rage of their enemies, who have confessed our Friends to be good men. Ay, said he, *they are good indeed; for if all came into this way, there would be no more need of war, nor killing one the other to enlarge their kingdoms, nor one nation want to overcome another.* I then asked him, if this was not a right principle; and what would much add to the happiness of mankind? They all four said, *it was very good indeed; but feared few would embrace this doctrine.* I said, all things have



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

their beginnings; and 'tis now our duty to embrace this truth, hoping that others by this example may do the same. They lifted up their eyes as a token of their assent, shewing by their words their desire that this good spirit might prevail in the world: *Then, said they, Things will go well.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

1st of 1st mo.: On March 1st, 1702, a minute was made by the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

As to the business of building a meeting house at [Providence](#) and at Weekopimsett, and settling a meeting at Freetown, which matter was accounted should have been resolved before this meeting, yet the weather being so tedious did obstruct: and whereas Gideon Freeborn and Abraham Chace were appointed to see what encouragement Providence Friends and Friendly people would give as to a house being built there, in answer to which, Abraham Chace or his brother William, to day brought a subscription of forty of the inhabitants of Providence, amounting to the value of £60,15, as has and may be seen, which Friends were glad to see, but their dimensions being bigger than the land they speak of, given for that use, would bear, so this meeting proposed a house of thirty feet square to be built, which is according to said land given, if money can be raised to answer the premises; in further pursuance of which, this meeting have desired Walter Clark, Jacob Mott, Joseph Wanton and Abraham Chace, they being also free, God willing, to go to treat with Providence people further about the premises, to know what the cost may be judged, and who of them will undertake the building and take this subscription, with other money that is first to be seen how can be raised, and make return of what may be done to Rhode-Island, that themselves, Dartmouth and Greenwich members of our said quarterly meeting, may make way toward the obtaining of what money may be wanting of the said subscription for the accomplishing the premises.

After the laying off of the purchasers' house lots on the east side of the town's main thoroughfare, the proprietors had conveyed "warehouse lots" that were ordinarily forty feet square on its west side. "Sucklin's lot" must have been small indeed, if unable to accommodate a structure of 30 feet by 30 feet — or the objection might have been that on this size lot it would not be possible to position the structure far enough back from the edge of this main road.

March: The Reverend Isaac Watts became the full pastor of Mark Lane Independent Chapel, London.

[George Keith](#) was ordained as an Anglican priest (obviously, somebody decided that it would be preferable to have this guy inside the tent pissing out than outside the tent pissing in). The Society for the Preservation of the Gospel would be dispatching him on a return mission to the Jerseys in America to attempt to win over the [Quakers](#) there. He would have more success with Anglican congregations in Perth Amboy and Burlington than with the Friends. In 1705 he would return to England to take up duties as rector in the parish of Edburton in Sussex.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1703

Some non-[Quakers](#) in Philadelphia had a slanderous publication issued in London, attempting to insinuate a link between the dominant religious and political group in the Pennsylvania colony and the [piracy](#) that was threatening the Atlantic sea-lanes of commerce:

These Quakers have a neat way of getting money, by encouraging of pirates when they bring in a good store of gold, so that his [[William Penn's](#)] government hath been a sure retreat for that sort of people: – insomuch, that when several of Avery's men were here, the Quaking justices were for letting them live quietly, – and so pirates for the most part have been set at liberty, and admitted to bail one after another; nay, on the very frontiers of the country, [[Lewistown](#)] and at the mouth of the river [[New Castle](#)], a whole knot of them are settled securely.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Isaac Norris, Sr. recorded that the yellow fever became in this year a scourge in New-York “such as they had never seen before! Some hundreds died, and many left the town for many weeks, so that the town was almost left desolate.” [Friend](#) Thomas Story, the city's recorder, also reported on this calamity, as a scourge which carried off 6-8 inhabitants daily: “Great was the fear that fell upon all flesh! I saw no lofty or airy countenances, nor heard any vain jesting; but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled.” About 220 New-Yorkers died, of whom about 80 or 90 were his fellow [Quakers](#).

Publication of *NEW-ENGLAND JUDGED*, BY THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD. In Two Parts. *First*, Containing a Brief Relation of the Sufferings of the People call'd [Quakers](#) in *New-England*, from the Time of their first Arrival there, in the Year 1656, to the Year 1660. Wherein their Merciless Whippings, Chainings, Finings, Imprisonings, Starvings, Burning in the Hand, Cutting off ears, and Putting to Death, with divers other Cruelties, inflicted upon the Bodies of Innocent Men and Women, only for Conscience-sake, are briefly described. In Answer to the Declaration of their Persecutors Apologizing for the same, MDCLIX. ... Formerly Published by George Bishop, and now somewhat Abbreviated. ... LONDON, Printed and Sold by *T. Sowle*, in *White-Hart-Court* in *Gracious-Street*, 1703.

[Friend Deliverance Smith](#) was asked at a Quaker meeting “to enspect [*sic*] into the report considering Ebenezer Allen and abusing of an Indian called Jeremiah.” In this same year he was chosen by his Quaker meeting to serve on a committee “to inspect into the lives and conversation of Friends.” Clearly, he has been recognized in this group as an elder.

[Quakers](#) established the 1st school in Flushing on Paumanok Long Island.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



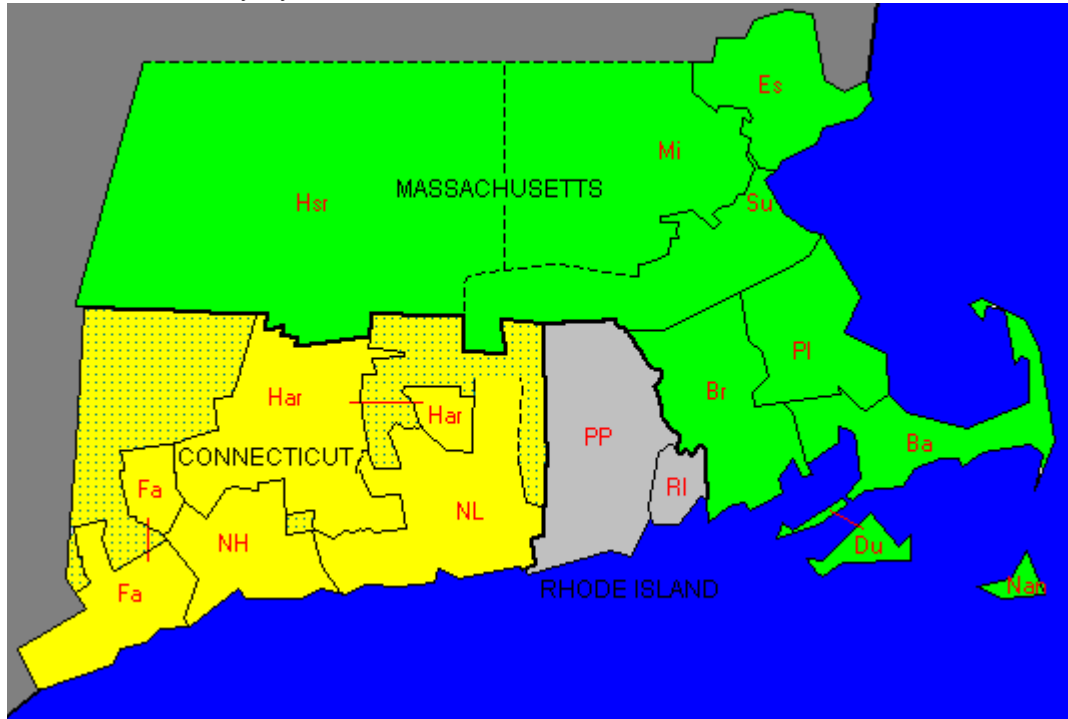
Whipping Quakers at the Cart's Tail.


LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Friend](#) John Warner of North Carolina kept a school in the upper room of the new [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) meetinghouse.

This is what the county layout of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and [Rhode Island](#) looked like, as of this year:



(By the year 1862,  the county map would have resolved itself into our present configuration.)

3d 1st mo.: The records of the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) indicate that on March 3d the project to construct a meetinghouse for [Providence](#) was approved contingent on availability of funds:

At this meeting it was agreed, that a meeting house should be built at Providence, if sufficient money could be raised. There was also a subscription begun of about forty of the inhabitants of Providence, about £60 and now [illegible] is appointed to hand it about; to encourage Friends in the premises, when he thinks meet, in behalf of our quarterly meeting.

June: [Friend](#) John Smith, summoned to militia service in Massachusetts at age 22, refused on religious grounds.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

1st 4th mo.: The records of the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) indicate that by June 4th construction had begun near [Providence](#) on a meetinghouse for the Friends, on a house lot in the vicinity of the dwelling of Eleazer Arnold:

As to what relates to Providence meeting-house, some of the Friends appointed having been there, and it seems, could not



[90] An act for y^e Better Regulating y^e Militia

& for Punishing offend^{ers} as Shall not Conform to y^e Laws there unto Relating

Bee it Enacted by y^e hon^{ble} y^e Gouer^{er} Councill & house of Representatives in this P^{re}sents Sessions assembled & by y^e Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y^t aft^r y^e Publication of this Act y^t if any p^{er}son or persons Listed Und^r y^e Com^{mand} of any Cap^t or Commad^{er} in Cheif of y^e Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Viz^u) wth A Good & Sufficent muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers wth twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y^e Precise Training Days already p^{re}fixt as well as when there Respective Cap^{ts} or Com^{mand}ers in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth^{er} time or times as Shall by their s^d Command^{ers} be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj^{ties} Interest During y^e Times of Warr & if any p^{er}son or p^{er}sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores^d Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y^e Days Appointed for Training or Oth^{er} Meetings in Armes y^e Sum of Thre Shillings in money wth y^e Due Fees Arising thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y^e Sum of five Shilling wth y^e Due Fees Arising thereon to be taken by Distraint or otherwise as y^e fines for non appearance on y^e Training Days are to be Taken

....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted* That y^e Respective Cap^t & Com^{mission} officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow^{er} & authority during y^e time of their being in Armes on y^e training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth^{er} occasion w^hsoev^{er} to Punish any Private Sentinall y^t Shall Misbehave him self wth Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y^e wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y^e Discrefion of s^d Commision Officers notwthstanding y^e Afore recited Acts Relateing y^e militia it Shall be in y^e pow^{er} & Authority of y^e Cap^t & Com^{mission} officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P^{er}sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being wthin their list & y^t they Cannot bare arm's in y^e Times of Allarums &c y^t if y^e s^d p^{er}sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in makeing Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y^t may be Iudged Conuenient for y^e Preseruati^{on} of his maj^{estys} Interest y^t it Shall be then in y^e Pow^{er} of s^d Cap^{ts} or Com^{mission} officers as afores^d to remit y^e fine or fines Impo^{sed} for their not appearing in Arms according to y^e Afore p^{re}mised Act

fully resolve what the last quarterly meeting requested, by reason of the land given to set a meeting-house on was so nigh the common road, so that the subscribers desired that it might be exchanged for some higher up; it might be so this meeting might judge it convenient, that those Friends that the meeting appointed before, be yet continued to make a further progress in the premises, answerable to the meeting's request, and make return of what they do therein, at the next monthly men's meeting

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

at Portsmouth, on Rhode-Island, if may, without too much difficulty, or at furtherest, at the next men's meeting at [Newport](#), about 21st 5th mo., so that one of these meetings, in behalf of the quarterly meeting, may act and transact, as near as may be, to what the precedent quarterly meeting hath proposed in the premises, which monthly meeting, we also desire, to acquaint the next quarterly meeting what they do in the premises.

...

Inasmuch as the monthly men's meeting of Rhode-Island at Portsmouth, the 27th of the 2d mo. 1703, did encourage, upon their request, the Providence Friends getting their meeting house proposed to be built near Eleazer Arnold's, the major part collecting thereto being willing, the which matter is also approved by this meeting, understanding also, that it is generally agreed on amongst themselves, and now that the Rhode-Island monthly meeting takes notice and encourages the subscription in behalf and until the next quarterly meeting, &c.

1704

[Quaker](#) meetings began on [Nantucket Island](#).

The [Quakers](#) of [Rhode Island](#) built themselves a small meetinghouse, their 1st, near the Great Road in [Lincoln](#).³



It was in this year that Towne Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) acquired its name. (This street is now termed North Main Street from the Pawtucket line down to Market Square, and South Main Street from there down to India Street.)

3. I believe we can now infer, from the fact that the Quakers had not been able to erect their meetinghouse on a small plot of land which they had purchased nearer to the town of Providence, because they needed a meetinghouse that was 30 feet square, that it would have been the larger, two-story end of the present structure (the part to the right in the photo, that now measures about 29 feet 0 inches by 38 feet 8 inches by 28 feet 10 inches, inferred, by 38 feet 10 inches on the outside) that was erected at this time, and that it would be the smaller one-story kitchen shed structure (to the left, that now measures about 21 feet 10 inches by 25 feet 5 inches by 21 feet 9 inches by 25 feet 7 inches, inferred, on the outside) which would be tacked on in a later timeframe. Therefore the "kitchen" part of the Saylesville meetinghouse definitely would not have been the original part. It is way too small to meet their minimum space requirement. The fact that they needed a building 30 feet square minimum would mean they needed a footprint of 900 square feet minimum. The existing "kitchen shed" has at most a footprint of 526 square feet. That's way, way too small to meet the minimum size requirement that took them out to Saylesville in the 1st place! The ground floor of the larger room, however would give them a footprint of 1,122 square feet, which is comfortably more than the minimum 900 square feet they said they required. This older portion of the structure is now referred to as the oldest New England meetinghouse of the Friends that is still in continuous use (the qualifier "continuous use" needs to be inserted in order to acknowledge the existence of the Great Meetinghouse of Newport, Rhode Island, created in 1699, which came no longer to be used by the Friends in about 1905, and the qualifier "New England" needs to be inserted in order to acknowledge the existence of the Great Meetinghouse of the Third Haven Friends in Maryland, which has been in continuous use since shortly after August 14th, 1684).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

John Evans, Esquire, the new deputy governor, arrived in Pennsylvania, and would prove to be a young man of dissolute habits. With him came [William Penn](#), Junior, the only son of [William Penn](#) by his first wife. (Evans would pay little regard to the principles of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), calling for instance for the creation of a militia “to assist Queen Anne.” On one occasion he rode up and down the streets with his sword drawn, creating panic by calling out to the residents that “twelve French vessels were arrived, and were committing depredations, and soon would be up at Philadelphia itself!” People were throwing their silver into their wells only to discover that their young administrator had made the whole thing up in order to justify his appeals for the creation of a militia! After five years of scandal and a petition for his recall, the colonists would pack Evans back to England.)

In the Burlington, New Jersey monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), four young men acknowledged an error in judgment. Some crewmen had deserted from sailing ships and, it was feared, were about to do mischief locally. These four young men had taken their hunting rifles along with them when they had gone to round up these sailors and bring them to the town authorities, in hope that “the sight of the guns might fear them.” They asked their meeting for forgiveness for this error in judgment, pointing out in their own extenuation that no shots had actually been fired.

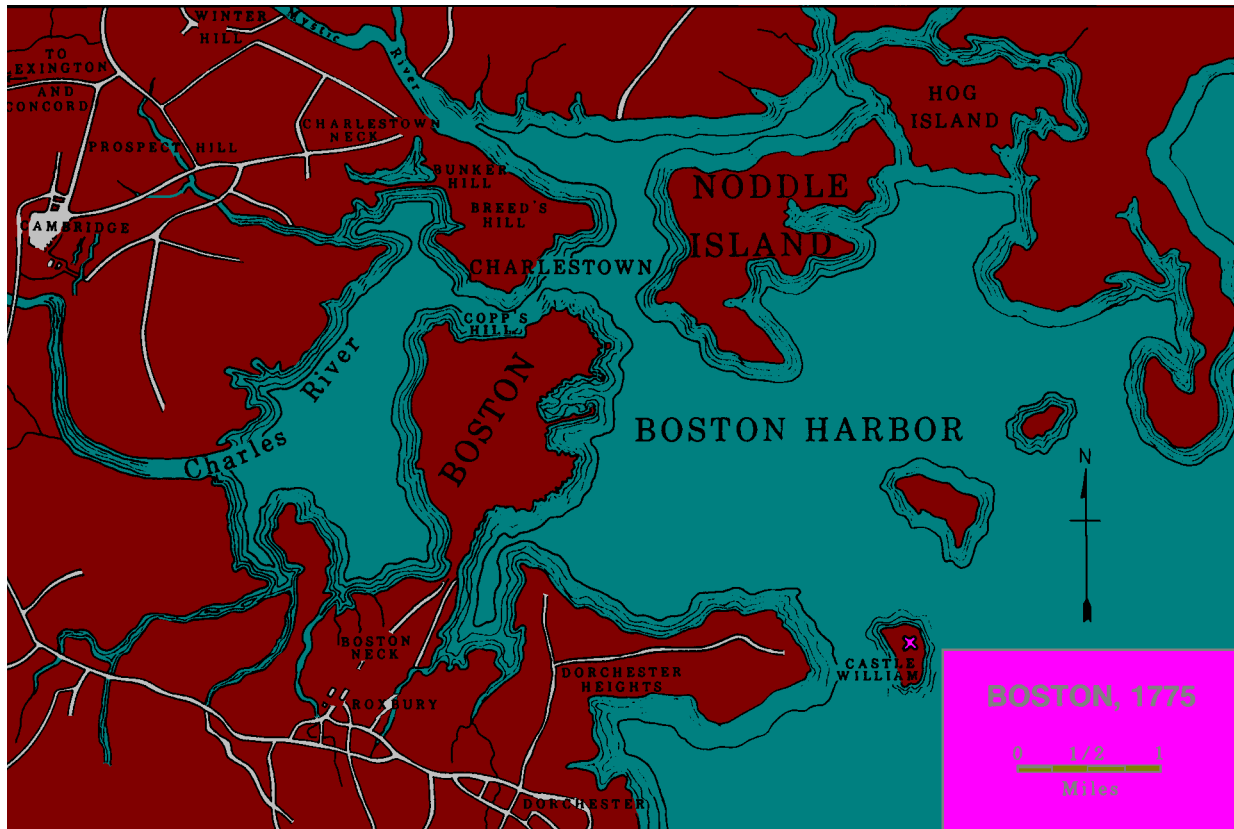
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January: Friend John Smith and another young militia refuser, Thomas Maccomber, were fined in Bristol. When they refused to pay their fines as an alternative to militia service, the magistrate attempted to hire them out at obligated labor for a period of four years. When no-one was willing to purchase this labor contract, the magistrate decided to keep them in the fort at Boston (Fort William on Castle Island?) and work them as “pioneers” for long enough to exact their fine and the incidental expenses. When questioned by the judge, Colonel Nathaniel Byfield, the two young men indicated that “it was not obstinacy, but duty to God, according to their consciences, and religious persuasions, which prevailed with them to refuse to bear arms or learn war.” While in the fort for a period in excess of four months, the two refusers received decent treatment.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entries for this month:

January : I ... The season was so very dark & Clowdy (as it had ben for many days) that the Doctor was f[a]ine to breake off his discourse abruptly, preaching out of his written notes: as they now generally did all over England & not as formerly, (& [as] yet in all other Countrys) they preach'd Memoriter, which whether so well, I leave to others to Judge: Reading much hindring Action, which we in English pulpits are defective in: In the meane time written sermons being more studyed & methodical, have likewise greate advantages: The Duke of Marlbery returned to Holland to concert matters with the States: The King of Spaine, landing at Portsmouth, came to Windsor where he was magnificently received by the Queen: & behav'd himself so nobly as every body was taken with his gracefull deportmen[t], after 2 days (having presented the greate Ladys & others with very valuable Jewells) he went back to Portsmouth & immediately Imbark[ed] for Spain with our Naval Guard.⁴

4. This is the Archduke Charles, later the Emperor Charles VI (1711); his father, the Emperor Leopold I had passed his claim to the Spanish throne to this son who styled himself King Charles III of Spain.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 16: ...My Lord Tressurer gave my Gr[and]Son, the office of Treasurer of the Revenue of the stamp parchment & paper: Sallary 300 pounds per annum.

January 19: [The publique fast, after the dreadfull storme, the Churches so crowded as few could get into them.]



April: A fleet of men-of-war anchored at Plymouth seized and attempted to impress as British navies two local [Quaker](#) sailors, Friends John Smith and Thomas Anthony. However, when there was a confrontation at sea with a French vessel, these men refused to perform any service. While they were being flogged, Friend John Smith prayed aloud for his persecutors. Finally, after a trip to England and back, after thirteen months, these resistant impressed sailors would be released back at the port of Plymouth.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

July 28: According to the journal of Friend Thomas Story, on the 28th 5 mo 1704 he “attended a yearly meeting, at [Warwick](#), at Benjamin Barton’s house, and continued by adjournment to the meeting house in Providence the next day, being the first day of the week.” Such a journal entry confirms that the [Quaker](#) meetinghouse at [Saylesville](#) near [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) was by this point fully in use.

5th 7th mo.: The records of the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) indicate that the new meetinghouse for [Providence](#) was just about completed in nearby [Saylesville](#):

Whereas it hath been proposed and agreed unto at several precedent quarterly meetings, for the encouraging the building a meeting house at Providence, and several Friends have contributed thereto already, and Friends there have been courageous and noble being but few, and have built a fair large meeting house for worship of God, and the burden lying pretty heavy on some particulars, they have expectation of further assistance from this meeting according to the first encouragement. This meeting agrees to make a subscription towards glazing and finishing said house, and that each monthly meeting appoint two Friends to encourage it in pursuance of the same, to be delivered to Thomas Arnold, Edward Smith and William

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Wilkinson, or to whom they shall appoint it for said use.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

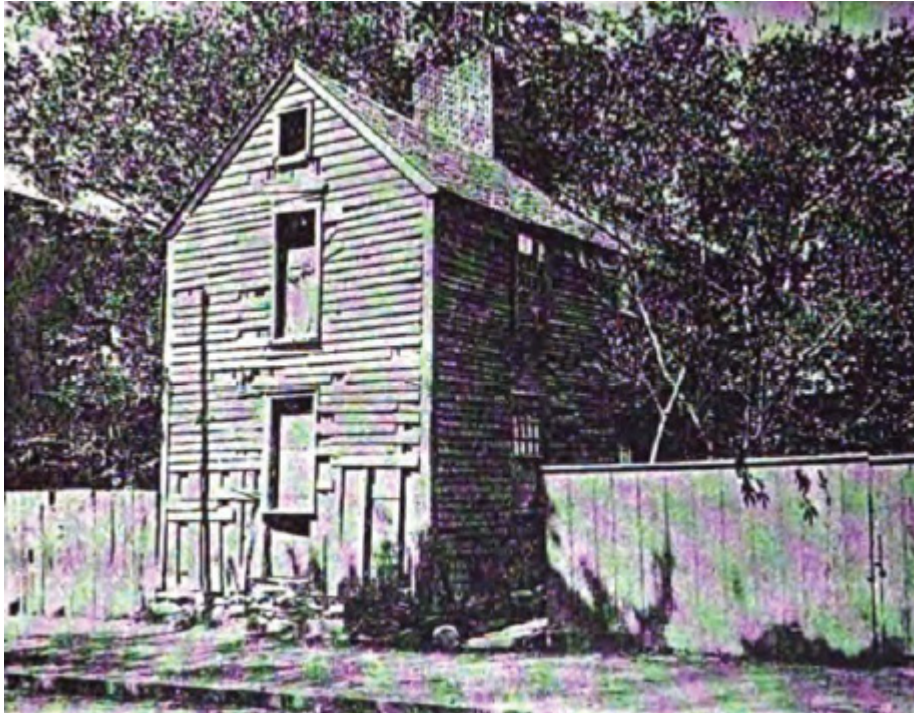
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Winter: This year had seen the formation of the Salem Quarterly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), a combination of the Dover, New Hampshire and the Salem monthly meetings.

1705

The [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Friends](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was enlarged “for the conveniency of the women’s meeting.”

[Providence](#) would use the back portion of this house as its jail from 1705 to 1733. The building was near the Benefit Street school.



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

In [Cranston, Rhode Island](#), [Quakers](#) began to meet in the homes of members. (In 1729 they would erect a Friends meetinghouse near Moshantatuck Brook on the present site of the Oakland Community Baptist Church of Cranston — they would also erect a small schoolhouse nearby.)

Governor Samuel Cranston of [Rhode Island](#) had some remarks to make about Negro Slavery.

GOV. SAMUEL CRANSTON

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Friend Esther Palmer, a [Quaker](#) missionary, visited Calvert and Ann Arundel counties in Maryland, and reported that earlier Quakers had “planted the theory of the Inward Light deeply and extensively” there.

The Anglican priest [George Keith](#), troubled former Friend, returned from America to England to take up new duties as rector in the parish of Edburton in Sussex. Try to stay out of trouble, dude. Please.

The Salem Quarterly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was established, and a Hampton monthly meeting, which was taking place on the border of New Hampshire, was authorized.

May: Friends John Smith and Thomas Anthony, [Quaker](#) sailors who had been impressed for service on a British man-of-war but had refused to provide any warlike assistance, were released at their home port of Plymouth. Recuperation from their 13 months of hardship at sea would be difficult.⁵

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry:

Very fine weather: The Baily of Westminster, hanged himself, he had an ill report, & indeede never was it known that so many made away with themselves as of these late yeares & age among us, among both men of quality & others:...



5. John Smith had been born in 1681 in Dartmouth, Massachusetts. After this experience with military induction he relocated to Philadelphia and settled in Kennett Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. His parents “professed the truth in the latter years” (presumably this means that the elder Smiths also became Friends). John Smith married first Ann Pusey, daughter of Caleb Pusey, on March 5, 1706/1707. In 1713 he relocated again, to East Marlborough, where the Society of Friends held meetings in his home (this would become the Londongrove Monthly Meeting). He married a second time, on August 6, 1726, with Dorothy Windle, and they had five children. He would write an account that would be published at least by 1800, entitled A NARRATIVE OF SOME SUFFERINGS FOR HIS CHRISTIAN PEACEABLE TESTIMONY BY JOHN SMITH, LATE OF CHESTER COUNTY, DECEASED, in which he would describe his resistance to being inducted in 1703 and again in 1705, and the abuse he had endured for this.

I have a record of a Thomas Anthony who was born to Joseph Anthony and Mary Waite Anthony on May 10, 1686 in Portsmouth, Rhode Island and died on April 26, 1707. Is this perhaps the other of the two impressed American sailors?



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1706

[Quakers](#) erected a new meetinghouse on the land of Edward Wanton on the North River at Scituate in the Bay Colony, in what has become “Norwell.”

[George Keith](#)'s A JOURNAL OF TRAVELS FROM NEW-HAMPSHIRE TO CARATUCK, ON THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA. BY GEORGE KEITH, A.M., LATE MISSIONARY FROM THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS: AND NOW RECTOR OF EDBURTON, IN SUSSEX.

10mo. 14th: An item of olden time extracted from the minutes of the Pennsylvania assembly by John Fanning Watson: The house met;⁶ the Speaker together with all the members present, took and subscribed the declarations and professions of faith⁷ prescribed by law.

6. John Churchman, a public [Friend](#), in his Journal, says, “I have understood that it was formerly a common practice for them (the Assembly) to sit in silence awhile, like solemn worship, before they proceeded to do business.” — He was writing in 1748.

7. The last paragraph of the declaration reads thus, viz. “And we, the said subscribing representatives, and each of us for himself, do solemnly and sincerely profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore. And we do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be given by divine inspiration.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:**18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM****1707**

The Philadelphia courthouse opened for public meetings. A board was ordained, of “Three peace makers, after the manner of common arbitrators, to be chosen by each county court, that they might hear and end all differences.” The first sheriff of Philadelphia was John Test. It was ordained, in order to repress extravagance, that “only two sorts of clothes should be worn; — one kind for summer, and one for winter.”





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[George Keith](#)'s THE MAGICK OF QUAKERISM OR, THE CHIEF MYSTERIES OF QUAKERISM LAID OPEN. TO WHICH ARE ADDED, A PREFACE AND POSTSCRIPT RELATING TO THE CAMISARS, IN ANSWER TO MR. LACY'S PREFACE TO *THE CRY FROM THE DESART*.

In the Pennsylvania colony there had been, since 1701, an opposition party led by Colonel Quarry of the customs, John Moore, and [Friend](#) David Lloyd. The letters of James Logan describe David Lloyd as "a close member among Friends, he is a discordant in their meetings of business, — so much so, that he expects a separation and a purging. This arises out of divisions in the government, — the young push for rash measures, — the old for Penn's interest."

March 7: [Stephen Hopkins](#) was born at the family's Mashapaug homestead, two miles southwest of the Weybosset Bridge on the West Side of [Providence](#) (not [Cranston](#)), [Rhode Island](#), "on Monday, the 24th of February, old stile, or in the present new stile, the seventh day of March, 1707." His mother, Ruth Wilkinson Hopkins, was a [Quaker](#), but not his father. His mother's father, Captain Samuel Wilkinson of Louisquisset, had been a Quaker, but not her mother. The biography prepared by William Eaton Foster in 1883, STEPHEN HOPKINS, A RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN, would contain a footnote on page 34 to the effect that "No record exists, however, showing any connection of Stephen Hopkins with the Society of Friends, as a member, until the year 1755," and an explanation on page 57 that "There is nothing to indicate positively the religious predilections of his father. We have only the negative probability that he was not a Friend. A Friend, however, his mother was, as has been noted; and Governor Hopkins himself, later in life, identified himself very completely with that body of Christians, even to the extent, to quote from [Moses Brown](#), his constant co-laborer, (and himself a Friend), of his having the Friends' meetings 'sometimes held in the winter at his dwelling-house.'" [Continuing in a footnote: "How late in life is not certain. His first and second wives were both Friends, but his second marriage only was solemnized in Friends' Meeting. ('Historical collections of the Essex Institute,' II. 120). It was at this time, says the same account, (p. 120), that 'he connected himself with the "Friends." Yet his first wife was of unbroken Quaker ancestry, whether herself a Friend or not. His first marriage was by a justice of the peace, and appears to have taken place 'at the house of the bride's father.' (Wilkinson Memoirs, p. 363. Governor Hopkins severed his connection with the Society of Friends in 1773. (Records of [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1773). For the circumstances of this occurrence see Chapter VIII., of this work."] In fact it seems that young Stephen would not connect with the Quakers until during his middle age he had lost in quick succession his dearly loved first wife and his two promising sons John Hopkins and Silvanus Hopkins (or, to put another possible face on this, until as a politician he needed to obtain support from among the Rhode Island voting Friends).

(It was also in this year that the oldest portion of the house that would become known as the "Stephen Hopkins House" in Providence, Rhode Island was erected. However, this house pertained to John Field, and Hopkins would not purchase it from him until age 36.)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1708

By this point the dwelling house that had been donated to the [Friends](#) of [Newport](#) by the former governor, Friend Nicholas Easton, that had functioned until the erection of the [Great Meetinghouse](#) nearby in 1699 as their 1st permanent place of worship and had been frequented by Friend George Fox, had been for several years in service as a stable.

In this year Colonel Robert Quarry made some remarks about [Rhode Island](#).

COLONEL ROBERT QUARY

Governor Samuel Cranston made an official response to the Board of Trade in England.

GOV. SAMUEL CRANSTON

[Friend Deliverance Smith](#), a selectman of [Dartmouth](#), refused to collect the tax for the maintenance of a "hireling minister" and would endure an extended period of imprisonment.



Deliverance Smith, a son of Ruhamah Kirby ... lived on his father's homestead place on Smith's Neck, where his descendants still live. He was an active member of the Friends' Meeting of Dartmouth. In 1702 he had charge of building an addition to the first meeting house at Apponegansett. In 1703 he was chosen at a monthly meeting "to enspect [*sic*] into the report considering Ebenezer Allen and abusing of an Indian called Jeremiah." And in the same year he was chosen by the meeting one of an inquisition "to inspect into the lives and conversation of Friends." In 1706 he was a Selectman and Assessor and refusing, for conscience sake, to assess the sum of sixty pounds annexed to the Queen's tax, for the maintenance of a hireling minister, was arrested by the Sheriff of Bristol, under order of the General Court at Boston, and committed to the County gaol at Bristol. "Friends having unity with him on his sufferings do appoint Benjamin Howland and Judah Smith to procure a hand to manage the said Deliverance Smith's business whilst he is in prison on the account of trouble, and friends engage him his wages and the monthly meeting to reimburse the same." The committee reported at a later meeting that they had employed James Russell "to look after Deliverance Smith's business for one month." The meeting agreed to appropriate "as much money out of stock as will pay the said Russell for this monthly work." At subsequent meetings it was provided "that Deliverance Smith don't [*sic*] want a hand to look after his business, he being still a prisoner on truth's account." John Tucker was appointed by the meeting to go to Boston "to see if he can get any relief for our friends who now remain prisoners with Deliverance Smith in the County Gaol of Bristol." At the meeting held first month, ninth, 1709, John Tucker reported that he had been to Boston and had succeeded in obtaining a release for the prisoners on condition that they paid the fees of the sheriff "which they could not do, therefore they are still continued prisoners." The



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

funds were raised, the sheriff satisfied, and Deliverance Smith and his imprisoned companions were released. "Thomas Taber, Junior, being a friendly man and a late prisoner with our friend, Deliverance Smith, and he behaving himself as becometh the truth, which he suffered for the time of his imprisonment, and friends having unity with him in his sufferings, do think it their Christian duty to contribute something towards the support of his family in the time of his late imprisonment." Only four months later Deliverance Smith was again in conflict with the constituted authorities for conscience sake. At some risk of boring you I will give in full the communication which he and his fellow sufferers addressed to the Dartmouth monthly meeting holden [*sic*] the fifteenth day of the sixth month, 1709. It is as follows:

Dear Friends and Brethren: Thinking it our Christian duty, and according to the good order of truth to give you the following account. Friends, on the ninth day of the third month last, in this present year, we whose names are underwritten, three of us being at the town house in Dartmouth, were impressed by John Akin of the train band, in the Queen's service, to go to Canada, and he required us to appear the next day at the house of Josiah Allen, to receive further orders. Accordingly we went to said Allen and when we came, our further order was to exercise in a warlike posture, and we told said Akin that we could not in conscience act in any warlike posture, nor use carnal weapons to destroy men's lives, who said he took notice of our answer and told us we might go home until further notice, which we did, and remained at or about the house until the eighteen th day of the month, and t hen being ordered to appear before Col. Byfield we went with William Soule, who was impressed by the above said Akin the 11th of the same month to go to Canada in her Majesty's service, and ordered to appear at the town house in Bristol on the 18th day of the said 3d month. So we went to Joseph Wanton's where we met with our friend William Wood who was going with his son William Wood to Bristol, for Robert Brownell came the 11th day of the 3d month 1709 and impressed his son to go to Canada in the Queen's service. Afterwards Nathaniel Soule warned him to appear at the town house in Bristol on the 18th day of the said 3d month. Then we considered the matter and thought it might be best for William Wood to leave his son there and go and speak in his son's behalf, which he did.

Then we went to Bristol together and appeared before Col. Byfield who asked us some questions, to which we answered that we could not for conscience sake act in a warlike posture to destroy men's lives, for in so doing we should offend God and incur his displeasure. And William Wood, junior, was called, his father spoke in his behalf, and Col. Byfield asked him if his son was a Quaker too, and he said it is against his mind to go to war, and he would not kill a man for the world. Then one that sat by said Byfield said "Take him!" and then he



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

took down William's name in his book. Then he put us all under command of Capt. Joseph Brown and charged us to march with him to Roxbury by the 25th of the said month, which charge we could not obey; but afterwards, he being more moderate, desired us to go down not in any warlike posture but to take our own time, so as to meet Capt. Brown at the Governor's at Roxbury, the said 25th of the month, which we finding freedom to do accordingly went thither and laid our cases before the Governor, Joseph Dudley, who was very kind and gave us our liberty to go home without demanding money of us, or we paying him any, in which liberty, through the goodness of God, we still remain your friends:

JOHN TUCKER
WILLIAM WOOD
JOHN LAPHAM, JR.
DELIVERANCE SMITH

Governor Dudley doubtless concluded that men who refused "to act in a warlike posture" would prove but indifferent recruits for her Majesty's army. The evident astonishment of the Friends that there was no demand for money from them indicates that official graft was not unheard of even in those early days.

The date of the birth of Deliverance Smith is not known. It must have been subsequent to 1659, in which year Deborah Howland, the first wife of John Smith, was living in Plymouth. Deliverance appears to have been the first child of John Smith's second marriage to Ruhamah Kirby of Sandwich. He died August 30, 1729, being probably about seventy years of age. Until the year of his death his name appears constantly in the records of the monthly meetings as one who was charged with the administration of the affairs of the meeting. He married Mary Tripp, the daughter of Peleg Tripp and Anne Sisson, of Portsmouth. Deborah Smith, the daughter of Deliverance and Mary, married Eliezer Slocum, a great grandfather of Anne Almy Chase.

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

[Friend William Penn](#) granted a new charter to the city of Philadelphia, by which the power of the overseers of the school system was expanded. In the future, the Pennsylvania proprietor would appoint a board of fifteen overseers. They, not the Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), would have the power to appoint their successors. The overseers, however, would need to be [Quakers](#).

QUAKER EDUCATION

The [Nantucket Island Quakers](#) had increased to 75 adults. (At this point life was not boring enough on the little island, so they began to hold monthly meetings for business.)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October 2: In [Providence](#), Eleazer Arnold made out a deed, to his son-in-law Friend Thomas Smith⁸ and others, of a 7-by-12-rod tract of land near his dwelling house, “on which stands a certain meeting house, of the people called [Quakers](#).”

8. At this point the town of Providence occupied the entire county of Providence, with the exception of Cumberland, so [Lincoln](#) would have been within its boundaries. This number of rods would amount to about half an acre. Friend Thomas Smith lived in [Providence, Rhode-Island](#) until he settled in the modern day Woonsocket area near Providence Road. The first permanent settler of Woonsocket had been Richard Arnold's son John Arnold, who by 1666 had established a sawmill at Woonsocket Falls. In 1712 John Arnold would build the 1st house in Woonsocket, on Providence Street (E. Richardson, HISTORY OF WOONSOCKET. Woonsocket RI: S.S. Foss, 1876). Friend Thomas's wife was Friend Phebe Arnold Smith, a daughter of Eleazer Arnold. After resettling in the Woonsocket area, Friend Thomas would sell a plot of land there for the establishment of the meetinghouse which the Quakers would erect in 1719 in what is now the Union Village district of North [Smithfield](#).

1709

When a French [privateer](#) had plundered Lewes' Town, and after several vessels had been plundered and burnt in the bay, the citizens of Philadelphia became concerned that their government protect them against such actions of war. The [Friends](#) generally held a majority in the civil rule of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the "hot church party" in favor of a public defense petitioned the queen of England, declaring that these Quakers, due to their passive principles, were unfit to be civil rulers.

Friend Benjamin Clarke donated just shy of ten acres to the Religious Society of Friends in Princeton, New Jersey for a meetinghouse and burial ground. Use of the property for a burial ground would begin immediately, but for the time being the society would continue to meet in the homes of its members.

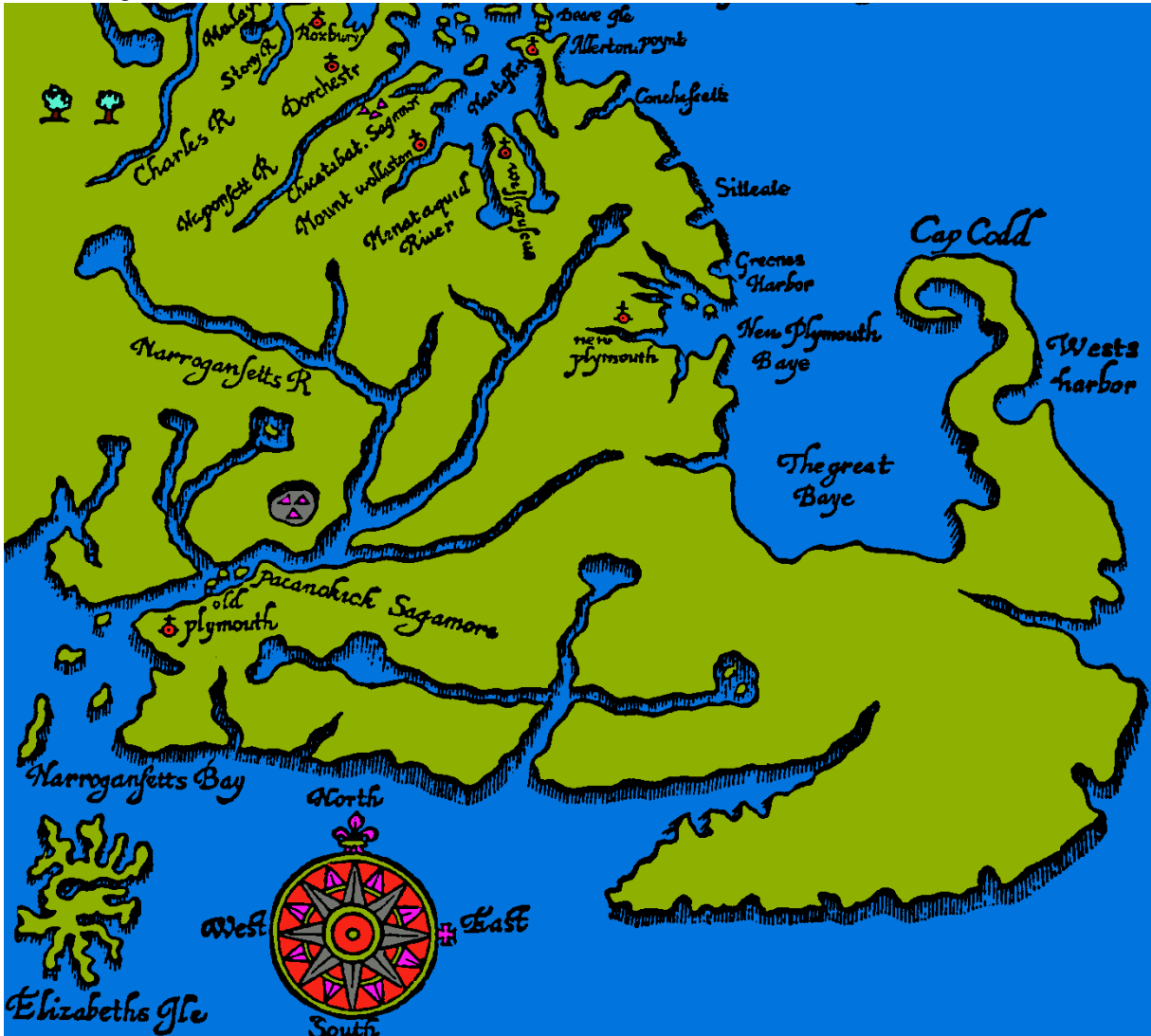
The [Friends](#) of Mountmellick in county Laois built their first meetinghouse. This is not it, but another meetinghouse that had been erected elsewhere in Ireland, in Ballitore, in the previous year:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The sachem of the [Narragansett](#) quit-claimed to the white colony all former Niantic land except a 64 square mile tract in what is now Charlestown, [Rhode Island](#). From the time of the creation of this reservation the Colony's legislature would exercise complete control over this tribe, although the hereditary sachem and council would continue to regulate many internal affairs until late in the 18th Century, when the last of that lineage died.



Narragansett settler Francis Brinley wrote to Sir Francis Nicholson, who had been instrumental in the foundation of Trinity Church in Newport, about his disdain for the [Friends](#) who were influential in [Rhode Island](#):

I could exceedingly rejoice if your honor could unite us under a government whereof you were supreme next under Her Majesty.... It is all the hopes I have by your honor's means to have a release of our slavery and ill treatment.... It is a Quaker mob government, the meanest sort role their betters. I much question whether two persons in the ruling part of their government can write true English or frame a writing in any methodical way. I know them all well and know their abilities. Some of our highest rank in authority cannot write, and some in authority



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

cannot read. We have now in our town of Newport three justices of three several trades, a shoemaker, a cooper and a carpenter, and each of them is a captain of a company, and the cooper is our general treasurer. We lie under great grievances and pressures and it is very hard upon us that we can have no remedy.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

1710

In Boston, the [Quakers](#) moved their meetinghouse from Brattle Street to a smaller building, at 33-35 Congress Street, where it would be possible for them to begin a burial ground. From 1710 to 1825, the Boston preparatory meeting would be at the corner of Quaker Lane opposite Exchange Place.⁹ Initially the building sat back on its lot some 30 feet from the street, but as Congress Street was widened over the years, eventually its front became flush with the widened street. It had an attached shed at one end, evidently for burial tools, and was surrounded by a high wood fence with a double gate in front, on Leverett's Lane.

Evidently, during this period the [Friends](#) worship group at Marshfield did not have a meetinghouse, as they were holding their monthly meetings for business at the home of John Rogers (not the English martyr John Rogers 1648-1721, advocate of nonresistance to evil, but a New England Quaker).

By this point the old dwelling house on Farewell Street in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), that [Friend](#) Nicholas Easton had donated, that had initially been used as a place of worship, that had been the meetinghouse used by Friend George Fox but which then had been put into service as a stable, was by this point entirely gone — for in this year Samuel Easton was petitioning the Quakers for permission to build a shop “where the old meeting house stood.”

GREAT MEETINGHOUSE

9. This structure would burn down in 1760 but would be immediately rebuilt, in pretty much the same configuration.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

A [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was built in [Conanicut](#) or [Jamestown, Rhode Island](#) (it is not the current meetinghouse structure and was not at the current location, but was on the north side of what is now Eldred Avenue, where a Quaker burying ground still exists: the meetinghouse would be moved to its present location in 1733, and the old structure would be replaced in 1786).



1711

[Friend William Penn](#) revised the 1708 charter to provide that the overseers of the Philadelphia school system need not be exclusively [Quakers](#). (The overseers would include James Logan, a Penn secretary who was acting lieutenant governor of the colony, Edward Shoppen, first mayor of Philadelphia and speaker of the Provincial Assembly, and Samuel Carpenter, the first treasurer of Pennsylvania.)

Meanwhile, in England, the disowned [George Keith](#), former head of the [Quaker](#) schools of Philadelphia, turned Anglican, was issuing his latest polemic, *THE MAGICK OF QUAKERISM CONFIRMED. IN ANSWER TO A BOOK OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD FALSLY CALLED THE POWER OF CHRIST VINDICATED AGAINST THE MAGICK OF APOSTACY.*

QUAKER EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

GEORGE WHITEHEAD

The [Religious Society of Friends](#) in Pennsylvania agreed with the righteousness of, and agreed to implement, the petition “against the traffic of menbody” with which they had been being struggling since 1688.¹⁰

“... the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, on a representation from the Quarterly Meeting of Chester, that the buying and encouraging the importation of negroes was still practised by some of the members of the society, again repeated and enforced the observance of the advice issued in 1696, and further directed all merchants and factors to write to their correspondents and discourage their sending any more negroes.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Bettle, "Notices of Negro Slavery," in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM. (1864), I. 386.

Two of the original four signers were still alive¹¹ and as far as the people of Pennsylvania were concerned, the days of [international slave trade](#) and of [slave](#) trading in general were **over**. Done done done. Been there done that got the T-shirt!

A meetinghouse for [Friends](#) was erected at the head of Hummock Pond on [Nantucket Island](#), not far from the Parliament House. This early meetinghouse was approximately 900 square feet.

10. Unfortunately, the [Quakers](#) of [Rhode Island](#) would not initially be in accord with this new sentiment against the traffic in menbody. Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#):



11. Refer to the poem "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim" by Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) about one of the four original signers of this petition, Francis Daniel Pastorius: "The world forgets, but the wise angels know."

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

By this year Proprietor [William Penn](#)'s senile dementia had become so advanced, that he was entirely unable to prosecute public business. Although he could still carry on a conversation, and would continue to attend Quaker meetings, his memory had gone. Therefore, his pecuniary interests in Pennsylvania, the New World colony named after him, were sold to another for £12,000.

This was [Friend](#) William's old Quaker meetinghouse in Chester, Pennsylvania:



October 15, Wednesday: Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia reported to his handler in England, Lord Dartmouth, that he was being "mightily embarrassed by a set of [Quakers](#)." In the face of a potential invasion of the colony by the French during the War of the Spanish Succession, they were refusing to do any military-related work, or to allow any of their servants to be employed on the colony's fortifications. Furthermore, they had declared that since their religion obligated them to feed their enemies, "if the French should come hither and want provisions, they must in conscience, supply them." He had, he reported, found it necessary "to put the laws of this country in execution against this sect of people, which empowered me to employ all persons as I shall see fit for the defense of the country in times of danger, and impose fines and penalties upon their disobedience."

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1712

In England, the Privy Council overruled the [Quaker](#) colonial legislature of Pennsylvania in order to allow continued importation of [slaves](#) to that colony.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In this year the colony of [Rhode Island](#) was able, potentially, to field a force of approximately 2,500 fighting men. John Wanton (1672-1740), who had been born into a [Quaker](#) family but had rebelled and become a colonel in the militia, in this year repented of his rebellion. He would become active, and in the future would minister, in the [Newport](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

This John Wanton had been a valiant colonel:
But now he has ceased from carnal wars and is employed
in Christ's service against the devil and his works.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

[Abraham Redwood](#), the father, arrived on the North American continent. We don't know whether he initially settled his family in Newport, in Salem, or somewhere between these two towns. However, we know that [Friend Abraham Redwood](#), the son, would grow up in [Newport](#) on [Rhode Island](#)'s [Aquidneck Island](#). As a young man may well have gotten his education in Philadelphia. Following the death of his father and his older siblings, he would come into immense wealth as the owner of the sugar plantation "Cassada Garden" in Antigua and its large population of [slaves](#).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Sir William Keith superseded Gookin as Governor of Pennsylvania.



He would continue in that office till the year 1726, making deceptive and flattering pretensions to young [Benjamin Franklin](#). [Hannah Penn](#), the executrix of the Penn estate, would be displeased with him as he tended to side with the people against her family's interest.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Friend William Penn suffered an attack of apoplexy which disabled him. He made his final will and it became obvious that in point of actual return on investment his estate in Europe was worth more than all his province of Pennsylvania. A previous will, done as of 1701, had directed that upon his death his black slaves were to be freed and in addition had endowed "old Sam" with 100 acres, but there was none of that in this final will. The old man left this estate in England and Ireland to William Penn II, his only surviving son by his 1st wife Gulielma Springett Penn. He left what remained of his estate in Pennsylvania after the sale of his proprietary interest to another, to the minor sons of his 2d wife Hannah Callowhill Penn, John Penn, Thomas Penn,



Richard Penn, and Dennis Penn, and made Hannah his sole executrix. She would become in effect all the colony had by way of a governor, ruling through deputies or lieutenant governors during the remainder of her sons' minority. She would instruct that the family's slaves be sold off.

31st of 6th Month: In Ireland, late in his 84th year, after having been ill for almost a month, William Edmundson died.

On the 4th of the said month he said to Friends present, "I find my legs fail me, and it is tedious to die upward," desiring that the Lord would make his passage easy. He requested that his will might be performed and the substance of his journal no way altered. And soon after said, "Lord Jesus Christ, thou great Physician, who canst cure me, look upon me. I had rather die than live." That night, being very ill and full of pain, he was desirous to go to bed, and when helped towards it, he kneeled down at the bed side and was enabled in the midst of his extremity to call upon God, to the comfort and satisfaction of Friends present, beseeching the Lord to abate in some measure the bitterness of the pain that lay on him, which in a great degree was answered. He got little sleep that night, yet he lay for the most part pretty easy and quiet. And towards morning, being in a very tender frame of spirit, he was truly thankful to God for his mercy and goodness and did bless, praise, and magnify his great name for the same, desiring those present to praise the Lord also on his behalf.

On the 5th day of the month, some Friends being in the room sitting quietly by him, he desired their prayers for him, for he was weak and not able to undergo much. Soon after, he got a



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

little sleep, and when he awoke, he besought the Lord to this effect, "Forget not thy wonted mercies, but mitigate these pains, if it be thy will, and stand not at a distance in this time of need, I pray thee, O Lord! Touch, one touch with thy finger and it cures all." A little after he ordered where his grave should be made and gave some advice and charges to his children.

On the 6th, he expressed to some Friends his concern and trouble of mind because of the pride and height that young people were gone into, far wide from the humility and plainness that truth led Friends into in the beginning, and said that one examples another therein, his spirit seeming burdened under a sense thereof. On going to bed, he renewed his supplication to the Lord not to forget his wonted kindness towards him.

On the 7th he said to his wife, "I am now clear of the world and the things of it."

To Friends who came to visit him that afternoon he said, "Friends, you would do well to retire to the Lord."

After a time of silent waiting, he prayed fervently to God to their great comfort. And though the extremity of his distemper was great, yet he bore it patiently. Friends from several parts coming to see him, he frequently declared his zealous concern for truth's prosperity and the promotion of its government in the churches of Christ, that not only those who were peculiarly concerned as elders in the discipline and oversight of the church should be rightly qualified and gifted for that service – men of truth, fearing God and hating covetousness, but also that all who were admitted into close communion as members of men's and women's meetings should be subject to truth and walk agreeable thereto in the whole course of their lives. When such came to visit him who had not been subject to those wholesome rules established in the church for good order and discipline, he did not spare to admonish and reprove them in the authority of truth for their good.

On the evening of the 10th, being in a heavenly frame of mind discernible to those near him, he spoke thus, "Heaven and earth, sea and dry land, and all things shall be shaken. Nothing must stand but what is according to the will of God. So look to it, Friends." And some time after, "I lie here under pain and would gladly be removed, but I am like one that pursues death and it flees from me, although I see not wherefore my time should be prolonged, my natural parts being decayed, neither do I see anything left undone which the Lord required of me when I had strength and ability, or that the Lord chargeth me with any neglect or transgression."

On the 18th, as he lay, he spoke thus to some present, "I have something to say to you, if you have ears to hear it. The spirit of vanity is let loose, the Lord suffers it, and it is like to make a separation." At another time he said to some intimate Friends present, "There are wonderful things to be done. The Lord hath a mighty work to do that must be gone through, and there be few that see through it."

Several other weighty expressions dropped from the mouth of our dear, ancient Friend in the time of his sickness, some of which are inserted in the testimonies given forth by Friends who visited him near his end and were eye and ear witnesses thereof. Though many of his last sayings were not committed to writing,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

yet what is here collected may demonstrate his zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of Zion to his latter end. After about one month's sickness and pain of body, which was sharp to bear at times, having run the race with patience and kept the faith, he departed this life in sweet peace with the Lord, in unity with his brethren, and goodwill to all men....

4th of 7th Month: The body of [William Edmundson](#) was interred at the [Friends'](#) burial place at Tineel, Ireland.

1713

On [Nantucket Island](#), [Friend](#) Tabitha Trott Frost incautiously married again, to a Dr. Joseph Brown, despite the fact that her previous husband, a [privateer](#), had been considered lost at sea for only a few years. The absent husband, John Frost, would turn up shortly, leading to a charge of bigamy against the wife. Friend Tabitha had not been disowned when her husband became a privateer in defiance of the Peace Testimony and had not been disowned for marrying a non-Quaker, but this was her third strike and she was out! She would be [disowned](#) by the Nantucket monthly meeting, and would move with her new husband the doctor to [Newport, Rhode Island](#). This is on record as the first disownment ever, in the Nantucket meeting. Tabitha's mother would in shame no longer seat herself on the special bench for the meeting's elders.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Again Friend Richard Estes of Boston had been refusing to pay the tax that supported the Puritan minister, and again the authorities came to confiscate his assets. This time it was "4 bushels and odd of Indian corn" valued at £1 and three pence. Action against members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who refused to pay this poll tax seems to have been sporadic.

[Uncle Benjamin Franklin](#) wrote his 7-year-old nephew [Benjamin Franklin](#) a poem in praise of his early writing. There is an anecdote from this year, about blowing bubbles with soap suds by the use of a tobacco pipe. There is an anecdote from this period, of Benjamin's keeping pigeons. Young Benjamin was teaching himself geography while his father was making family prayers, by sneaking peeks at four large maps that were hanging on the parlor walls of the home. "As his father was accustomed to precede all his meals with long prayers, and even to say grace over every particular dish, he [[Benjamin](#)] was desirous to correct this folly by means of the following sally of wit: Old Franklin, one day, at the beginning of winter, being busied in salting provisions; 'Father,' says his son, 'you ought to ask a blessing, once for all, upon the whole cask of provisions, as it would be a wonderful saving of time!'" William Temple Franklin evidently has adapted this, for he has written as follows: "Dr. Franklin, when a child, found the long graces used by his father before and after meals very tedious. One day after the winter's provisions had been salted, — 'I think, Father,' said Benjamin, 'if you were to say Grace over the whole cask —once for all— it would be a vast saving of time.'"

In Boston in this year, there was a 2-month epidemic of measles.

January 31: [Antoine Bénézet](#) was born to a [Huguenot](#) family in Saint-Quentin in Picardy in northern France.

WIKIPEDIA'S LIST OF HUGUENOTS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

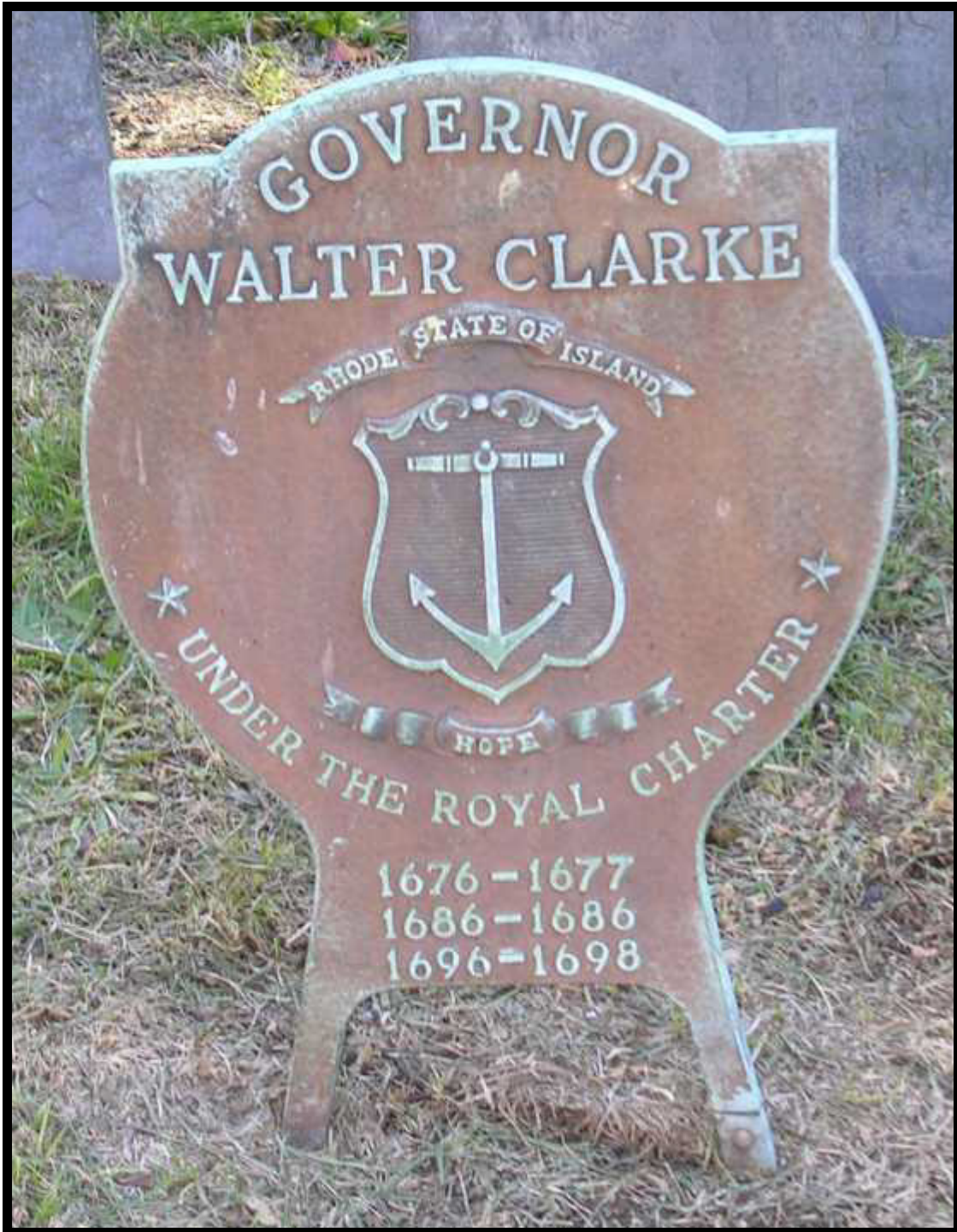
1714

May: [Walter Clarke](#) died. He would be buried in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). Since no gravestone remains, but merely a memorial plaque placed later, I am left with no way to decide among the various claims that he died on the

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

22d, versus the 23d, versus the 28th of May:



(Perhaps an examination of [Quaker](#) records will eventually establish the exact date.)

26th of 8th Month: In Dublin, Ireland, [Friend](#) John Stoddart evaluated the life of Friend [William Edmundson](#).

And now the glorious Gospel is again preached in and to them



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

that dwell upon the earth so that all may fear God and give glory to his name and worship him who made heaven and earth, the seas and fountains of water. And the Lord hath endued many with power from on high and sent them forth, as he did his messengers formerly, to direct and turn people's minds from darkness to light and from Satan's power to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus. Many have received the glad tidings of peace and salvation freely preached to them by the Lord's ministers in the authority of the Spirit and power of God in this mighty day of the Lord which is again revealed. He is come nigh to judgment, that the prince of this world may be cast out of the temple in which he had exalted himself and been worshipped as God. The kingdom of God is come, and coming more and more, and the power of his Christ is exalted in the hearts of many, whose right it is to reign. And though the devil and his angels war against him, and for a season be suffered to prevail in dark places of the earth so as to destroy the bodies of some of the followers of Christ, yet the Lamb and his followers shall have the victory, and the devil and his angels must be cast into the lake that burns for ever.

The Lamb's warfare is not for the destruction of men's lives, but of sin, the works of the devil in men. And the weapons of his followers are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. Howbeit the Lamb, who is also the Lion of the tribe of Judah, hath power to rule the nations with a rod of iron. Therefore blessed are they that abide with and follow the Lamb through tribulations, in faith and patience, until they overcome and have their garments washed and made white in his blood, for they shall reign with him for ever. Of this number, we have cause to believe that this worthy servant of the Lord, William Edmundson, author of the ensuing journal, was one.

He was early visited with the inshining of the glorious light of this Gospel day in his own heart, whereby his state was often opened to him, though for a time he did not understand what it was that so enlightened him. He was left an orphan when young and thereby exposed to hardship. And after he grew up, he went into the army and continued a soldier some time under the parliament in the late civil wars in England and Scotland. Being religiously inclined he grew weary of that manner of life and delivered up his charge, returning towards his native place in England. Having been before contracted to a young woman in Derbyshire, he married her, and soon after came into the nation of Ireland with an intention to settle and trade. But he was under inward affliction upon his soul's account.

In a little time he went again to England to buy more goods, and being in the northern part among his relations, having an inclination in his mind, he went with two of them to a meeting of the people called Quakers, where, by the ministry of some of the said people, both he and his two relatives were convinced of the way of life. His understanding being opened by the truth, he then perceived that it was the Lord by his Holy Spirit who had been at work in his heart from his youth up. Wherefore he gave up to its manifestations and loved the Lord's judgments,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

because of sin, until he was purified and prepared thereby to be a partaker of mercy and a chosen vessel for the Lord's service.

Returning again to Ireland and being made willing to bear the cross of Christ, he soon met with various trials for the truth's sake and had the greater exercise, because there was not then any of the people called Quakers in that nation to have conversation with. His behaviour and deportment so reached both his wife and brother that they were soon convinced of the truth and willing to meet with him in his own house to worship God in spirit, though in outward silence, having refreshing seasons together in the presence of the Lord. And in a little time four more joined with him. About this time John Tiffin, a servant of the Lord, came over from England, who was a strength and comfort to Friends. Several were convinced and added to their number.

The Lord was pleased to open the mouth of our said Friend, William Edmundson, in the testimony of Jesus; and being faithful, his gift for the ministry was enlarged so that he became an able minister of Christ Jesus, skillful in dividing the word of righteousness, plain and powerful in preaching, sound in doctrine, and profound in the mysteries of God, which were largely communicated to him. As a faithful steward and good scribe instructed into the kingdom, he, by direction of his Lord and Master, brought out of his treasury things new and old, suitable to the service required of him, for the glory of God and good of souls. Being willing to spend and be spent in doing the will of him that called him and not counting his life dear to himself so that he might finish the service and charge committed to his trust with joy, but being sensible of the Lord's call thereunto, he gave up cheerfully to follow the Lamb through many tribulations which attended for his testimony's sake.

He preached the Gospel of Christ freely in this nation in which he lived and suffered persecution, being often imprisoned in divers places. Once he spent about fourteen weeks in a close nasty dungeon among felons and malefactors, where he was almost stifled. He was frequently stocked, reviled, abused, and his goods made havoc of by covetous men. He also went many times into England, laboring in the work of the Gospel in divers parts, and three times into the Islands and English plantations in America, going the warfare at his own cost, that the Gospel might not be chargeable. He endured hardship as a good soldier of the Lamb, approving himself a faithful minister of Christ in much patience in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses for the Gospel's sake, in watchings, in fastings, in weariness and painfulness, by pureness, by knowledge, and by the power of God in his ministry, of which he had many seals in this nation and England and in the Islands of America, whom he had been instrumental in converting to God.

He was in journeys often, in perils by sea and land, and in the wilderness, both by wild beasts and bloody men in the time of the Indian wars in America, and by robbers in this nation in the time of the late calamity, who burnt his house and carried him away with his two sons, almost naked in the winter season, to kill them. But after much hard usage for several days, they were all three, by the good providence of God, delivered out of their hands.

This our ancient Friend had also exercise and grief by false



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

brethren that opposed the testimony given him of the Lord to bear for his name, and he was not without affliction from some of his own offspring. Yet out of all the Lord delivered and preserved him faithful to a good old age, through good report and evil report so that near the conclusion of his time he could say that the Lord was his song and his strength. He was strong and courageous in the Lord's work and service, even after a decay came upon the outward man by reason of age and infirmities, being sound and clear in his understanding to the last.

As he had an excellent gift for the ministry, he was also endued with a large understanding and gift for government and religious discipline in the church of Christ. And having a discerning spirit, he stood firm in his zeal against those things that opposed the good order into which the Lord had gathered his people, and such men as under fair pretense would open a gap for false liberty. The care of the churches was upon him, especially in this nation where he lived and labored many years both in doctrine and discipline. And as an elder that ruled well, he was esteemed highly by the faithful for his work's sake. Temperate he was in eating and drinking, decent and plain in apparel, in discourse weighty, being mostly concerning the things of God tending to instruction and edification. His countenance and deportment were manly and grave, expressing a noble and religious disposition of mind.

He was a loving husband, a careful and tender father, a firm friend and kind neighbor, given to hospitality, and though it was often his lot to be separated from his wife and children for the Gospel's sake, yet he ordered his affairs with discretion so that there might be no want in his family, either of commendable employment or necessities. But his greater concern and labor was for the public good of the churches and promoting the government of Christ Jesus therein, for which he was zealous to the end, as appears by divers expressions from him a little before his departure, some of which follow as a supplement to the ensuing journal. And when upon due consideration with reflection on past time he was persuaded that his day's work was done, he humbly desired, in submission to the will of God, to be dissolved and be with Christ, to rest from his labor and affliction of body that attended, which in the Lord's time was granted him.

To conclude concerning this our well-beloved friend and elder, who by faith hath obtained a good report and whose memorial is and shall be blessed among the righteous, I refer the reader to a serious perusal of his following journal and those testimonies given forth by faithful Friends and brethren concerning him, with sincere desire, that the blessing of God may so attend thy reading as to excite thee to a faithful improvement of thy time and the gift of grace bestowed on thee through Christ Jesus so that thy latter end may be peace, and thy future state eternal happiness. So in Christian love I remain thy well-wishing friend,

John Stoddart.

Dublin, the 26th of the Eighth month, 1714.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

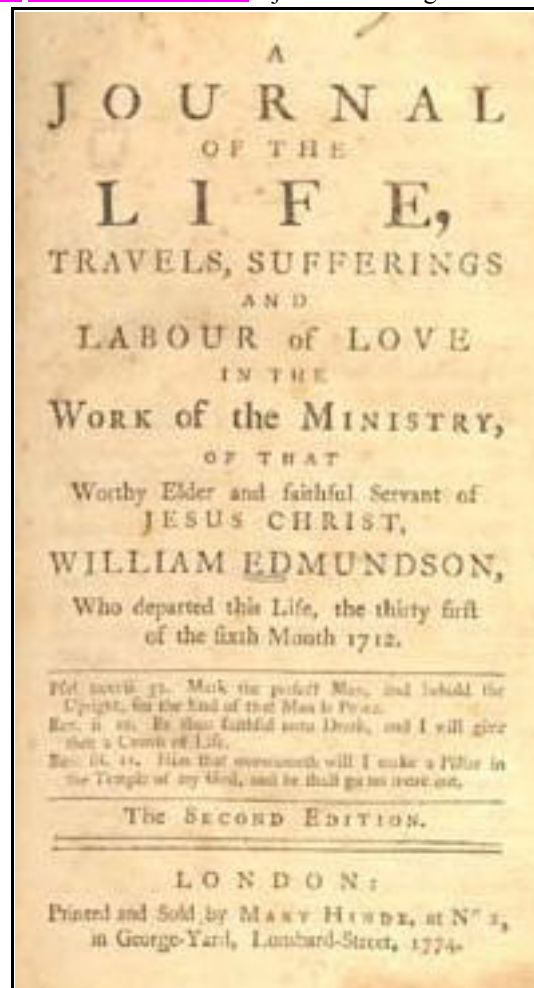
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1715

King Louis XIV died and Louis XV ascended the throne of France.

While [Antoine Bénézet](#) was a 2-year-old, his family emigrated from France to London. As “[Anthony Benezet](#),” this [Huguenot](#) child would receive an English education appropriate for a scion of a merchant family.

First publication of [Friend William Edmundson](#)’s journal of the great race war of 1675/1676.



He offered the “remarkable” factoid, that

The inhabitants of the peaceloving settlement on Rhode Island itself remained safe, and not a settler thereon received personal injury.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Those [Quakers](#) who had trusted in God, according to Friend William, had been utterly safe; only those who refused to place their trust in The Almighty had been subjected to devastation. He alleged that the native Americans had had no “incitement” to kill [Rhode Island](#)’s members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), since they had known very well that they were being “guided by principles of peace” and were interested in the “welfare of the natives.”

**A
JOURNAL
OF THE
LIFE,
TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS
AND
LABOR OF LOVE
IN THE
WORK OF THE MINISTRY,
OF THAT
Worthy Elder and faithful Servant of
JESUS CHRIST,
WILLIAM EDMUNDSON,
Who departed this Life, the thirty first
of the sixth Month 1712.**

[In] ... Rhode-Island, where great Troubles attended Friends by Reason of the Wars ... and the People, who were not Friends, were outrageous to fight: But the Governor [of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations] being a Friend (one Walter Clark) could not give Commissions to kill and destroy Men.

This is the sort of faithful reconstruction that, of course, people wanna believe. Peter Brock believed this tale, for in his *PACIFISM IN THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE COLONIAL ERA TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR* (Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1969, page 35) he swallowed the hook, the line, and the sinker, even himself adding a detail not present in [Friend William Edmundson](#)’s reconstruction, the detail that when this public friend had been traveling up and down the Rhode Island countryside in the midst of the race war, when this countryside was “infested by hostile Indians on the warpath,” the party had been “travelling without weapons”.¹²

So far as the somewhat exiguous record indicates, Friends –with a few exceptions– remained loyal to their peace testimony despite the temptation to resort to arms in self-defense, and their peaceable demeanor seems on most occasions to have been recognized by the Indians, who left them alone. During King Philip’s War (1675–1676), for instance, we hear of the visiting minister,

12. Incautious readers of William Bartram’s travel narrative, also, would come to the impression that he had been traveling alone without weapons, dealing peacefully with menacing Indians and menacing alligators, since he mentions no weapons and mentions no companions — while in fact he had been armed, and while in fact he had been always accompanied by an armed escort.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

William Edmundson (1627-1712), traveling without weapons up and down the country, which was then infested by hostile Indians on the warpath. Despite frequent scalplings of whites and the burning of homesteads, the unarmed Quakers whom he visited were apparently not harmed.

It is now clear, however, that this had been wanna-believe stuff — not so much a history of [Rhode Island](#) as a history of Fantasy Island.



"The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples."



— Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

1716

An aged former colleague of [Friend James Nayler](#), Friend George Whitehead, disregarded the wishes of Friend George Fox in order to publish *A COLLECTION OF SUNDRY BOOKS, EPISTLES AND PAPERS, WRITTEN BY JAMES NAYLER, SOME OF WHICH WERE NEVER BEFORE PRINTED, WITH AN IMPARTIAL RELATION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO HIS LIFE*. (Although Friend George's selection is commonly misdescribed as *WORKS* by current historians, in actuality much of Friend James's [Quaker](#) pamphleteering had been omitted in deference to the sensitivities of the 18th-Century reader.)

GEORGE WHITEHEAD

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

As an example of an acknowledgement of [Quaker disownment](#), and penitence hopefully leading to reinstatement in the community, here is a statement having to do with a premarital pregnancy that was duly received and placed on file in this year at the Kennett monthly meeting:

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

To the Monthly Meeting, &c. Inasmuch as it hath been requested of me why I was not married according to the order used among us, my reasons are great. I would I had them not to excuse myself in this behalf, they are so plain and so manifest, having been unlawfully concerned with her that is now my wife before marriage. For the which deed I am right sorry as God knows. This I give forth for the clearing of Friends and the Truth. As witness my hand, T.S.¹³

The [Quaker](#) meetinghouse on [Nantucket Island](#), erected in 1711, was expanded at this point so that it would seat the more than 300 [Friends](#) who desired to take part in silent worship. At this point some Quakers of the [Newport, Rhode Island](#) community were engaging in the “[triangular trade](#),” involving as one of its legs the bulk manufacture of rum and as another of its legs the [international slave trade](#),¹⁴ and some black [slaves](#) were present on Nantucket, where at least one Quaker, Friend Stephen Hussey, was a [slaveholder](#). During this year an Englishman, Friend [John Farmer](#), was making a missionary tour of the colonies attempting to persuade us that chattel slavery was “not in agreement with Truth.” Winning the support of Friend Priscilla Starbuck Coleman, Friend John was able to persuade the monthly meeting on the island into a minute depicting enslavement as immoral. It was “not agreeable to Truth for Friends to purchase slaves and keep them for a term of life.”¹⁵ This declaration made the Nantucket monthly meeting the 1st group of Friends anywhere in the world to disavow human enslavement, but it would seem that the island’s Quakers would fall back somewhat from their commitment to racial fairness, for some sixteen years, while Friend John’s success on the island

13. Quoted in Ruth M. Pitman, “Structures of Accountability,” *QUAKER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT* #60 (Summer 1985), pages 34-35.

14. Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#):



15. Refer to Friend Henry J. Cadbury’s *JOHN FARMER’S FIRST AMERICAN JOURNEY*, published in Worcester in 1944.

[HDT](#)

[WHAT?](#)

[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

would not be matched by any great success on the mainland of the American colonies — in fact, in the Philadelphia meeting, he would be put under dealing (visited by an official committee and struggled with), and he would, eventually, be publicly disowned by the Friends. Furthermore, the Friends in England would honor the American disownment, so that Friend John would come to be regarded as troublesome on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

Flushing [Quakers](#) who would speak out against slavery would include Friend Horseman Mullenix and Friend Matthew Franklin, who would come with another antislavery Friend John, an American one, Friend [John Woolman](#) (not yet born), when he would travel on Paumanok Long Island and visit their monthly meeting to speak against [slavery](#).



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

26th of 1st month (that would be March, in the non-Quaker calendar): Daniel Gould died in his home in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) at an age of about 90. His body would be buried in the Friends Burying Ground near the Great Meeting House.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:**18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM**

March 27: [George Keith](#), who had been serving as a rector at the parish of Edburton in Sussex, England, died at the age of about 77. Soon after his death, his will would be published in London as *THE WILL OF MR. GEORGE KEITH — EDBURTON, IN SUSSEX, OCTOBER THE 28TH, 1710*. An allegation would circulate that on his deathbed he had expressed a wish that he might have died while still a [Quaker](#). (A stone memorial in the churchyard describing him as “Rector 1705-16” is of much more recent creation.)



1717

The Boones, a [Quaker](#) family, came over from Devonshire to Pennsylvania colony to join one member of the family, Squire Boone, who was already in Philadelphia. Later they would relocate to Frederick County, Virginia, and then to [North Carolina](#) and then to Kentucky.

To accommodate the annual New England [Yearly Meeting](#), the Friends meetinghouse in Flushing on Paumanok Long Island needed to be enlarged — there was attendance by more than 1,000 [Quakers](#).



HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The 2d disownment in the [Nantucket Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) occurred when Friend Stephen Hussey and Friend Stephen Coffin, Jr. became embroiled in a dispute over the ownership of some land. Rather than follow the established practice, that such disputes were to be resolved by the meeting rather than by resort to civil courts, Friend Hussey took the case to law. He even would have some of the [Quaker](#) selectmen taken under arrest. A Quaker elder, Jethro Starbuck, would be appointed to mediate, and when this mediation would not be successful, Friend Hussey would be [disowned](#). The disownment would occur during Hussey's 82d year.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

The old [Quaker](#) would send his son George to study the law at Harvard College, the intent being to achieve the destruction of the Nantucket Proprietary that had ruled against him, but this son would be expelled from Harvard — after having, crime of all crimes, been discovered during an election-day revel attired as a woman.

The [Newport, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) expressed concern over the importing and keeping of [slaves](#) from the West Indies and elsewhere.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

1718

Early in this year the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), which consisted of Providence and Mendon meetings, was set off from the [Greenwich](#) Monthly Meeting. (Their silent worship was being held in the older part of what is now the [Saylesville](#) meetinghouse, which had been erected in 1703. This name would be changed, in 1731, to "[Smithfield](#) monthly meeting.")

[Friend](#) William Burling, a member of Flushing Meeting, published one of our nation's 1st antislavery addresses.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

8th of 5th month: The widowed Wait Coggeshall Gould died at the age of 84 years. Her body would be buried by the side of her husband in the Friends Burying Ground near the Great Meeting House of [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

1719

Members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who objected to swearing were allowed to make a declaration of fidelity to [Rhode Island](#) in place of taking an oath of allegiance to the colony. This did not resolve the matter of swearing oaths, however, as Friends were still routinely harassed by officials demanding that they take oaths when summoned for jury duty, etc.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In [Rhode Island](#) during this year, the [Quakers](#) began construction of another meetinghouse, at [Woonsocket](#) (this district has now long been separated from [Providence](#), and has become North [Smithfield](#)).



(This new meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was only a 20X20 structure. It would be enlarged in 1755 through the addition of a 20X30 ell. That ell would be removed in 1775 in order to add an additional 32 square feet. In 1849 the building would be remodeled, and in 1881 it would burn.)

10th mo.: A minute by the [Greenwich](#) monthly meeting for business of [Quakers](#), dated December 1719:

Whereas, this meeting has had a matter in consideration, about building a meeting house at [Woonsocket](#), on the burying ground lately purchased; to build a meeting house twenty feet square, and John Arnold was appointed to build the same, the height thereof left to him.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[SMITHFIELD](#)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1720

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

"Whereas E.F. hath made Profession of Truth several years, but by giving too much opportunity of Familiarity and Conversation on account of Marriage with A.B. who for committing Uncleaness with a young Woman, and afterwards refusing to marry her according to Justice, was testified against and disowned to be of us the People called Quakers, hath suffered herself, in a disorderly manner, to be joyned unto the said A.B. as his Wife, to the defrauding of the said young Woman of her Right, being yet Unmarried; we do hereby declare, that the said E.F. by her so going hath gone out of Fellowship with us the said People, and we cannot own her to be of our Society, until, by unfeigned Repentance, she obtain Mercy of the Lord, which that she may is our sincere Desire."¹⁶

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Squire Boone and Sarah Morgan were wed at the [Friends'](#) meetinghouse in Gwynedd, Pennsylvania. (Both the Boones and the Morgans were members of the [Gwynedd monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends](#).)

It would have been at some point in this timeframe that a young slave of the Ashanti of Ghana, of Akan ancestry, was purchased by 40-year-old [Friend](#) Ebenezer Slocum of Dartmouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. His new [Quaker](#) slavemaster allowed him to retain his name — Kofi.

PAUL CUFFE

That was **so** considerate. **Goood** Quaker slavemaster!

It has been asserted that Kofi had already been a slave, in Africa:

Sometime during the late 1720s, Ebenezer Slocum, a resident of Dartmouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, purchased Kofi, a young Ashanti slave of Akan ancestry. Kofi, also a slave in Africa, quickly discovered that the conditions of slavery in his West African homeland were drastically different than in the colonies; Ashanti slaves could marry, own property, participate in legal proceedings and even inherit their master's lands. Little is known about Kofi's formative years, but evidence suggests that he received an education in Quaker values while serving the Slocums.

16. QUAKER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT #60 (Summer 1985), pages 131-132.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October 19: [John Woolman](#) was born in Ancocas (now known as Rancocas and near Northampton) in the colony known as New Jersey (named after the Isle of [Jersey](#), in the English Channel), part of the large family of Samuel and Elizabeth (Burr) Woolman. He would attend a neighborhood [Quaker](#) school. He would be put out as apprentice to a tailor, and this would be chiefly how he would earn his livelihood. For the most part he would be self-educated.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington County, West Jersey, in the year 1720. Before I was seven years old I began to be acquainted with the operations of divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read nearly as soon as I was capable of it; and as I went from school one day, I remember that while my companions were playing by the way, I went forward out of sight, and sitting down, I read the twenty-second chapter of Revelation: "He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb," etc. In reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation which I then believed God had prepared for His servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my memory. This, and the like gracious visitations, had such an effect upon me that when boys used ill language it troubled me; and, through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from that evil.

The pious instructions of my parents were often fresh in my mind, when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of use to me. Having a large family of children, they used frequently, on First-days, after meeting, to set us one after another to read the Holy Scriptures, or some religious books, the rest sitting by without much conversation; I have since often thought it was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been, in past ages, people who walked in uprightness before God in a degree exceeding any that I knew or heard of now living: and the apprehension of there being less steadiness and firmness amongst people in the present age often troubled me while I was a child.

I may here mention a remarkable circumstance that occurred in my childhood. On going to a neighbour's house, I saw on the way a robin sitting on her nest, and as I came near she went off; but having young ones, she flew about, and with many cries expressed her concern for them. I stood and threw stones at her, and one striking her, she fell down dead. At first I was pleased with the exploit, but after a few minutes was seized with horror, at having, in a sportive way, killed an innocent creature while she was careful for her young. I beheld her lying dead, and thought those young ones, for which she was so careful, must now perish for want of their dam to nourish them. After some painful considerations on the subject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds, and killed them, supposing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miserably. In this case I believed that Scripture proverb was fulfilled, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I then went on my errand, and for some hours could think of little else but the cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled. Thus He whose tender mercies are over all His works hath placed a principle in the human mind, which incites to exercise goodness towards every living creature; and this being singly attended to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but when frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes shut up in a contrary

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

disposition.



1723

[John Bartram](#) married Mary Maris, daughter of Richard & Elizabeth Hayes Maris, sister of Elizabeth Maris who was married by James Bartram, John's brother, according to the manner of [Friends](#) (she would die during April 1727 and John would remarry).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM


A new meetinghouse for the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was built in Lynn, replacing the old meetinghouse that had been erected in about 1678, on Broad Street opposite Nahant Street.



[Friend](#) James Logan, Mayor of Philadelphia, perceiving that his maturing “Negro boy” was beginning to show some unnatural “inclinations to the wrong Colour” (to wit seeming to pay attention to some female of other than African descent), took immediate action to rectify the situation. He sold his young [slave](#) south.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 October: The indentured apprentice [Benjamin Franklin](#), beginning a lifetime of free thinking and of thinly disguised or quite blatant opportunism, walked away from his obligations to his elder half-brother [James Franklin](#) in Boston, moving to the city where brothers love one another, called Philadelphia. (In this year he also abandoned his vegetarian principles.)

Thus it was that in the pages of the New England Courant there appeared the following famous advertisement:

James Franklin, printer in Queen's Street,
wants a likely lad for an apprentice.



Along the way, the ship stopped off in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and picked up more passengers, some of whom were [Quakers](#) who would proffer to young Ben some gratis but valuable counsel.

Ben Franklin's "Autobiography"

At Newport we took in a number of passengers for New York, among which were two young women, companions, and a grave, sensible, matron-like Quaker woman, with her attendants. I had shown an obliging readiness to do her some little services, which impress'd her I suppose with a degree of good will toward me; therefore, when she saw a daily growing familiarity between me and the two young women, which they appear'd to encourage, she took me aside, and said: "Young man, I am concern'd for thee, as thou has no friend with thee, and seems not to know much of the world, or of the snares youth is expos'd to; depend upon it, those are very bad women; I can see it in all their actions; and if thee art not upon thy guard, they will draw thee into some danger; they are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, in a friendly concern for thy welfare, to have no acquaintance with them." As I seem'd at first not to think so ill of them as she did, she mentioned some things she had observ'd and heard that had escap'd my notice, but now convinc'd me she was right. I thank'd her for her kind advice, and promis'd to follow it. When we arriv'd at New York, they told me where they liv'd, and invited me to come and see them; but I avoided it, and it was well I did; for the next day the captain miss'd a silver spoon and some other things, that had been taken out of his cabbin, and, knowing that these were a couple of strumpets, he got a warrant to search their lodgings, found the stolen goods, and had the thieves punish'd. So, tho' we had escap'd a sunken rock, which we scrap'd upon in the passage, I thought this escape of rather more importance to me.

Since Ben was only dealing with women during this period of his life for the purposes known as health and hygiene (otherwise known as purposes of venery), he confessed, of course this was the sort of advice he was prepared to pay attention to. Just use them, Ben, don't let them use you!

In Philadelphia he obtaining remunerative employment in a Mr. Keimer's printing-office, after encountering

some local [Quakers](#) whom, he noticed, also behaved considerably toward him:

Ben Franklin's "Autobiography"

Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made many a meal on bread, and, inquiring where he got it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to, in Second-street, and ask'd for bisket, intending such as we had in Boston; but they, it seems, were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness nor the names of his bread, I made him give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me, accordingly, three great puffy rolls. I was surpriz'd at the quantity, but took it, and, having no room in my pockets, walk'd off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market-street as far as Fourth-street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut-street and part of Walnut-street, eating my roll all the way, and, corning round, found myself again at Market-street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and, being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round awhile and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy thro' labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was, therefore, the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

Walking down again toward the river, and, looking in the faces of people, I met a young Quaker man, whose countenance I lik'd, and, accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. "Here," says he, "is one place that entertains strangers, but it is not a reputable house; if thee wilt walk with me, I'll show thee a better." He brought me to the Crooked Billet in Water-street. Here I got a dinner; and, while I was eating it, several sly questions were asked me, as it seemed to be suspected from my youth and appearance, that I might be some runaway.

Yeah, Quaker, don't try to out-sly young Ben the runaway, you're playing that game with an expert here!



October 31: Sarah Tillet, daughter of Edward Tillet, and David Orrok, Sr. were joined in marriage in the manner of their [Quaker](#) faith in Boston. Although there is one source, not an original one, that attests her name to have been Hannah, according to the wedding record itself the bride's name was Sarah. The couple would have a daughter Sarah Orrok who would get married with Peter Burns.

1724

During this year in which Princeton, New Jersey was getting its name, on nine acres a few miles away, near Stony Brook, on land that had originally been purchased from proprietors Thomas Warne and William Penn, the [Religious Society of Friends](#) began to construct a meetinghouse. The meetinghouse would be completed in 1726 but would then be totaled (by fire or wind) in the 1756-1659 timeframe and would need to be rebuilt. It would be rebuilt, in stone, over the original foundation, in 1761. During the Battle of Princeton the structure would function as an infirmary for the wounded of both sides. Eventually the little settlement of Stony Brook would be tacked onto Princeton, so that the address of this monthly meeting now is: Princeton Meeting of Friends at Stony Brook, 470 Quaker Road, Princeton NJ 08540. Beware the narrow stone bridge, as it allows traffic only heading away from the meetinghouse.

[PRINCETON UNIVERSITY](#)

Note that this New Jersey town did **not** derive its name from the Reverend Thomas Prince of Boston. (It was Princeton, **Massachusetts** that had received that honor.)



Maps dating to this year reveal evidence of a [Quaker](#) presence in Calvert County, Maryland, as they indicate locations of Quaker meetinghouses, a “Quaker Road” and a “Quaker Swamp” on the headwaters of St. Leonard’s Creek.

4th mo.: The [Quaker Yearly Meeting](#) held in June 1724 determined that:

The quarterly meeting of [Rhode-Island](#) having represented to this meeting, that it is most likely for the advancement of truth,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to build a meeting-house in the town of [Providence](#), which proposal is approved of, and for the present that the work may be going forward, do agree to raise the sum of one hundred pounds, of which it is desired that the quarterly meeting of Rhode-Island do collect the sum of eighty pounds; and also desires the quarterly meetings of Sandwich and [Scituate](#) to collect the sum of twenty pounds, and to send the same up to Samuel Aldrich, Thomas Arnold, and Benjamin Smith, of Providence.

9th Mo.: The records of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting for November 1724 indicate that there was an intent to erect another [Quaker](#) meetinghouse inside [Providence](#) town:

Whereas, it is concluded by this meeting, a house shall be built in [Providence](#) town, and there being a frame offered us, it is concluded by this meeting, that if Edward Smith and Thomas Arnold approve of the frame, that the money be paid to Daniel Abbot, as quick as can be, with convenience.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

1725

While the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was in control of the legislature of the colony of Pennsylvania, they passed an anti-miscegenation, anti-cohabitation statute outlawing the union of white women and black men in marriage. The penalty was that any minister who officiated at such a ceremony would be fined £100.¹⁷

[AMALGAMATION](#)

[RACISM](#)



"Don't think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed."

— Dwight David Eisenhower



17. Note that such an anti-miscegenation statute does not outlaw the union of a white man with a black woman, for the children produced by such a union would have a place and function in Pennsylvania society, as slaves.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Up to this point, the members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who resided in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had been traveling for worship to the meetinghouse that had been erected in 1703 (and would be expanded in 1743) in [Saylesville](#). They would dismount, and remount, their horses and their carriages, by use of this stone mounting-block:



In this year the city Friends erected a meetinghouse within the town limits of Providence, probably on Stamper's Hill where the town fort used to exist, across the street north of Captain John Whipple's house (this is at the foot of present-day Olney Avenue). To prevent confusion, we will refer to this as meetinghouse #2.¹⁸

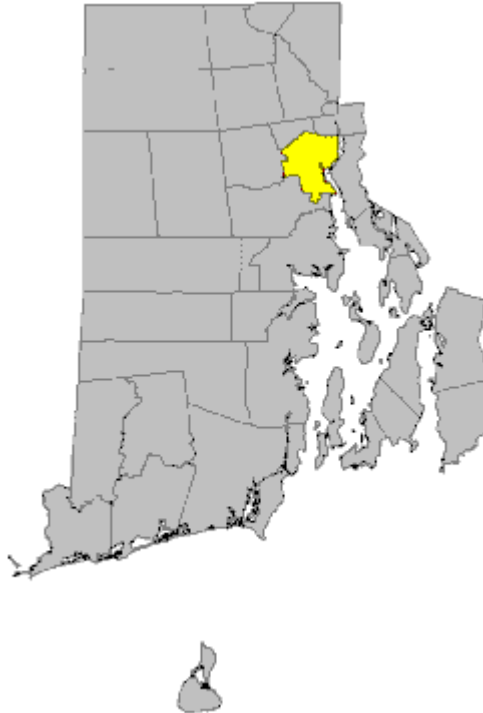
Later they would erect a newer meetinghouse at the corner of what at the time was known as Town Street but is now known as North Main Street and what had been known initially as Ferry Road (because it led over the hill to a ferry that crossed the estuary at the narrows where the Red Bridge would be erected) and at the time was known as Gaol Street (because a jail had been erected there) and would later be known as Old Gaol Street because a new jail had been erected elsewhere, but is now known as Meeting Street (because the Quaker meetinghouse used to stand there), across from the Salt Cove (presumably this is the same location, differently described). To prevent confusion, we will refer to this as meetinghouse #3. [Quaker](#) meetings for worship would be held at that location for a couple of centuries (removing the building's "Negro Gallery" or "pigeon loft" in 1820 because by that point all their slaves had been [manumitted](#) and had immediately abandoned Quakerism), when the initial building on North Main gave out in 1844 removing it to another location for use as a dwelling (later demolished) and erecting on its site a similar undistinguished building (meetinghouse #4), until the site would be cleared in 1951 for construction of the North Main Street Fire Station. Then they would relocate to the plot of land granted in 1814 by Friend [Moses Brown](#) for use as the [Yearly Meeting](#) Boarding School, where they had erected a nice new brick meetinghouse at 99 Morris Avenue (meetinghouse #5).

18. "CONSTITUTION HILL, a slope of which Stamper's Hill is a continuation, is the part of N. Main St. bet. Mill and Benefit St." The Providence Worship Group of the Religious Society of Friends would, for the initial two decades of its existence, be referred to as the Stamper's Hill Worship Group.

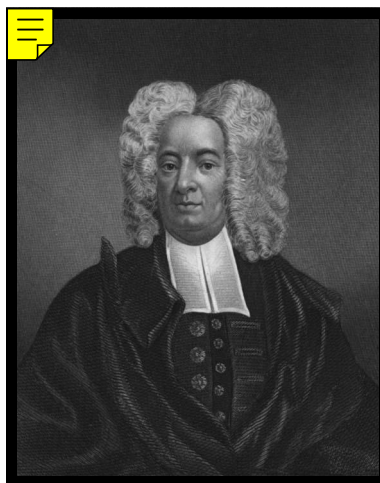
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

(One may view a photograph of the #4 meetinghouse, on the wall of the current or #5 meetinghouse.)



The Reverend Cotton Mather's *THE PALM-BEARERS*. In his extreme old age, the reverend began to be more conciliatory toward the [Quaker](#) teaching of the Christ Within. In the dedication to his sermon "Vital Christianity," which he had published in Philadelphia, he wrote "To all who desire to worship God in the Spirit, and ... more particularly to our beloved Friends.... There is no Vital Christianity without a Christ living in us.... [S]ee how far we join with you, in owning a Christ within." (The Reverend Mather's offer of an olive branch to the Quakers would be, however, conditional upon their "owning a Christ without." –Otherwise, just forget he mentioned it.)





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 8: The plan of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting to erect another [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Providence](#) was approved on 8th of 11th month 1724-5 by the quarterly meeting:

The [Friends](#) of [Providence](#), having, both at our last, and also at this quarterly meeting, represented the service of a meeting-house being built at Providence town, which their concern is well approved, and this meeting will also contribute something towards accomplishing the same, and also thinks proper, that the matter may be proposed to the yearly meeting in order for a subscription by particulars or otherwise as may be thought proper.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

9th 5th mo.: The [Quaker](#) quarterly meeting noted on November 9, 1725 that:

We received an epistle from the last yearly meeting on [Rhode-Island](#), informing that they having approved of the proposal for building a meeting-house in the town of [Providence](#), and think proper to raise and contribute the sum of £100 towards the same, and desires this quarterly meeting to contribute the sum of £80 of said hundred, which this meeting proportions as follows, viz.

The monthly meeting of Rhode-Island ,	\$52
The Monthly meeting of Dartmouth,	10
The monthly meeting of Greenwich and Kingston ,	8
The monthly meeting of Nantucket,	10
	<hr/>
	£80

And send their several proportions as soon as conveniently they can to Samuel Aldrich, Benjamin Smith and Thomas Arnold, of [Providence](#), and make return to the next quarterly meeting.

1727

[Hannah Penn](#) died and the proprietorship of [Friend William Penn](#)'s Pennsylvania colony passed to the next generation: John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn.

Friend Joshua Fielding, a Quaker minister and London merchant, went to the island of Tortola. The lieutenant-governor there, John Pickering, was a lapsed birthright Quaker, and was induced to return to the faith. Eventually there would be five meetinghouses on the island. Eventually Lieutenant-Governor Pickering would be (your're probably 'way ahead of me here) dismissed from his post.

[Quakers](#) in England urged the abolition of human [slavery](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The New England Courant ceased publication. With his Boston printing press relocated to Newport, Rhode Island, James Franklin produced a 17-page pamphlet entitled JOHN HAMMETT'S VINDICATION AND RELATION, and a 574-page volume entitled AN APOLOGY FOR THE TRUE CHRISTIAN DIVINITY, AS THE SAME IS HELD FORTH, AND PREACHED, BY THE PEOPLES CALLED IN SCORN QUAKERS: &C. BY ROBERT BARCLAY. THE SIXTH EDITION IN ENGLISH.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Early: According to the deed of a lot between South Court and Meeting streets in Providence, Rhode Island, made out early in this year, there was already in existence in this locale a Quaker meetinghouse.

April: Mary Maris, 1st wife of John Bartram, died (he would remarry).

1728

The Nantucket Island Quakers, which in 1708 had numbered 75 adults, at this point numbered 359 adults.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The 1st Quaker factory for the processing of cocoa beans was opened by Friend Walter Churchman. The Quaker zeal for temperance had previously led them into the production of [beer](#), which at the time was being classed as a temperance drink by way of comparison with [gin](#) and other spirits. Early in the 19th century they would begin distributing [tea](#), [coffee](#), and [cocoa](#) and would soon be involved in the manufacture of [chocolate](#). Some of the most famous Quaker names in chocolate making would be [Cadbury](#), Fry, Rowntree, and Terry's. The historical link between doing good and doing well may be understood to be not only in the development of the relationship of trust (my handshake is my bond) that is the basis of the best wholesale trading, but also in the fact that so many Quaker merchants specialized in the sort of products in regard to the continuing high quality of which the purchaser needs to learn to have trust. Opium compounds and fine chocolates, etc., each new box just as good as the last purchase. The Quaker rep for probity in business dealings must have functioned as an early sort of "brand name" facilitating customer loyalty.

(Please bear in mind that **none** of the later commercial exploitations of that Quaker rep for probity, such as the 1903 advertisement displayed below, have **anything whatever** to do with Quakerism or with real [Quakers](#).



In particular — real Quakers are not often made of chocolate.)

1729

The [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Friends](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was again enlarged.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The 1st [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was built in [Cranston, Rhode Island](#), near Moshantatuck Brook on the present site of the Oakland Community Baptist Church. (They would also build a small schoolhouse nearby. The Friends in Cranston would remain a worship group until 1744, would then become a preparative meeting, and then in 1859 would become a worship group again, until they would fall into decline and sell their meetinghouse in 1864 and dissolve in 1866.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The 1st Quaker meetinghouse was built in Mendon, a short distance below the shop occupied by Timothy Ellis.

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, members of the Religious Society of Friends, if they lived within five miles of a Monthly Meeting and usually attended “upon the Lord’s Day for the worship of God,” were to be exempted from having to pay for the support of their town’s Puritan clergyman. However, Quakers were still required by the state to make a declaration of fidelity, and to subscribe to a profession of “Christian belief.”

January 12 (New Style): [Edmund Burke](#) was born in Dublin, the son of a Protestant father and a Catholic mother. He would be tutored by Friend Abraham Shakleton, a [Quaker](#) friend of the family. He would spend five years, from 1744 to 1749, at Trinity College in Dublin. He would move in 1750 to London to study for a legal career but during the initial ten years would live high, which would cause him to fail the bar, forfeiting his allowance. To support himself, he would take up writing.

August 30: [Deliverance Smith](#) died.

1730

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London, this year, for some reason found it important to reiterate the [Quaker](#) Peace Testimony:

It hath been a weighty concern on this meeting, that our ancient and honorable testimony against being concerned in bearing arms, or fighting, may be maintained; it being a doctrine and testimony agreeable to the nature and design of the Christian religion, and to the universal love and grace of God. This testimony, we desire may be strictly and carefully maintained, by a godly care and concern in all to stand clear therein; so shall we strengthen and comfort one another.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

January: The Quaker Peace Testimony was not extended in Pennsylvania to the nonprosecution of criminals.

Thus, when [Friend](#) David Lloyd (1656-1731), an adherent of the testimony, needed to deal with the situation of a burglar who had been sentenced to [hang](#), he was able to write that this man “justly deserves to die ... it may be of ill consequence to spare him.”¹⁹

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

19. It must be noted that the [Quaker](#) case for nonviolence in Pennsylvania was considerably weakened by this support for [capital punishment](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

10th day 2d mo.: At the quarterly meeting of [Quakers](#) held on April 10, 1730, the [Greenwich](#) monthly meeting for business gave notice:

That they are in want of some assistance by money towards finishing a meeting-house at Shantituck, in which case this meeting desires further information as to the necessity and circumstances, &c.²⁰

At the following quarterly meeting, the [Greenwich](#) monthly meeting for business would give notice:

That besides the subscription made for building the meeting-house at Meshantituck, they have expended the sum of £49,19, for work already done, and considerable more is wanted to finish it. It is therefore recommended to the several monthly meetings to consider the said [Friends](#) of Meshantituck, and lend them such help as in brotherly freedom they may think meet, and it is desired, that what is collected for said service may be brought up to our next quarterly meeting.

It seems that before [Providence](#) came to be divided up into separate towns, there were four [Quaker](#) meetinghouses within the town. The oldest was what is now referred to as the Lower [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse, the 2d the Upper [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse in [Woonsocket](#), the 3d meetinghouse in downtown [Providence](#), and the 4th meetinghouse in [Cranston](#).

²⁰Shantituck, sometimes referred to as Meshantituck, was in the district of [Providence](#) now called Cranston. It would remain part of Providence until 1754, and hence the meetinghouse there should be considered as in Providence, making the fourth erected there by the [Friends](#).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1731

In [Rhode Island](#), the town of [Smithfield](#) was set off from [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*).

Among [Quakers](#), the name “[Providence](#) monthly meeting,” as opposed to “[Greenwich](#) monthly meeting,” was changed at this point to “Smithfield monthly meeting.”

(The map on the following screen will give you some idea how this 18th-Century situation has come forward into the 21st Century. The red circle marks the unprogrammed [Lincoln](#) meetinghouse that used to be the “lower” Smithfield meetinghouse — while the green arrow indicates the location of the programmed Smithfield meetinghouse of our present era, and its old Quaker cemetery.)



The cemetery in question is historical cemetery #WO011, northeast of the Great Road, for which apparently the records have been lost in a fire in 1890. It is directly across from the Union Cemetery of North Smithfield, next to the meetinghouse, and there are 99 burials having 59 inscriptions dating from 1795 to 1909, plus about 150 additional unmarked graves. As you can see from the photo, the place is not exactly in good shape. However, a survey of the gravestones was compiled by Grace G. Tillinghast during May 1932, and another one was compiled by Charles P. and Martha A. Benns in about 1938, and another one was compiled by Paul P. Delisle and Roger Beaudry during May 1992.

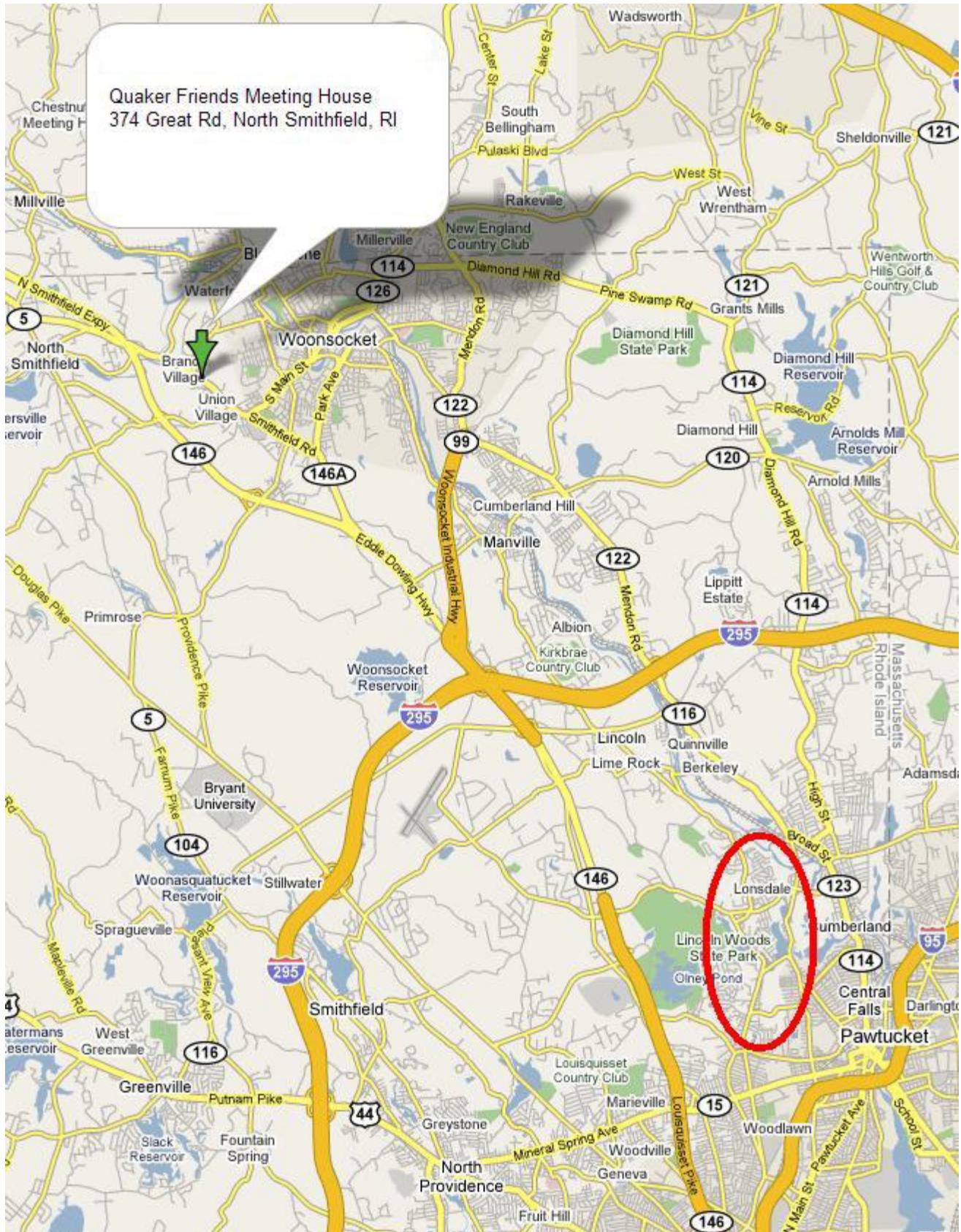


WHAT?

INDEX

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



1732

The issue of race slavery had been submerged among the Quakers on [Nantucket Island](#) for some sixteen years after the visit of [Friend](#) John Farmer, and the enactment of the initial [Quaker](#) minute recognizing human enslavement as “not agreeable to Truth for Friends to purchase slaves and keep them for a term of life.” At this point, however, Friend Elihu Coleman, the son of Friend Priscilla Starbuck Coleman, wrote a tract on the immorality of enslaving fellow human beings, and got it approved by the Nantucket meeting. (It would not be until the 1740s and 1750s that a reform movement against [slavery](#) would sweep over the American Friends.)

The [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been set off in 1718 from East Greenwich Monthly Meeting. At this point it changed its name to [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting.

At the age of about twelve, having already had a sad experience in the casual killing of a mother bird and its chicks and then feeling remorse over this pointless but irreversible cruelty, [Friend John Woolman](#) gave himself further occasion to reflect on all that he still needed to learn on the topic of life and living.

About the twelfth year of my age, my father being abroad, my mother reproved me for some misconduct, to which I made an undutiful reply. The next First-day, as I was with my father returning from meeting, he told me that he understood I had behaved amiss to my mother, and advised me to be more careful in future. I knew myself blamable, and in shame and confusion remained silent. Being thus awakened to a sense of my wickedness, I felt remorse in my mind, and on getting home, I retired and prayed to the Lord to forgive me, and I do not remember that I ever afterwards spoke unhandsomely to either of my parents, however foolish in some other things.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 24: William Tuke was born (died 1822). Friend William would become a wholesale dealer in tea and coffee and the head of the [Quaker](#) family that would in 1792 found the York Retreat, an institution that, located in a rural setting, provided humane care for people suffering from mental illness. This institution would reduce the use of restraints and confinement, and its reliance upon the therapeutic use of occupational tasks, especially farming chores, would be duplicated at scores of later mental institutions.

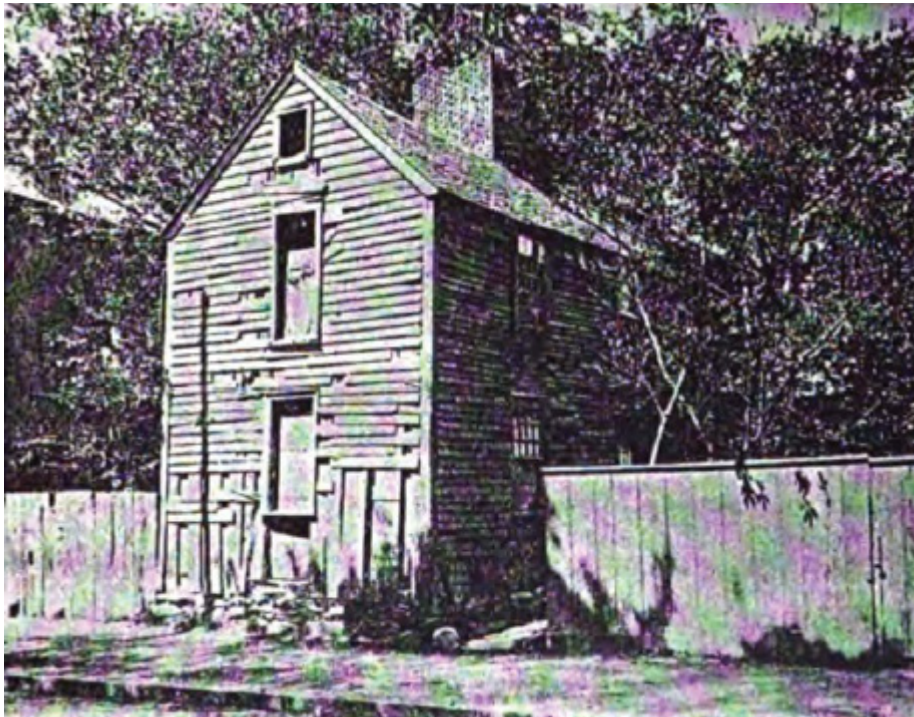
PSYCHOLOGY

June: The opening of the Great Meetinghouse of the [Quakers](#) on [Nantucket Island](#), where previously there had only been a 30X30 structure.

1733

The meetinghouse of the [Quakers](#) in Conanicut or [Jamestown, Rhode Island](#) was moved to the location currently occupied by a meetinghouse (but, one of later construction).

[Providence](#) had since 1705 been using the back portion of this house near the Benefit Street school as its jail. In this year the jailing began to be done elsewhere in the town.



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1734

In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend](#) John Wanton, brother of the previous governor William Wanton, was in charge.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Foundation of the community of [New Bedford, Massachusetts](#) on the banks of the Acushnet River. [Friend](#) William Russell obtained a certificate of clearness from his Dartmouth meeting, to marry with Elizabeth Smith, a Puritan, and the couple was married in the [Nantucket Island](#) meeting with the bride becoming a [Quaker](#) like her maternal grandfather. The newlyweds moved to the area that is now New Bedford, and would come to be regarded as city founders.

1735

[John Bartram](#) [manumitted](#) his slaves, who ate at table with his 11 children, and put them on salary. (We have no indication that this action was ideology-driven, that is, that it was due to any growing distaste for human slavery, or commitment to an ideal of freedom, or religious sentiment on the part of the elder Bartram, or pressure from other [Quakers](#). This may have been the case, but there's no evidence for such. It is within the bounds of possibility that the action was entirely practical.)

Augustus Gootlieb Spangenberg established near Savannah the 1st Moravian community in America (it would relocate to Pennsylvania in 1741).

Either in this year or in the following one, [Friend John Bartram](#) journeyed up the Schuylkill River to its source.

BOTANIZING

1736

When [Friend John Woolman](#) was sixteen years of age, he fell in with a bad crowd and began to be estranged from the religion of his upbringing — but then he was temporarily brought low by an illness. He would waffle back and forth until his 18th year:

Having attained the age of sixteen years, I began to love wanton company; and though I was preserved from profane language or scandalous conduct, yet I perceived a plant in me which produced much wild grapes; my merciful Father did not, however, forsake me utterly, but at times, through His grace, I was brought seriously to consider my ways; and the sight of my backslidings affected me with sorrow, yet for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance. Upon the whole, my mind became more and more alienated from the truth, and I hastened toward



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

destruction. While I meditate on the gulf towards which I travelled, and reflect on my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.

Advancing in age, the number of my acquaintance increased, and thereby my way grew more difficult. Though I had found comfort in reading the Holy Scriptures and thinking on heavenly things, I was now estranged therefrom. I knew I was going from the flock of Christ and had no resolution to return, hence serious reflections were uneasy to me, and youthful vanities and diversions were my greatest pleasure. In this road I found many like myself, and we associated in that which is adverse to true friendship.

In this swift race it pleased God to visit me with sickness, so that I doubted of recovery; then did darkness, horror, and amazement with full force seize me, even when my pain and distress of body were very great. I thought it would have been better for me never to have had being, than to see the day which I now saw. I was filled with confusion, and in great affliction, both of mind and body, I lay and bewailed myself. I had not confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended; but in a deep sense of my great folly I was humbled before Him. At length that word which is as a fire and a hammer broke and dissolved my rebellious heart; my cries were put up in contrition; and in the multitude of His mercies I found inward relief, and a close engagement that if He was pleased to restore my health I might walk humbly before Him.

After my recovery this exercise remained with me a considerable time, but by degrees giving way to youthful vanities, and associating with wanton young people, I lost ground. The Lord had been very gracious, and spoke peace to me in the time of my distress, and I now most ungratefully turned again to folly; at times I felt sharp reproof, but I did not get low enough to cry for help. I was not so hardy as to commit things scandalous, but to exceed in vanity and to promote mirth was my chief study. Still I retained a love and esteem for pious people, and their company brought an awe upon me. My dear parents several times admonished me in the fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered into my heart and had a good effect for a season; but not getting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter, when he came, found entrance. Once having spent a part of the day in wantonness, when I went to bed at night there lay in a window near my bed a Bible, which I opened, and first cast my eye on the text, "We lie down in our shame, and our confusion covereth us." This I knew to be my case, and meeting with so unexpected a reproof I was somewhat affected with it, and went to bed under

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

remorse of conscience, which I soon cast off again.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Benjamin Franklin](#) was chosen clerk of the Pennsylvania General Assembly. He formed the Union Fire Company of Philadelphia. Franklin perceived clearly that the contrariness of the [Quaker](#) pacifists had rendered “Pennsylvania” defenseless against its external enemies. The City of Brotherly Love needed to raise an army and had not so much as a two militiamen to rub together:

Ben Franklin's "Autobiography"

With respect to defense, Spain having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length join'd by France, which brought us into great danger; and the laboured and long-continued endeavour of our governor, Thomas, to prevail with our Quaker Assembly to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive, I determined to try what might be done by a voluntary association of the people. To promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled PLAIN TRUTH, in which I stated our defenceless situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defense, and promis'd to propose in a few days an association, to be generally signed for that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was call'd upon for the instrument of association, and having settled the draft of it with a few friends, I appointed a meeting of the citizens in the large building before mentioned. The house was pretty full; I had prepared a number of printed copies, and provided pens and ink dispers'd all over the room. I harangued them a little on the subject, read the paper, and explained it, and then distributed the copies, which were eagerly signed, not the least objection being made.

When the company separated, and the papers were collected, we found above twelve hundred hands; and, other copies being dispersed in the country, the subscribers amounted at length to upward of ten thousand. These all furnished themselves as soon as they could with arms, formed themselves into companies and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week to be instructed in the manual exercise, and other parts of military discipline. The women, by subscriptions among themselves, provided silk colors, which they presented to the companies, painted with different devices and mottos, which I supplied. The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment, being met, chose me for their colonel; but, conceiving myself unfit, I declin'd that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then propos'd a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnishing it with cannon. It filled expeditiously, and the battery was soon erected, the merlons being fram'd of logs and fill'd with earth. We bought some old cannon from Boston, but, these not being sufficient, we wrote to England for more, soliciting, at the same time, our proprietaries for some assistance, tho' without much expectation of obtaining it.

Meanwhile, Colonel Lawrence, William Allen, Abram Taylor, Esqr., and myself were sent to New York by the associators, commission'd to borrow some cannon of Governor Clinton. He at first refus'd us peremptorily; but at dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanc'd to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, eighteen-pounders, with their carriages, which we soon transported and mounted on our battery, where the associators kept a nightly guard while the war lasted, and among the rest I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier.

My activity in these operations was agreeable to the governor and council; they took me into confidence, and I was consulted by them in every measure wherein their concurrence was thought useful to the association. Calling in the aid of religion, I propos'd to them the proclaiming a fast, to promote reformation, and implore the blessing of Heaven on our undertaking. They embrac'd the motion; but, as it was the first fast ever thought of in the province, the secretary had no precedent from which to draw the proclamation. My education in New England, where a fast is proclaimed every year, was here of some advantage: I drew it in the accustomed stile, it was translated into German, printed in both languages, and divulg'd thro' the province. This gave the clergy of the different sects an opportunity of influencing their congregations to join in the association, and it would probably have been general among all but Quakers if the peace had not soon interven'd.

It was thought by some of my friends that, by my activity in these affairs, I should offend that sect, and thereby lose my interest in the Assembly of the province, where they formed a great majority. A young gentleman who had likewise some friends in the House, and wished to succeed me as their clerk, acquainted me that it was decided to displace me at the next election; and he, therefore, in good will, advis'd me to resign, as more consistent with my honour than being turn'd out.

Ben Franklin's "Autobiography"

My answer to him was, that I had read or heard of some public man who made it a rule never to ask for an office, and never to refuse one when offer'd to him. "I approve," says I, "of his rule, and will practice it with a small addition; I shall never ask, never refuse, nor ever resign an office. If they will have my office of clerk to dispose of to another, they shall take it from me. I will not, by giving it up, lose my right of some time or other making reprisals on my adversaries." I heard, however, no more of this; I was chosen again unanimously as usual at the next election. Possibly, as they dislik'd my late intimacy with the members of council, who had join'd the governors in all the disputes about military preparations, with which the House had long been harass'd, they might have been pleas'd if I would voluntarily have left them; but they did not care to displace me on account merely of my zeal for the association, and they could not well give another reason.

Indeed I had some cause to believe that the defense of the country was not disagreeable to any of them, provided they were not requir'd to assist in it. And I found that a much greater number of them than I could have imagined, tho' against offensive war, were clearly for the defensive. Many pamphlets pro and con were publish'd on the subject, and some by good Quakers, in favour of defense, which I believe convinc'd most of their younger people.

A transaction in our fire company gave me some insight into their prevailing sentiments. It had been propos'd that we should encourage the scheme for building a battery by laying out the present stock, then about sixty pounds, in tickets of the lottery. By our rules, no money could be dispos'd of till the next meeting after the proposal. The company consisted of thirty members, of which twenty-two were Quakers, and eight only of other persuasions. We eight punctually attended the meeting; but, tho' we thought that some of the Quakers would join us, we were by no means sure of a majority. Only one Quaker, Mr. James Morris, appear'd to oppose the measure. He expressed much sorrow that it had ever been propos'd, as he said Friends were all against it, and it would create such discord as might break up the company. We told him that we saw no reason for that; we were the minority, and if Friends were against the measure, and outvoted us, we must and should, agreeably to the usage of all societies, submit. When the hour for business arriv'd it was mov'd to put the vote; he allow'd we might then do it by the rules, but, as he could assure us that a number of members intended to be present for the purpose of opposing it, it would be but candid to allow a little time for their appearing.

While we were disputing this, a waiter came to tell me two gentlemen below desir'd to speak with me. I went down, and found they were two of our Quaker members. They told me there were eight of them assembled at a tavern just by; that they were determin'd to come and vote with us if there should be occasion, which they hop'd would not be the case, and desir'd we would not call for their assistance if we could do without it, as their voting for such a measure might embroil them with their elders and friends. Being thus secure of a majority, I went up, and after a little seeming hesitation, agreed to a delay of another hour. This Mr. Morris allow'd to be extreamly fair. Not one of his opposing friends appear'd, at which he express'd great surprize; and, at the expiration of the hour, we carry'd the resolution eight to one; and as, of the twenty-two Quakers, eight were ready to vote with us, and thirteen, by their absence, manifested that they were not inclin'd to oppose the measure, I afterward estimated the proportion of Quakers sincerely against defense as one to twenty-one only; for these were all regular members of that society, and in good reputation among them, and had due notice of what was propos'd at that meeting.

The honorable and learned Mr. Logan, who had always been of that sect, was one who wrote an address to them, declaring his approbation of defensive war, and supporting his opinion by many strong arguments. He put into my hands sixty pounds to be laid out in lottery tickets for the battery, with directions to apply what prizes might be drawn wholly to that service. He told me the following anecdote of his old master, William Penn, respecting defense. He came over from England, when a young man, with that proprietary, and as his secretary. It was war-time, and their ship was chas'd by an armed vessel, suppos'd to be an enemy. Their captain prepar'd for defense; but told William Penn and his company of Quakers, that he did not expect their assistance, and they might retire into the cabin, which they did, except James Logan, who chose to stay upon deck, and was quarter'd to a gun. The suppos'd enemy prov'd a friend, so there was no fighting; but when the secretary went down to communicate the intelligence, William Penn rebuk'd him severely for staying upon deck, and undertaking to assist in defending the vessel, contrary to the principles of Friends, especially as it had not been required by the captain. This reproof, being before all the company, piqu'd the secretary, who answer'd, "I being thy servant, why did thee not order me to come down? But thee was willing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship when thee thought there was danger."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Sure, Ben, you're a good ol' boy, I'm ready to believe that the [Quakers](#) of your period, who were influential and whom you needed therefore to oppose and think ill of, were hypocritical about their established nonviolent creed and credo, whereas these Dunkers, who were uninfluential and whom you didn't need therefore to oppose and think ill of, were self-reflective and modest about their doubts and their beliefs in regard to the cleansing function of violence. Sure, Ben, I'm ready to accept that this is them and not you. Hey, meanwhile, guy, I've got this sandy ocean beachfront property in Arizona that I'm willing to pass on for real cheap!

September: A "little hunchback" named [Benjamin Lay](#), 59 years old, who had relocated his family from the Barbadoes to Pennsylvania because of his fear of "the Evil and the Danger" of the institution of [human enslavement](#), sat in the quarterly meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), in Concord PA near Philadelphia:

9th Month, 1736, as I sat in Concord Meeting House, it was their Quarterly Meeting; I may say it was a sweet and comfortable time to me; it came into and arose in my mind, in Love of Truth, that if our Slave Keepers had been, or now would be faithful to God, the Truth, and would bring up their Negroes to some Learning, Reading and Writing, and endeavour to the utmost of their power in the sweet Love of Truth to instruct and teach 'em the principles of truth and righteousness, and learn them some Honest Trade or Employment and then set them free; and all the time Friends are teaching them let them know that they intend to let them go free in a very reasonable time: and that our Religious Principle will not allow of such Severity, as to keep them in everlasting Bondage and Slavery.

Friend Benjamin found that the response from other [Quakers](#) was to accuse that

I loved the Negroes better than I did my Friends.

However, Friend Benjamin was able to persuade the local printer [Benjamin Franklin](#) to run his material opposed to [human enslavement](#) through the presses. Franklin, you see, although he bought and sold negroes, and owned them himself for his personal use, was a believer in freedom of the printer, and had no objections to running any sort of materials through his printing presses, as long as this met with the stipulations of his personal religion (that is to say, that it was **paid for in full and in advance**).

1737

[Friend David Orrok, Sr.](#) purchased of a shopkeeper, John Adams, the house at the north corner of Bennet Avenue in Boston that the shopkeeper had in 1727 purchased from Richard Sherwin. Make of this record what you can:



In 1727 Richard Sherwin sold the house at the north corner of Bennet Avenue to John Adams, and David Orrok bought it in 1737. His heirs sold to John Thoreau in 1705 [sic]. The next house [sic] was that of William Copp, and in 1728 the residence of John [sic] Thoreau, great grandfather [sic] of Henry Thoreau,

Ben Franklin's "Autobiography"

My being many years in the Assembly, the majority of which were constantly Quakers, gave me frequent opportunities of seeing the embarrassment given them by their principle against war, whenever application was made to them, by order of the crown, to grant aids for military purposes. They were unwilling to offend government, on the one hand, by a direct refusal; and their friends, the body of the Quakers, on the other, by a compliance contrary to their principles; hence a variety of evasions to avoid complying, and modes of disguising the compliance when it became unavoidable. The common mode at last was, to grant money under the phrase of its being "for the king's use," and never to inquire how it was applied.

But, if the demand was not directly from the crown, that phrase was found not so proper, and some other was to be invented. As, when powder was wanting (I think it was for the garrison at Louisburg), and the government of New England solicited a grant of some from Pennsylvania, which was much urg'd on the House by Governor Thomas, they could not grant money to buy powder, because that was an ingredient of war; but they voted an aid to New England of three thousand pounds, to be put into the hands of the governor, and appropriated it for the purchasing of bread, flour, wheat, or other grain. Some of the council, desirous of giving the House still further embarrassment, advis'd the governor not to accept provision, as not being the thing he had demanded; but he reply'd, "I shall take the money, for I understand very well their meaning; other grain is gunpowder," which he accordingly bought, and they never objected to it.

It was in allusion to this fact that, when in our fire company we feared the success of our proposal in favour of the lottery, and I had said to my friend Mr. Syng, one of our members, "If we fail, let us move the purchase of a fire-engine with the money; the Quakers can have no objection to that; and then, if you nominate me and I you as a committee for that purpose, we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a fire-engine." "I see," says he, "you have improv'd by being so long in the Assembly; your equivocal project would be just a match for their wheat or other grain."

These embarrassments that the Quakers suffer'd from having establish'd and published it as one of their principles that no kind of war was lawful, and which, being once published, they could not afterwards, however they might change their minds, easily get rid of, reminds me of what I think a more prudent conduct in another sect among us, that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Welfare, soon after it appear'd. He complain'd to me that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charg'd with abominable principles and practices, to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that, to put a stop to such abuse, I imagin'd it might be well to publish the articles of their belief, and the rules of their discipline. He said that it had been propos'd among them, but not agreed to, for this reason: "When we were first drawn together as a society," says he, "it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which we once esteemed truths, were errors; and that others, which we had esteemed errors, were real truths. From time to time He has been pleased to afford us farther light, and our principles have been improving, and our errors diminishing. Now we are not sure that we are arrived at the end of this progression, and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge; and we fear that, if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confin'd by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive farther improvement, and our successors still more so, as conceiving what we their elders and founders had done, to be something sacred, never to be departed from."

This modesty in a sect is perhaps a singular instance in the history of mankind, every other sect supposing itself in possession of all truth, and that those who differ are so far in the wrong; like a man traveling in foggy weather, those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapped up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side, but near him all appears clear, tho' in truth he is as much in the fog as any of them. To avoid this kind of embarrassment, the Quakers have of late years been gradually declining the public service in the Assembly and in the magistracy, choosing rather to quit their power than their principle.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the writer of Concord. He bought of the Orrok family, and lived here until he removed to Concord.

In this year, in Scituate near Pembroke, Friends were making preparations to erect the frame of a new meetinghouse.

1738

The [Nantucket Island Quakers](#), which in 1708 had numbered 75 adults and in 1728 had numbered 359 adults, at this point numbered 580 adults.



An attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: “Avoid sports, plays, and all such diversions as tending to alienate the mind from God.... It is apparent, to our very great grief, that the simplicity and distinguishing plainness of our profession respecting language, apparel and behaviour is too much departed from by many among us.”

—London Yearly Meeting, EPISTLE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

As an example of an acknowledgement of [Quaker Disownment](#), here is one that was duly received and placed on file in this year at the Concord (Pennsylvania) monthly meeting:

J.T. offered an acknowledgment for his “going to a man [soothsayer] to be informed concerning my horse. I can only say I had no desire he should make use of any bad art in that affair; and if he could not tell me anything by his learning in an honest way to go no further. Likewise I was ignorant of Friends’ rules in that affair: But being better informed, hope for the future

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

not to fall into the like again."²¹



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Friend John Woolman](#) had been having a tough time of it, during his 16th, 17th, and 18th years of age, as he waffled back and forth between piety and pleasure, and between the influences of his peers and the influences of his family and religious background. Finally the issue was resolved:

Thus time passed on; my heart was replenished with mirth and wantonness, while pleasing scenes of vanity were presented to my imagination, till I attained the age of eighteen years, near which time I felt the judgments of God in my soul, like a consuming fire, and looking over my past life the prospect was moving. I was often sad, and longed to be delivered from those vanities; then again my heart was strongly inclined to them, and there was in me a sore conflict. At times I turned to folly, and then again sorrow and confusion took hold of me. In a while I resolved totally to leave off some of my vanities, but there was a secret reserve in my heart of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus for some months I had great troubles; my will was unsubjected, which rendered my labours fruitless. At length, through the merciful continuance of heavenly visitations, I was made to bow down in spirit before the Lord. One evening I had spent some time in reading a pious author, and walking out alone I humbly prayed to the Lord for His help, that I might be delivered from all those vanities which so ensnared me. Thus being brought low, He helped me, and as I learned to bear the cross, I felt refreshment to come from His presence; but not keeping in that strength which gave victory, I lost ground again, the sense of which greatly affected me. I sought deserts and lonely places, and there with tears did confess my sins to God and humbly craved His help. And I may say with reverence, He was near to me in my troubles, and

21. Quoted in Howard H. Brinton, MEETINGHOUSE AND FARM HOUSE, Pendle Hill Pamphlet #185 (1972), page 25.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in those times of humiliation opened my ear to discipline. I was now led to look seriously at the means by which I was drawn from the pure truth, and learned that if I would live such a life as the faithful servants of God lived, I must not go into company as heretofore in my own will, but all the cravings of sense must be governed by a divine principle. In times of sorrow and abasement these instructions were sealed upon me, and I felt the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires, so that I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness, and being young, and believing at that time that a single life was best for me, I was strengthened to keep from such company as had often been a snare to me.

I kept steadily to meetings, spent First-day afternoons chiefly in reading the Scriptures and other good books, and was early convinced in my mind that true religion consisted in an inward life, wherein the heart does love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exercise true justice and goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward the brute creation; that, as the mind was moved by an inward principle to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible Being, so, by the same principle, it was moved to love Him in all His manifestations in the visible world; that, as by His breath the flame of life was kindled in all animal sensible creatures, to say we love God as unseen, and at the same time exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by His life, or by life derived from Him, was a contradiction in itself. I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions, but believed that sincere, upright-hearted people, in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of Him.

As I lived under the cross, and simply followed the opening of truth, my mind, from day to day, was more enlightened, my former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it safest for me to live in private, and keep these things sealed up in my own breast. While I silently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this visible creation, and an awfulness covered me. My heart was tender and often contrite, and universal love to my fellow-creatures increased in me. This will be understood by such as have trodden in the same path. Some glances of real beauty may be seen in their faces who dwell in true meekness. There is a harmony in the sound of that voice to which divine love gives utterance, and some appearance of right order in their temper and conduct whose passions are regulated; yet these do not fully show forth that inward life to those who have not felt it; this white stone and new name is only known rightly by such as receive it.

Now, though I had been thus strengthened to bear the cross, I still found myself in great danger, having many weaknesses attending me, and strong temptations to wrestle with; in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears besought the Lord to help me, and His gracious

[HDT](#)

[WHAT?](#)

[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

ear was open to my cry.

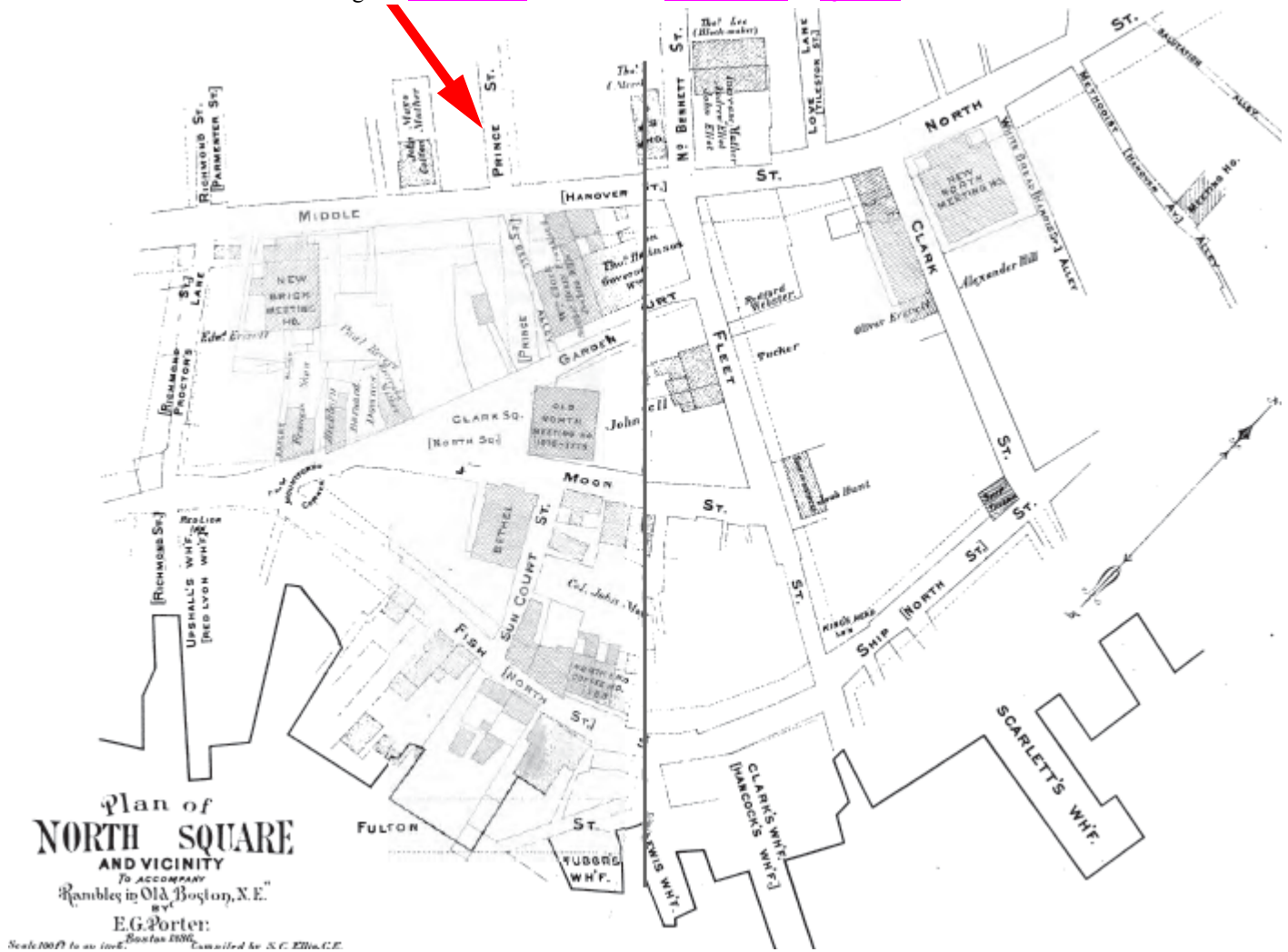


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 20: We know that the Thoreau home on [Prince Street](#) in Boston had already been constructed, and people had already been living there, prior to 1738, for at this point Friend [David Orrok, Sr.](#), the seaman, purchased it from Nathaniel and Susanna Loring for the sum of £118. In this home Friend David and Friend [Sarah Tillet Orrok](#) would raise their daughter [Sarah Orrok](#) and their son [David Orrok](#) as [Quakers](#).



October 10: [Benjamin West](#) was born to [Quaker](#) parents in Springfield (now Swarthmore) in the Pennsylvania colony.

1739

After some false starts in trade, [Friend Anthony Benezet](#) became a schoolteacher at Germantown in Pennsylvania.

[Friend](#) William Fishbourne, who had been Mayor of Philadelphia in the 1719-1721 period and had at one point been the Treasurer of Pennsylvania colony, wrote SOME FEW AND SHORT HINTS OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE YEAR 1739 on 9 folio pages of cap paper. Here are extracts:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

William Penn, Esq., a judicious and wise man, religiously inclined, being desirous to retire to some other parts, for the more free liberty and exercise of his religious persuasion, and from some hardships and oppressions, which he and others suffered in England; by some proper measures, he obtained a grant from King Charles II, of the province which he called after his own name Pennsylvania. {i.e. Penn, and Sylvania, meaning a country covered with woods.} Having divided it into three counties, to wit: Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, and laid the plan of Philadelphia city, he invited and encouraged those of his persuasion, and others, to accompany and settle the same; whereupon several readily agreed. He also framed an excellent form of government, and suitable schemes for such an undertaking. Sometime after, he, with many more, chiefly Quakers, hired ships, and transported themselves and families; but when they came to the province they found little or no conveniences for their reception, nor much probability of getting sufficient food and other necessaries of life, but a large wilderness for some time without inhabitants, save a few families of Swedes settled on the Delaware, and the Indians, who very providentially were helpful and not hurtful; but peaceably permitted the English to settle among them. Want of proper conveniences and necessaries, at first view, must of course strike a great damp upon them who had known and left good habitations, &c. (for most of those, who had first come over, were not people of low circumstances, but substantial livers); notwithstanding which, being animated with their first good design and intention of promoting religion, far beyond any worldly gain or profit, they unanimously fell to an honest industry to provide for themselves the best they could, and they made caves in the back of the Delaware, where the city is now laid out, and cut down timber, to make huts and conveniences to live in; depending on providence for other necessaries, which for some time proved hard to get, (the western division of New Jersey near them being then but thin settled) however, some of the neighbouring colonies hearing of a people come to settle, came with such necessaries as they could spare, which was very scanty for the number of persons which wanted them, and they took money for them; for they were not empty handed. These hardships and difficulties continued several years; and having spent their money and other necessaries they brought with them, it seemed hard for some to bear; and they would often condole with one another, saying; they believed it would not do to stay, and they must seek some other place! But as they continued their industry, in a few years (having several artificers and tradesmen among them, which was their riches in fact!) they had got some few tolerable good houses in the city, and lands cleared for plantations, whereon they sowed and planted provisions, which was more plentiful every year, notwithstanding people continued coming in to settle; for the land being good and fertile, produced plentifully of excellent wheat and almost all other sorts of grain, with roots and fruits, and they got a stock of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs; and in less than ten years the country produce became considerably more than the inhabitants wanted for their own consumption, although they were very much increased in numbers; so that they began to manufacture their wheat by bolting (having some few water-mills



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to grind the corn) which made excellent flour of several degrees. The first they sold for exportation; the other sorts made good bread and biscuit, and the bran made hearty food for working creatures. By this time a report had reached the West Indies that a number of people had settled a new country which produced great plenty of provisions, on which they sent several vessels to trade with them, and they brought quantities of coined silver and gold, besides the produce of those islands, to purchase provisions. By this means cash was plenty, for the number of people, and the inhabitants were enabled to build [thereby] vessels and to trade to sea. Thus providence caused the country to increase in wealth, peace and plenty from year to year; so that the first 40 years it was the admiration of all people, who saw or heard of its flourishing condition, in lands, improvements in building houses and shipping, manufactures of many kinds, increase in plenty, commerce and trade, the great number of inhabitants, the soil producing plentifully with their industry. Considerable numbers of shipping came yearly, besides vessels built not only for the inhabitants, but many others in remote parts, who readily disposed of their cargoes and procured their full loading of the produce of this province, which was transported to the English plantations, and other foreign nations, by which means, all useful necessities they had occasion for, were imported amongst them; and in every sense, the country still increasing more to settlements and improvements; many thousands of foreigners and others came hither and settled, whereby the produce of almost all kinds was much more increased, as well as commerce and trade both at home and abroad; and much good harmony continued amongst the inhabitants considering what a large number of mixed people were got together. And it must be noted, that for many years, there subsisted a good concord and benevolent disposition amongst the people of all denominations, each delighting to be reciprocally helpful and kind in acts of friendship for one another, and [as it is said] there was no difference in forms of worship; for the [Quakers](#), having built a large Meeting house about the centre of the city, [corner of 2nd Street and High Street?] all came there, until a mischievous man [[George Keith](#)] who had imbibed vile notions of sacred things, and had more learning than sincerity, and wanting to form a particular sect of his own, so divided the people, that they separated into different Societies; but at length he confounded himself and many of his adherents. The proprietor's [[William Penn](#)'s] first and principal care was to promote peace with all; and accordingly he established a friendly correspondence, by way of treaty with the Indians, at least twice a year, and strictly enjoined the inhabitants and surveyors, not to settle any land to which the Indians had a claim, until he had first, at his own cost, satisfied and paid them for the same. Which discreet method so effectually engaged their friendship, that they entirely loved him and his people, – when at the same time, several of the neighbouring colonies were at war and in great distress by the Indians. The proprietor, being called home to meet some grievous complaints and false insinuations, did not return till the year 1700, when he came with his family, to the great joy of the inhabitants in general, with intentions (as it was hoped) to settle therein; and often expressed his great pleasure of once more coming again, and



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

seeing the flourishing and happy state of the province, where he greatly desired to continue. But his stay was short, for his enemies at home were still unwearied against him, and he embarked himself and family on board a mean ship in the winter season, and arrived safe in England, where he still retained his interest at court. As the chief part of the inhabitants were Quakers, they, with others, were and are concerned in acts of government; but as the province increased and prospered in every respect, many of other persuasions came and settled here with worldly views; who have formerly attempted to wrest the civil power out of the Quakers' hands, as it is very probable they may, and will again. As they politically begin to think and observe, the country in its increased wealth and commerce cannot be safe, under the conduct of men, who from their principles [of religion] would continue it in a defenceless state and leave it an easy prey to any enemy. Thus not regarding [the fact of] the peaceable introduction and continuing from the first settlement, both in time of peace and war.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



Here also is a mention of a person who may be presumed to have been Friend [George Keith](#), found in a 9-folio-page manuscript authored by [Friend](#) William Fishbourne and entitled SOME FEW AND SHORT HINTS OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE YEAR 1739 (This Fishbourne was at one time mayor of Philadelphia, and at one time treasurer of the Pennsylvania colony):

Considerable numbers of shipping came yearly, besides vessels built not only for the inhabitants, but many others in remote parts, who readily disposed of their cargoes and procured their full loading of the produce of this province, which was transported to the English plantations, and other foreign nations, by which means, all useful necessities they had occasion for, were imported amongst them; and in every sense, the country still increasing more to settlements and improvements; many thousands of foreigners and others came hither and settled, whereby the produce of almost all kinds was

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

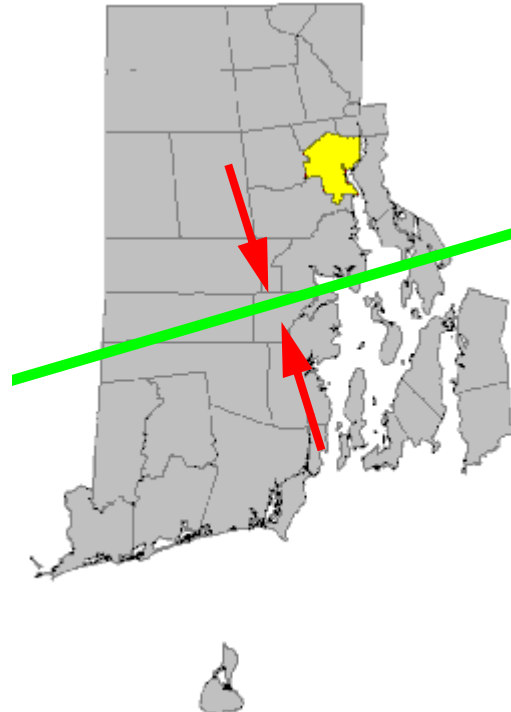
much more increased, as well as commerce and trade both at home and abroad; and much good harmony continued amongst the inhabitants considering what a large number of mixed people were got together. And it must be noted, that for many years, there subsisted a good concord and benevolent disposition amongst the people of all denominations, each delighting to be reciprocally helpful and kind in acts of friendship for one another, and [as it is said] there was no difference in forms of worship; for the [Quakers](#), having built a large Meeting house about the centre of the city, all came there, until a mischievous man who had imbibed vile notions of sacred things, and had more learning than sincerity, and wanting to form a particular sect of his own [[George Keith](#)], so divided the people, that they separated into different Societies; but at length he confounded himself and many of his adherents.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1740

During this decade a partisan struggle in the [Rhode Island](#) colony would pit the merchants and farmers of [Newport](#) and South County (the “Rhode Island” of “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations”), led by Samuel Ward, against the merchants and farmers of the environs of [Providence](#) (the “Providence Plantations” of “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations”), who would come to be led by [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#).



The General Court of Massachusetts, upon the suggestion of the royal governor, Jonathan Belcher, considered awarding to a descendent of [Friend Mary Dyer](#), one Samuel Dyer, a sum of money in compensation for sufferings inflicted by Boston upon his ancestor. The offer of blood money was declined, the descendant writing to the court that he found “their sense of the injury and injustice committed” to be sufficient for him and his family. He added that they

freely forgave all the actors in that dismal catastrophe.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

COLDBLOODED MURDER



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 19: The Quakers of Pennsylvania, responding to demands for the creation and funding of an obligatory militia, pointed out that there was a subtle differentiation to be made between military violence and police violence. To kill “a burglar who broke into our houses, plundered us of our goods, and perhaps would have murdered too, if he could not have otherwise accomplished his ends” would be to kill someone who was violating “laws human and divine,” whereas to kill a soldier would be to kill someone who supposed himself to be acting “in the discharge of his duty” and in “obedience to the commands of his sovereign.” –Very different, to kill someone who knew he was doing wrong, versus someone who was supposing incorrectly that he was doing right! –OK, you understand now, right?²²

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

5 day 5 mo: The [Quaker](#) meeting in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) recorded in its table of deaths that “John Wanton Governour of the Colony of Rhode Island Aged 68 years and Departed this Life the 5th Day of the 5th mo. 1740 being the 7th Day of the week, and he was carried to the meeting Houfe & after Meeting was Buried in Coddington’s Burying places – — [after this has been added in some blank space underneath in a different hand and ink, as if there had been some lingering doubt that needed to be put to rest: “for many years he was a valuable public friend”]

1741

At some point during his year, having spent his youth working on his father’s farm and as apprentice to a taylor, Friend [John Woolman](#) moved to Mount Holly, New Jersey to become a merchandiser and a [Quaker](#) minister.²³

All this time I lived with my parents, and wrought on the plantation; and having had schooling pretty well for a planter, I used to improve myself in winter evenings, and other leisure times. Being now in the twenty-first year of my age, with my father’s consent I engaged with a man, in much business as a shopkeeper and baker, to tend shop and keep books. At home I had lived retired; and now, having a prospect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God, the Father of Mercies, that He would preserve me from all taint and corruption; that, in this more public employment, I might serve Him, my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and self-denial which I had in a small degree exercised in a more private life.

The man who employed me furnished a shop in Mount Holly, about five miles from my father’s house, and six from his own, and there I lived alone and tended his shop. Shortly after my settlement here I was visited by several young people, my former acquaintance, who supposed that vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever. At these times I cried to the Lord in secret for wisdom and strength; for I felt myself encompassed with difficulties, and had fresh occasion to bewail the follies of times past, in contracting a familiarity with libertine people;

22. It is to be noted that the [Quaker](#) case for nonviolence in Pennsylvania was being considerably weakened by their support for [capital punishment](#).

23. JOURNAL, Chapter II 1743-1748 His first Journey, on a Religious Visit, in East Jersey. Thoughts on Merchandising, and Learning a Trade. Second Journey into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Third Journey through part of West and East Jersey. Fourth Journey through New York and Long Island to New England. And his fifth Journey to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the Lower Counties on Delaware.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

and as I had now left my father's house outwardly, I found my Heavenly Father to be merciful to me beyond what I can express. By day I was much amongst people, and had many trials to go through; but in the evenings I was mostly alone, and I may with thankfulness acknowledge, that in those times the spirit of supplication was often poured upon me; under which I was frequently exercised, and felt my strength renewed.

After a while, my former acquaintance gave over expecting me as one of their company, and I began to be known to some whose conversation was helpful to me. And now, as I had experienced the love of God through Jesus Christ, to redeem me from many pollutions, and to be a succor to me through a sea of conflicts, with which no person was fully acquainted, and as my heart was often enlarged in this heavenly principle, I felt a tender compassion for the youth who remained entangled in snares like those which had entangled me. This love and tenderness increased, and my mind was strongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures. I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavoured to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd.

One day, being under a strong exercise of spirit, I stood up and said some words in a meeting; but not keeping close to the divine opening, I said more than was required of me. Being soon sensible of my error, I was afflicted in mind some weeks, without any light or comfort, even to that degree that I could not take satisfaction in anything. I remembered God and was troubled, and in the depth of my distress He had pity upon me, and sent the Comforter. I then felt forgiveness for my offence; my mind became calm and quiet, and I was truly thankful to my gracious Redeemer for His mercies. About six weeks after this, feeling the spring of divine love opened and a concern to speak, I said a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace. Being thus humbled and disciplined under the cross, my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the pure Spirit which inwardly moves upon the heart, and which taught me to wait in silence sometimes many weeks together, until I felt that rise which prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to His flock.

From an inward purifying and steadfast abiding under it, springs a lively operative desire for the good of others. All the faithful are not called to the public ministry; but whoever are, are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various; but whenever any are true ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of His Spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a just sense of the conditions of others. This truth was early fixed in my mind, and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed lest, while I was standing to speak, my own will should get uppermost, and cause me to utter words from worldly wisdom, and depart from the channel of the true gospel ministry.

In the management of my outward affairs, I may say with thankfulness, I found truth to be my support; and I was respected in my master's family, who came to live in Mount Holly within two years after my going there.

In a few months after I came here, my master bought several Scotchmen servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Mount Holly to sell, one of whom was taken sick and died. In the latter part of his sickness, being delirious, he used to curse and swear most sorrowfully; and the next night after his burial I was left to sleep alone in the chamber where he died. I perceived in me a timorousness; I knew, however, I had not injured the man, but assisted in taking care of him according to my capacity. I was not free to ask any one on that occasion to sleep with me. Nature was feeble; but every trial was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like Him in times of trouble.



James Logan estimated that at this point a third of the population of Pennsylvania was [Quaker](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

J.Y. disowned because he hath given way to a libertine spirit as to strip off his shirt in order to fight with another person with blows at a public house they being playing a game called hustle cap. John informed he must make a public acknowledgment, refused, saying he was assured to be at his liberty. And was disowned.²⁴

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

24. Quoted in Howard H. Brinton, MEETINGHOUSE AND FARM HOUSE, Pendle Hill Pamphlet #185 (1972), page 29.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

November 21: Friend Samuel Chew, a [Quaker](#) magistrate of Pennsylvania on his way to becoming a non-Quaker, demanded to be informed how his fellow Quaker magistrates could be easy in their consciences when they “forcibly put another to death, after his hands are tied behind him,” for a crime, when they remained uneasy in their consciences about the military killing of people who were in “unlawful resistance.” This was entirely too much: soon the other members of his Duck Creek monthly meeting would publicly disown him for this considered opposition to state-sanctioned coldblooded murder.

[COLDBLOODED MURDER](#)

[CAPITAL PUNISHMENT](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

1742

By this point the overseers of the Pennsylvania public school system had four different types of school in operation in Philadelphia. All were [Quaker](#)-dominated and all were open to the general public. There were primary schools for teaching the trivium — reading, writing, and arithmetic. There was a secondary school teaching English and math. There was a vocational school offering training for business, for surveying, and for carpentry. There was a “Latin School,” preparing young men for college. They operated under a logo that enjoined “Good Instruction is Better than Riches” and “Love One Another

[Friend Anthony Benezet](#), a schoolteacher at Germantown, accepted a position at the Friends’ English School of Philadelphia (this was to become the William Penn Charter School).

On what would become known as “Bloody Election Day” in Philadelphia, the Proprietary Party hired 30 burly sailors “with large clubs or truncheons” to keep the rival [Quaker](#) party from controlling the staircase leading to a ballot box. The Quakers, aided by German allies, drove these rowdies off. Who was in the right? The various factions involved in that election struggle would offer their own interpretations of the event, each interpretation of course tendentiously proving their faction to have been in the right and the opposing faction to have been in the wrong. What seems to have happened in this “bloody Election” was that various trades groups such as the sailors, coopers, &c. showed up at the polling place with clubs. Their intent was to control a staircase upon which the voters traditionally waited in line to cast their ballots, in order to prevent those who might vote against them from casting ballots and thus gain the election by way of polling-place intimidation. (This sort of polling-place intimidation happens nowadays when, for instance, in a Florida under the control of a Republican governor, the one of the Bush brothers who is in control of Florida, the police frisk black men outside a polling place as they are attempting to enter in order to vote Democratic, against the other Bush brother, the one who is in control of Texas.) Soon afterward, Secretary Peters wrote a letter report to the proprietors of the Pennsylvania colony, who of course were in England: “Young Joseph Turner gathered the sailors, to the number of forty to fifty persons with clubs, at an open lot over against Christ church. Thence they made an assault at the court-house on some of the electors there. Thence went to Chestnut street, and by a back-way to the Indian King inn in High street, where being refused any drink by Peter and Jonathan Robeson, they went back enraged to the election grounds. There they fell heavily with their clubs upon the Germans and others — beating off the former, as many as 500. The fight became ‘shocking to the sight’ — ‘a truly mad scene and uproar’ — but the sailors were made to retreat. There was a great trial for the stairs by which the voters ascended and descended, then occupied, for several years, by Isaac Norris and his party [German immigrants were supporting Norris]. The ship-carpenters clubbed together to make it their own,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

which they accomplished. As it produced much public feeling, it became quickly a matter of court cognizance, and even the Assembly itself, anticipating the courts, made it a matter of debate and business for three weeks, passing at length a bill for a riot act, &c.” Years afterward, several caricature woodcuts would be prepared by the various sides to that 1742 quarrel, lampooning the other sides. At least two of these woodcuts, prepared in about the year 1765, would depict the Election groups at the staircase in question, and appended to these grotesque pictures, pro and con, would be a number of verses. There is one woodcut called “the Election Medley and Squire Lilliput” and another called “the Counter Medley and Answer to the Dunces.” It is really rather difficult to determine, now, exactly what happened, but I suppose we can all agree that polling-place intimidation is something which ought not be tolerated either then or now irregardless of our own political affiliation.

February 16: [Friend](#) Ebenezer Slocum of Dartmouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony sold his black [slave](#) Kofi to his nephew, another [Quaker](#), Friend John Slocum (this document is still in existence). A few years later, at about the age of 25 when he had earned enough to be able to purchase himself, Kofi would be [manumitted](#).

[PAUL CUFFE](#)

John Slocum, a devout Quaker, was influenced deeply by the 1733 denunciation of slavery by the Nantucket Meeting, the first condemnation of its nature in America. Reflection upon this denunciation led to Slocum’s decision to offer Kofi the opportunity to purchase his freedom. Through the performance of supplemental work following his daily duties, Kofi bought his freedom in the mid-1740s.

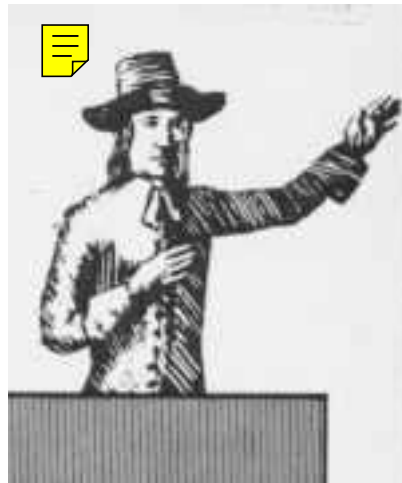
August 7 (July 27th old style, 27th day of 5th month Quaker style): [Nathanael Greene](#) was born in Potowomut, [Rhode Island](#). His mother was Mary Motte Greene and his father Nathanael Greene was a prosperous farmer and ironmaster, and a public Friend (Quaker preacher). (Note that General Nathanael Greene was not closely related to the other Greene from Rhode Island to achieve fame during the Revolution, Colonel [Christopher Greene](#).) From boyhood, Nathanael would work at his father’s mills and forge, making primarily anchors. From his childhood forward, he would walk with a noticeable limp. He would make miniature anchors and other toys for sale in [Newport](#), and use part of the proceeds to purchase books. He would become self-educated under the guidance of the grammarian Lindley Murray, a young lawyer working for John Jay’s law firm in New-York, and of [Ezra Stiles](#), who would become president of Yale College. He was a birthright Quaker member of the East Greenwich Monthly Meeting. After observing a military parade in Connecticut he would become an avid peruser of military works — something which would be of significant concern for the [Peace Testimony](#) of his meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1743

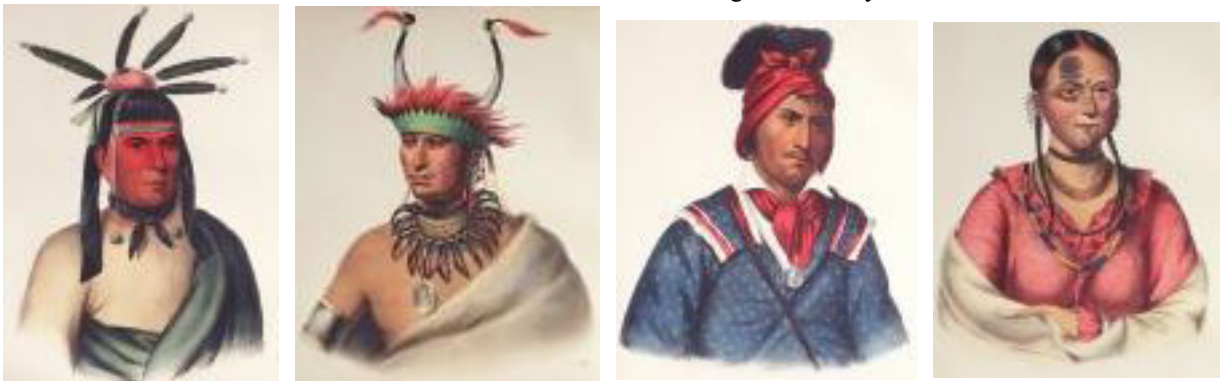
Friend [John Woolman](#) became a taylor, a surveyor, a conveyancer, a schoolmaster, and a “recommended minister,” and began to make [Quaker](#) ministerial journeys.



In regard to [slavery](#) he went directly to the slavemasters of Maryland’s east shore, and directly the shipowners of the [Rhode Island](#) coast, and set an example by refusing to use any article manufactured with the aid of enslaved labor.

While it might seem that those who worked to free the enslaved would look forward to welcoming them into their religious fellowship, Quakers were not necessarily committed to taking that next step. Rarely did Friends of European descent invite people of African descent to learn about their Quaker beliefs, and even more rarely did they try to interest them in becoming members. ... the assertion that Friends were fundamentally not concerned for the well-being of the enslaved African. Some historians maintain that they abolished enslavement among themselves to preserve the purity of the Religious Society of Friends, not to restore freedom to people of African descent.²⁵

He worked with Moravian missionaries to the Native American villages of Pennsylvania.²⁶



25. Pages 183-184 in Donna McDaniel’s and Vanessa Julye’s FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many fresh and heavenly openings, in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the most noble amongst those which are visible. And being clearly convinced in my judgment that to place my whole trust in God was best for me, I felt renewed engagements that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and pursue worldly business no further than as truth opened my way.

About the time called [Christmas](#) I observed many people, both in town and from the country, resorting to public-houses, and spending their time in drinking and vain sports, tending to corrupt one another; on which account I was much troubled. At one house in particular there was much disorder; and I believed it was a duty incumbent on me to speak to the master of that house. I considered I was young, and that several elderly friends in town had opportunity to see these things; but though I would gladly have been excused, yet I could not feel my mind clear.

The exercise was heavy; and as I was reading what the Almighty said to Ezekiel, respecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was set home more clearly. With prayers and tears I besought the Lord for His assistance, and He in loving-kindness gave me a resigned heart. At a suitable opportunity I went to the public-house; and seeing the man amongst much company, I called him aside, and in the fear and dread of the Almighty expressed to him what rested on my mind. He took it kindly, and afterwards showed more regard to me than before. In a few years afterwards he died, middle-aged; and I often thought that, had I neglected my duty in that case, it would have given me great trouble; and I was humbly thankful to my gracious Father, who had supported me herein.

My employer, having a negro woman,²⁷ sold her, and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though I felt uneasy at the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures, yet I remembered that I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our Society, who bought her; so through weakness I gave way, and wrote it; but at the executing of it I was so afflicted in my mind, that I said before my master and the Friend that I believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion. This in some degree abated my uneasiness; yet, as often as I reflected seriously upon it, I thought I should have been clearer if I had desired to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience; for such it was. Some time after this a young man of our Society spoke to me to write a conveyance of a slave to him, he having lately taken a negro

26. JOURNAL, Chapter II 1743-1748 His first Journey, on a Religious Visit, in East Jersey. Thoughts on Merchandising, and Learning a Trade. Second Journey into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Third Journey through part of West and East Jersey. Fourth Journey through New York and Long Island to New England. And his fifth Journey to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the Lower Counties on Delaware.

27. Note by Friend John Greenleaf Whittier: The number of slaves in New Jersey at the commencement of Friend [John Woolman's](#) labours for [emancipation](#) was undoubtably large. As late as 1800 there were 12,422. Perth Amboy was a place of deposit for the newly imported Africans, and long barracks were erected for their accommodation. In Spring 1734, when Woolman was a lad of fourteen, a [servile insurrection](#) took place, which had for its object the massacre of the masters, and an alliance with native Americans of the back woods who were allied to the French. Some years later a negro convicted of crime was burned alive at Perth Amboy. An immense number of negroes, gathered from all the neighbouring townships, were compelled to be witnesses of the slow torment of the victim.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:**18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM**

into his house. I told him I was not easy to write it; for though many of our meeting and in other places kept slaves, I still believed the practice was not right, and desired to be excused from the writing. I spoke to him in goodwill; and he told me that keeping slaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the slave being a gift made to his wife, he had accepted her.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Here is how Waldo Emerson would depict this incident:

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: John Woolman of New Jersey, whilst yet an apprentice, was uneasy in his mind when he was set to write a bill of sale of a negro, for his master. He gave his testimony against the traffic, in Maryland and Virginia.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Edmund Packover asserted that more than 5,000 [Friends](#) were present at this year's New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

The [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was in this year set off from the [Greenwich RI](#) Monthly Meeting (meetings for worship had been being held in South Kingston since 1701). This new monthly meeting would sometimes be referred to as Narragansett Monthly Meeting.

The bulk of the [Narragansett](#) of Charlestown, [Rhode Island](#) converted to Christianity. At first they would attend the sermons of the Reverend Joseph Park of [Westerly](#) (this was a New Light congregation) but later they would have their own native church on their reservation, under the Reverend Samuel Niles (Niles, although illiterate, spoke the native language).

A [Quaker](#) "preparative meeting" was set up in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#) on a hill next to the Boston Post Road (the location would also be referred to as "Dunn's Corners"; it is now on Route 1). This Quaker meeting would in 1777 be reduced to the status of a "worship group," and would continue as such until being laid down in 1800. Only the old Quaker cemetery now marks this site.

1744

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) advised against the further importing of [slaves](#).²⁸



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE


LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London, this year needed to deal with a most severe infringement upon the [Quaker](#) Peace Testimony, in that certain shipmasters professing to be of that society had begun to go to sea with letters of marque, and engage privateering. Those who simply could not be reasoned with were to be publicly disowned:

It having been represented to this meeting, that some professing to be of our society have of late slighted and neglected our ancient and Christian testimony to such a degree, as to be concerned in privateering, or as owners of ships going with letters of marque; which is a flagrant and lamentable departure from our peaceable principle (which hath always been to confide in the protection and providence of Almighty God, and not in weapons of war), and a practice that may be attended with injustice, barbarity, and bloodshed:

This meeting having taken this sorrowful and afflicting case, and breach of our ancient testimony, into our serious consideration, have thought it our incumbent duty to bear our testimony against such practices; and it is the unanimous sense of this meeting, that all monthly meetings ought speedily to deal with all persons found in the practice of such things, in the spirit of truth and love, in order to bring them to a sense of their error, and to reclaim them from it; which if they cannot do, then to testify against them, and let them know we have no unity or fellowship with them.

(Yet, in 1781,  the Society would find it necessary emphatically to re-emphasize this guidance.)

28. Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#):



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The age of toleration had done its work. Without the lash of persecution, there were only 11 [Quakers](#) remaining in Boston.²⁹



1745

The [Quakers](#) of [Rhode Island](#) had built themselves, in 1704, a first one-room one-story meetinghouse, near the Great Road in [Lincoln](#). In about this year a larger two-story annex was appended to the front of this.³⁰ (This structure is still in business. Visitors are welcome for First Day worship.)



In the same year the [Quakers](#) who lived in [Providence](#) were moving from their 1st meetinghouse on Stampers Hill near the foot of Olney Street to their new meetinghouse on North Main Street between South Court Street and Meeting Street (where the brick firehouse now stands).

Also in this year, the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) used the proceeds from a lottery to construct a bridge 18 feet wide, at Weybosset.

29. Who said “Christianity without persecution is like meat without refrigeration, after three days it stinks to high heaven”?

30. There is, actually, another theory, according to which it was the two-story portion that had been erected in 1704, with the one-story structure annexed to it in 1745. I have been told, verbally, that those who have looked at the actual wall interiors at the juncture between the two portions are quite sure that the larger portion must have been tacked onto the earlier smaller portion — but I have not myself confirmed such physical evidence.

1746

Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) urged the various out-of-town meetings in Bucks, Chester, and Old Philadelphia (now Montgomery) counties to assist each other in establishing schools for their children, employing “such masters and mistresses as are concerned not only to instruct your children in their learning but are likewise to bring them to a knowledge of God and one another.”

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)

[Friend John Woolman](#) wrote SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES.³¹



[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

31. JOURNAL, Chapter II 1743-1748 His first Journey, on a Religious Visit, in East Jersey. Thoughts on Merchandising, and Learning a Trade. Second Journey into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Third Journey through part of West and East Jersey. Fourth Journey through New York and Long Island to New England. And his fifth Journey to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the Lower Counties on Delaware.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1720-1742

His first Journey on a Religious Visit, in East Jersey – Thoughts on Merchandising, and Learning a Trade – Second Journey into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina – Third Journey through part of West and East Jersey – Fourth Journey through New York and Long Island, to New England – And his fifth Journey to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the Lower Counties on Delaware.

Friend [John Woolman](#): MY esteemed friend Abraham Farrington being about to make a visit to Friends on the eastern side of this province, and having no companion, he proposed to me to go with him; and after a conference with some elderly Friends I agreed to go. We set out on the 5th of Ninth Month, 1743; had an evening meeting at a tavern in Brunswick, a town in which none of our Society dwelt; the room was full and the people quiet. Thence to Amboy, and had an evening meeting in the court-house, to which came many people, amongst whom were several members of Assembly, they being in town on the public affairs of the province. In both these meetings my ancient companion was engaged to preach largely in the love of the gospel. Thence we went to Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield, and had six or seven meetings in places where Friends' meetings are not usually held, chiefly attended by Presbyterians, and my beloved companion was frequently strengthened to publish the word of life amongst them. As for me, I was often silent through the meetings, and when I spake it was with much care, that I might speak only what truth opened. My mind was often tender, and I learned some profitable lessons. We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on some outward business in which several families were concerned, and which was attended with difficulties, some things relating thereto not being clearly stated, nor rightly understood by all, there arose some heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable Friend got off his watch. I had a great regard for him, and felt a strong inclination, after matters were settled, to speak to him concerning his conduct in that case; but being a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult; after some days' deliberation, and inward seeking to the Lord for assistance, I was made subject, so that I expressed what lay upon me in a way which became my youth and his years; and though it was a hard task to me it was well taken, and I believe was useful to us both.

Having now been several years with my employer, and he doing less in merchandise than heretofore, I was thoughtful about some other way of business, perceiving merchandise to be attended with much cumber in the way of trading in these parts.

My mind, through the power of truth, was in a good degree weaned from the desire of outward greatness, and I was learning to be content with real conveniences, that were not costly, so that a way of life free from much entanglement appeared best for me, though the income might be small. I had several offers of business that appeared profitable, but I did not see my way clear to accept of them, believing they would be attended with more outward care and cumber than was required of me to engage in. I saw that an humble man, with the blessing of the Lord, might live on a little, and that, where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfy the craving; but that commonly, with an increase of wealth, the desire of wealth



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

increased. There was a care on my mind so to pass my time, that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My employer, though now a retailer of goods, was by trade a tailor, and kept a servant-man at that business; and I began to think about learning the trade, expecting that if I should settle I might by this trade and a little retailing of goods get a living in a plain way, without the load of great business. I mentioned it to my employer, and we soon agreed on terms, and when I had leisure from the affairs of merchandise I worked with his man. I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this business for me, and I was taught to be content with it, though I felt at times a disposition that would have sought for something greater; but through the revelation of Jesus Christ I had seen the happiness of humility, and there was an earnest desire in me to enter deeply into it; at times this desire arose to a degree of fervent supplication, wherein my soul was so environed with heavenly light and consolation that things were made easy to me which had been otherwise.

After some time my employer's wife died; she was a virtuous woman, and generally beloved of her neighbours. Soon after this he left shopkeeping, and we parted. I then wrought at my trade as a tailor; carefully attended meetings for worship and discipline; and found an enlargement of gospel love in my mind, and therein a concern to visit Friends in some of the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Being thoughtful about a companion, I expressed it to my beloved friend, Isaac Andrews, who told me that he had drawings to the same places, and also to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After a considerable time, and several conferences with him, I felt easy to accompany him throughout, if way opened for it. I opened the case in our Monthly Meeting, and Friends expressing their unity therewith, we obtained certificates to travel as companions, — he from Haddonfield, and I from Burlington.

We left our province on the 12th of Third Month, 1746, and had several meetings in the upper part of Chester County, and near Lancaster; in some of which the love of Christ prevailed, uniting us together in His service. We then crossed the river Susquehanna, and had several meetings in a new settlement, called the Red Lands. It is the poorer sort of people that commonly begin to improve remote deserts; with a small stock they have houses to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raise, clothes to provide, and children to educate, so that Friends who visit such may well sympathize with them in their hardships in the wilderness; and though the best entertainment that they can give may seem coarse to some who are used to cities or old settled places, it becomes the disciples of Christ to be therewith content. Our hearts were sometimes enlarged in the love of our Heavenly Father amongst these people, and the sweet influence of His Spirit supported us through some difficulties: to Him be the praise.

We passed on to Manocquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shanando, and had meetings, some of which were comfortable and edifying. From Shanando, we set off in the afternoon for the settlements of Friends in Virginia; the first night, we, with our guide, lodged in the woods, our horses feeding near us; but he being poorly provided with a horse, and we young, and having good horses,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

were free the next day to part with him. In two days after we reached our friend John Cheagle's, in Virginia. We took the meetings in our way through Virginia; were in some degree baptized into a feeling sense of the conditions of the people, and our exercise in general was more painful in these old settlements than it had been amongst the back inhabitants; yet through the goodness of our Heavenly Father the well of living waters was at times opened to our encouragement, and the refreshment of the sincere-hearted. We went on to Perquimans, in North Carolina; had several large meetings, and found some openness in those parts, and a hopeful appearance amongst the young people. Afterwards we turned again to Virginia, and attended most of the meetings which we had not been at before, labouring amongst Friends in the love of Jesus Christ, as ability was given; thence went to the mountains, up James River to a new settlement, and had several meetings amongst the people, some of whom had lately joined in membership with our Society. In our journeying to and fro we found some honest-hearted Friends, who appeared to be concerned for the cause of truth among a backsliding people.

From Virginia, we crossed over the river Potomac, at Hoe's Ferry, and made a general visit to the meetings of Friends on the western shore of Maryland, and were at their Quarterly Meeting. We had some hard labour amongst them, endeavouring to discharge our duty honestly as way opened, in the love of truth. Thence, taking sundry meetings in our way, we passed towards home, which, through the favour of divine Providence, we reached the 16th of Sixth Month, 1746; and I may say that, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which mortifies selfish desires, my companion and I travelled in harmony, and parted in the nearness of true brotherly love.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey: first, in regard to my entertainment. When I ate, drank, and lodged free-cost with people who lived in ease on the hard labour of their slaves, I felt uneasy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burden, and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burdens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them in private concerning it. Secondly, this trade of importing slaves from their native country being much encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their children so generally living without much labour, was frequently the subject of my serious thoughts. I saw in these southern provinces so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the consequence will be grievous to posterity. I express it as it hath appeared to me, not once nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home I felt an increasing concern for Friends on our sea-coast; and on the 8th of Eighth Month, 1746, I left home with the unity of Friends, and in company with my beloved friend and neighbour Peter Andrews, brother to my companion before mentioned, and visited them in their meetings



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

generally about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg Harbour; we had meetings also at Barnagat, Manahockin, and Mane Squan, and so to the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury. Through the goodness of the Lord way was opened, and the strength of divine love was sometimes felt in our assemblies, to the comfort and help of those who were rightly concerned before Him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles. At Shrewsbury Yearly Meeting we met with our dear friends Michael Lightfoot and Abraham Farrington, who had good service there.

The winter following died my eldest sister, Elizabeth Woolman, of the smallpox, aged thirty-one years.

Of late I found drawings in my mind to visit Friends in New England, and having an opportunity of joining in company with my beloved friend Peter Andrews, we obtained certificates from our Monthly Meeting, and set forward on the 16th of Third Month, 1747. We reached the Yearly Meeting at Long Island, at which were our friends, Samuel Nottingham from England, John Griffith, Jane Hoskins, and Elizabeth Hudson from Pennsylvania, and Jacob Andrews from Chesterfield, several of whom were favoured in their public exercise; and, through the goodness of the Lord, we had some edifying meetings. After this my companion and I visited Friends on Long Island; and through the mercies of God we were helped in the work.

Besides going to the settled meetings of Friends, we were at a general meeting at Setawket, chiefly made up of other Societies; we had also a meeting at Oyster Bay in a dwelling-house, at which were many people. At the former there was not much said by way of testimony, but it was, I believe, a good meeting; at the latter, through the springing up of living waters, it was a day to be thankfully remembered. Having visited the Island, we went over to the main, taking meetings in our way, to Oblong, Nine-partners, and New Milford.

In these back settlements, we met with several people who, through the immediate workings of the Spirit of Christ on their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world to an inward acquaintance with Him. They were educated in the way of the Presbyterians. A considerable number of the youth, members of that society, used often to spend their time together in merriment, but some of the principal young men of the company, being visited by the powerful workings of the Spirit of Christ, and thereby led humbly to take up His cross, could no longer join in those vanities. As these stood steadfast to that inward convincement, they were made a blessing to some of their former companions; so that through the power of truth several were brought into a close exercise concerning the eternal well-being of their souls. These young people continued for a time to frequent their public worship; and, besides that, had meetings of their own, which meetings were awhile allowed by their preacher, who sometimes met with them; but in time their judgment in matters of religion disagreeing with some of the articles of the Presbyterians, their meetings were disapproved by that society; and such of them as stood firm to their duty, as it was inwardly manifested, had many difficulties to go through. In a while their meetings were dropped; some of them returned to the Presbyterians, and others joined to our religious society.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

I had conversation with some of the latter to my help and edification, and believe several of them are acquainted with the nature of that worship which is performed in spirit and in truth. Amos Powel, a Friend from Long Island, accompanied me through Connecticut, which is chiefly inhabited by Presbyterians, who were generally civil to us. After three days' riding, we came amongst Friends in the colony of Rhode Island, and visited them in and about Newport, Dartmouth, and generally in those parts; we then went to Boston, and proceeded eastward as far as Dover. Not far from thence we met our friend, Thomas Gawthrop, from England, who was then on a visit to these provinces. From Newport we sailed to Nantucket; were there nearly a week; and from thence came over to Dartmouth. Having finished our visit in these parts, we crossed the Sound from New London to Long Island, and taking some meetings on the island proceeded towards home, which we reached the 13th of Seventh Month, 1747, having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and sailed about one hundred and fifty. In this journey, I may say in general, we were sometimes in much weakness, and laboured under discouragements, and at other times, through the renewed manifestations of divine love, we had seasons of refreshment wherein the power of truth prevailed. We were taught by renewed experience to labour for an inward stillness; at no time to seek for words, but to live in the spirit of truth, and utter that to the people which truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged both to one meeting, came forth in the ministry near the same time, and were inwardly united in the work. He was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heaviest burden, and was an instrument of the greatest use.

Finding a concern to visit Friends in the lower counties of Delaware, and on the eastern shore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to join with my well-beloved ancient friend, John Sykes, we obtained certificates, and set off the 7th of Eighth Month, 1748, were at the meetings of Friends in the lower counties, attended the Yearly Meeting at Little Creek, and made a visit to most of the meetings on the eastern shore, and so home by the way of Nottingham. We were abroad about six weeks, and rode, by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles. Our exercise at times was heavy, but through the goodness of the Lord we were often refreshed, and I may say by experience, "He is a stronghold in the day of trouble." Though our Society in these parts appeared to me to be in a declining condition, yet I believe the Lord hath a people amongst them who labour to serve

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

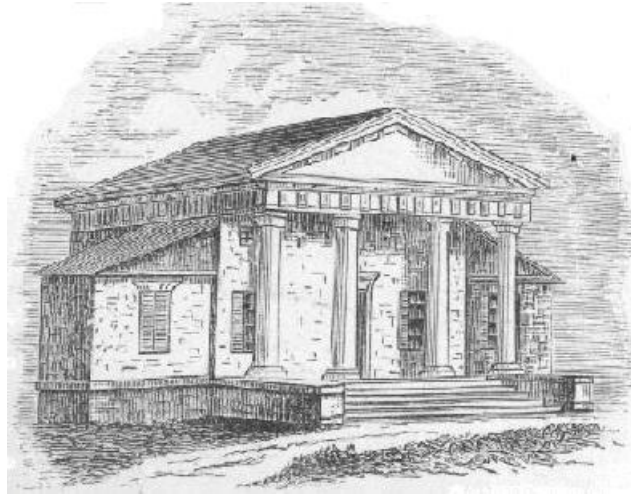
Him uprightly, but they have many difficulties to encounter.



When a meetinghouse for the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been constructed in 1725 within the town limits of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), it had been placed on what was then known as “Stamper’s Hill” and consequently had come to be referred to as the meetinghouse of the Stamper’s Hill Worship Group of the Providence Monthly Meeting, a group which had its main meetinghouses not in Providence but in [Smithfield](#) and in [Saylesville](#). By this point, the name “Stamper’s” having passed out of existence, this [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was being referred to as that of the Providence Worship Group of the Providence Monthly Meeting.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



1747

There were a number of donations of books and a number of cash contributions to the [Redwood Library](#) that was being formed in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). A number of the Jews of the local synagogue would contribute, including [Aaron Lopez](#).



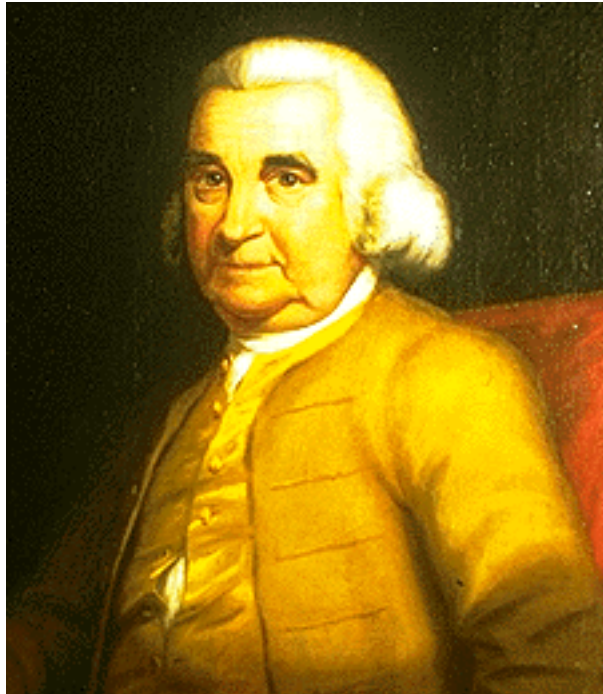
(Presumably this contribution would come somewhat later than the establishment of the library, since it is said that Aaron, then known as Duarte, would still be in Lisbon until 1750.)

The largest initial contribution would be from a [Quaker slaveholder](#) and philanthropist, Friend [Abraham Redwood](#), who donated £500 sterling for the purchase of “a collection of useful Books suitable for a Publick

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Library.” The library would therefore be named in Friend Abraham’s honor:



So, if we pose for ourselves the question, whether the expensive books that provided the basis for the Redwood Library had the sweat of unpaid labor on their pages, the answer would not be “No, for the donation of the Jewish slavetrader Lopez came somewhat later,” but would instead be “Yes, because the donation of the Quaker slaveholder Redwood was wealth extracted from the sweat of unpaid labor.”³²

The [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Friends](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#) of [Rhode Island](#), seating a thousand worshipers, was at this point enlarged to include a second-floor youth gallery seating an additional 500. A moveable wooden divider was created, so that the meeting could be separated on occasions into a men’s meeting and a women’s meeting.³³



This was the year of arrival of the reformer, [Friend](#) John Woolman, who generated a crowd so large that no building could contain them, so that meetings would be held at the waterfront ropewalk of Joseph Marshall. Woolman spoke of the relationship between greed and exploitation, and warned wives not to expect their husbands to provide them with luxuries since this might drive their husbands into immoral compromises in business. (From the context in which this occurred, and from the reaction of his audience, it is clear that Friend Woolman’s injunctions against cruelty were aimed at the abuse of fellow humans, rather than at the abuse of whales.)

32. In case you haven’t noticed, in the American popular mind [Quakerism](#) has been closely associated with antislavery righteousness, while the Jewish faith has been, at least in some circles, closely associated with enslavement iniquity. –It is, therefore, worth paying attention to information that complicates such popular perceptions.

33. This view of the meetinghouse dates to 1850, after it had been several times expanded.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Friend](#) John Churchman exhorted his fellow representatives in the Pennsylvania Assembly to remain faithful to the vision of their founder [Friend William Penn](#):

My countrymen and fellow-subjects, representatives of the inhabitants of this province,

Under an apprehension of the difficulties before you, I feel a strong sympathy with you, and have to remind you of a just and true saying of a great minister of Jesus Christ in his day, "The powers that be, are ordained of God." If men in power and authority, in whatsoever situation, would seek unto God, who will be a spirit of judgment to them that in judgment, for wisdom and counsel to act singly for Him who ordained the power, and permitted them to be stationed therein, that they should be his ministers; they would be a blessing under God to themselves and their country. But if those in authority suffer their own fears and the persuasions of others to prevail with them to neglect such attention, and enact laws for their own protection and defence by carnal weapons and fortifications, according to what is styled human prudence, He who is the great Superintendent, by withdrawing his power, may permit those evils they feared to come suddenly upon them, and that in his heavy displeasure. May it with gratitude be remembered, how remarkably we have been preserved in peace and tranquility for more than fifty years! No invasion by foreign enemies, and the treaties of peace with the natives, wisely begun by our worthy proprietor, William Penn, preserved inviolate to this day.

Though you now represent, and act for a mixed people of various denominations as to religion; yet remember the charter is the same as at first. Beware therefore of acting to oppress tender consciences, for there are many of the inhabitants whom you now represent, who still hold forth the same religious principles with their predecessors, who were some of the first adventurers into this, at that time, wilderness land, who would be greatly grieved to see warlike preparations carried on and encouraged to by their brethren in profession, or others, contrary to the charter, still conscientiously concluding, that the reverent and true fear of God, with an humble trust in his divine power, would be our greatest defence and safety. They who hold different principles and are settled in this government, can have no just cause of reflection if warlike measures are forborne, because they knew the charter framed, and the peaceable constitution, and have ventured themselves therein.

We may observe by laws enacted in parliament when the reformation was but newly begun in England, our mother country, there seemed to be wisdom from above to influence their minds. May you be rightly directed at this time, many of whom do fully believe in the immediate influence of Christ, the wisdom of God, which is truly profitable to direct. It is not from disrespect to the king or government that I speak after this manner, for I am thankful in heart, that the Lord in mercy hath vouchsafed that the throne of Great Britain should be filled by our present benevolent prince, King George II. May his reign be long and

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

happy.



December 30, Wednesday, evening: Reading from [Friend](#) Samuel Smith's (1720-1776) NECESSARY TRUTH &C response to his pamphlet PLAIN TRUTH; OR, SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA AND PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, in which Friend Samuel took the position that no war, whether aggressive or whether limited to purposes of national defense, was legitimate, [Benjamin Franklin](#) was so pleased that he took this response to William Bradford and struck a deal with him for 500 copies to be printed for £3.10.0 and handed out gratis — except that 50 copies were to be retained for Franklin to hand out on his own.

Clearly, Franklin was of the opinion that such a writing, when read by non-Quakers, would only serve to convince them of the validity of his own warlike attitudes, and persuade them that for the good of the entire colony the qualms of the Quakers needed to be disregarded.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

1748

Dr. Joseph Fry, a [Quaker](#), opened an apothecary shop in Bristol, England. He taught himself a number of recipes for [chocolate](#).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle ended King George's War between England and France, AKA the War of the Austrian Succession. Unexpectedly, England returned the captured French fortress in Nova Scotia, Louisbourg, to the forces of the French king. England had made a trade, of this fortress captured by the New Englanders in 1745 for the city of Madras in India. The people of the English colonies in New England were, of course, outraged, and it is an open question how much this single incident (although suppressed) may have contributed to the forming revolutionary sentiments of the colony. At this point an attempt was made to impress a husbandman of the village of Yarmouth on Cape Cod, Hatsell O'Kelley, into military service. When he refused to serve, a distress was placed upon his property in the amount of £10, and a search was made for something to confiscate. When no such property could be confiscated, he was sentenced instead to six months confinement in the Barnstable County lockup. He would need, later, to compensate the town for the cost of this prosecution. To close out the affair, the [Quaker](#) monthly meeting at Sandwich then raised enough money to buy O'Kelley out of his confinement.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

The [Nantucket Island Quakers](#), which in 1708 had numbered 75 adults and in 1728 had numbered 359 adults and in 1738 had numbered 580 adults, at this point numbered 832 adults.

January 9: In Philadelphia (city of brotherly love), Friend John Smith (1722-1771) completed a response to the Reverend Gilbert Tennent's pamphlet entitled THE LATE ASSOCIATION FOR DEFENSE, ENCOURAG'D, OR THE LAWFULNESS OF A DEFENSIVE WAR and submitted it to the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for consideration. Friend John's response would appear in an edition of 1,000 copies on January 30th.

January 30: Friend John Smith's [Quaker](#) pamphlet in opposition to preparations for war, in response to the Presbyterian Reverend Gilbert Tennent's pamphlet in favor of preparations for war, was published in Philadelphia (city of brotherly love) in an edition of 1,000 copies.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

March 19: [Elias Hicks](#) was born on the Hempstead Plain of *Paumanok* “Long Island,” on “nineteenth day of Third month.” (I don’t have a clue whether that means March 19th or June 19th, but the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* says it means March 19th — and I suppose that settles the matter for some of us.) His grandfather Jacob Hicks, an Anglican churchwarden, had been influenced by an itinerant [Quaker](#) exhorter named Thomas Chalkley, and offered the Hicks family home as the place of worship for Friends residing in the area, and his father John Hicks (1711-1789) had become a member of the Westbury Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), three miles from the farm, “by conviction” a few years before. His mother Martha Smith Hicks (17??-1759) declined to join any religious grouping, and it is clear from her firmness in this regard that she knew there to be something irreducibly incompatible and incommensurable between the religious impulse and any social grouping whatever.³⁴ As Elias, the 4th of her six sons, would put it when he preached,

*“The business of life
is to turn inward.”*



ELIAS HICKS

*“Religion and righteousness
are the same thing.”*

34. Her son recorded that she “was never in strict fellowship with any religious society, but was a Woman of Strict Morality and generally beloved and respected by her Neighbors, and acquaintance, of every profession.”

1749

[Friend John Woolman](#) and [Friend](#) Sarah Ellis were joined in marriage. They would have a small family.³⁵



1749-1756

His Marriage – The Death of his Father – His Journeys into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania – Considerations on keeping Slaves, and Visits to the Families of Friends at several times and places – An Epistle from the General Meeting – His Journey to Long Island – Considerations on Trading and on the Use of Spirituous Liquors and Costly Apparel – Letter to a Friend.

ABOUT this time, believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord with desires that He would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeably to His will, and He was pleased to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis, to whom I was married the 18th of Eighth Month, 1749.

In the fall of the year 1750 died my father, Samuel Woolman, of a fever, aged about sixty years. In his lifetime he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord; and often endeavoured to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and particularly to cherish in us a spirit of tenderness, not only towards poor people, but also towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina in 1746, I made some observations on keeping slaves which some time before his decease I showed to him; he perused the manuscript, proposed a few alterations, and appeared well satisfied that I found a concern on that account. In his last sickness, as I was watching with him one night, he being so far spent that there was no expectation of his recovery, though he had the perfect use of his

35. JOURNAL, Chapter III 1749-1756 His Marriage. The Death of his Father. His Journeys into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania. Considerations on Keeping Slaves, and Visits to the Families of Friends at several times and places. An Epistle from the General Meeting. His Journey to Long Island. Considerations on Trading and on the Use of Spirituous Liquors and Costly Apparel. Letter to a Friend.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

understanding, he asked me concerning the manuscript, and whether I expected soon to proceed to take the advice of Friends in publishing it? After some further conversation thereon, he said, "I have all along been deeply affected with the oppression of the poor negroes; and now, at last, my concern for them is as great as ever."

By his direction I had written his will in a time of health, and that night he desired me to read it to him, which I did; and he said it was agreeable to his mind. He then made mention of his end, which he believed was near; and signified that, though he was sensible of many imperfections in the course of his life, yet his experience of the power of truth, and of the love and goodness of God from time to time, even till now, was such that he had no doubt that on leaving this life he should enter into one more happy.

The next day his sister Elizabeth came to see him, and told him of the decease of their sister Anne, who died a few days before; he then said, "I reckon Sister Anne was free to leave this world?" Elizabeth said she was. He then said, "I also am free to leave it"; and being in great weakness of body said, "I hope I shall shortly go to rest." He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was sensible till near the last.

Second of Ninth Month, 1751. — Feeling drawings in my mind to visit Friends at the Great Meadows, in the upper part of West Jersey, with the unity of our Monthly Meeting I went there, and had some searching labourious exercise amongst Friends in those parts, and found inward peace therein.

Ninth Month, 1753. — In company with my well-esteemed friend, John Sykes, and with the unity of Friends, I travelled about two weeks, visiting Friends in Buck's County. We laboured in the love of the gospel, according to the measure received; and through the mercies of Him who is strength to the poor who trust in Him, we found satisfaction in our visit. In the next winter, way opening to visit Friends' families within the compass of our Monthly Meeting, partly by the labours of two Friends from Pennsylvania, I joined in some part of the work, having had a desire some time that it might go forward amongst us.

1750

William Williams, Sr. depicted the reclusive [Friend Benjamin Lay](#) in oil on a mahogany panel.



As we can see above, the depiction has Lay as standing in front of the grotto that served him as a study, holding Thomas Tryon's tract advocating healthful living.

In addition to his day duties at the Friends' English School in Philadelphia (this would become the William Penn Charter School), [Friend Anthony Benezet](#) set up an evening class for slave children which he ran from his own home.



The result of this would in 1770 be the Negro School at Philadelphia. From at least this decade, Friend Anthony would be firmly opposed to slavery. Initially, he was alone in such sentiments. He had a lot of work to do, if he wanted convince his Quaker brethren that slaveowning was inconsistent with their Christian doctrine.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Quakers and the “American Revolution”:



Pennsylvania Quakers ... experienced significant harassment for their pacifism and neutrality. Their numbers were already greatly reduced by the disciplinary renaissance of the 1750s, and they faced a real schism from “Free Quakers,” who both supported the Revolution and rejected pacifism. As a result “orthodox” Friends found themselves hunted down in a colony they had founded and long governed. In May 1776 a stone-throwing mob forced Philadelphia Friends to observe a fast day that the Continental Congress had proclaimed. A Berks County mob shackled and jailed Moses Roberts, a Quaker minister, until he posted a \$10,000 bond guaranteeing his “good” behavior. Philadelphia patriots also exiled seventeen Friends to Virginia in 1776 for nearly two years so they would not interfere with revolutionary activities. Patriots celebrating the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1782 ransacked Quaker homes that had not displayed victory candles.

A Friends meetinghouse stood since 1706 on land of Edward Wanton on the North River at Scituate, in what has become “Norwell.” By tradition, the door of this meetinghouse was always unlocked. At about this point, this meetinghouse was moved into Pembroke to bring it closer to the homes of its current congregation. Some say it was conveyed on the North River by scow, while others say “gundalows” were used to slide it along the river ice.

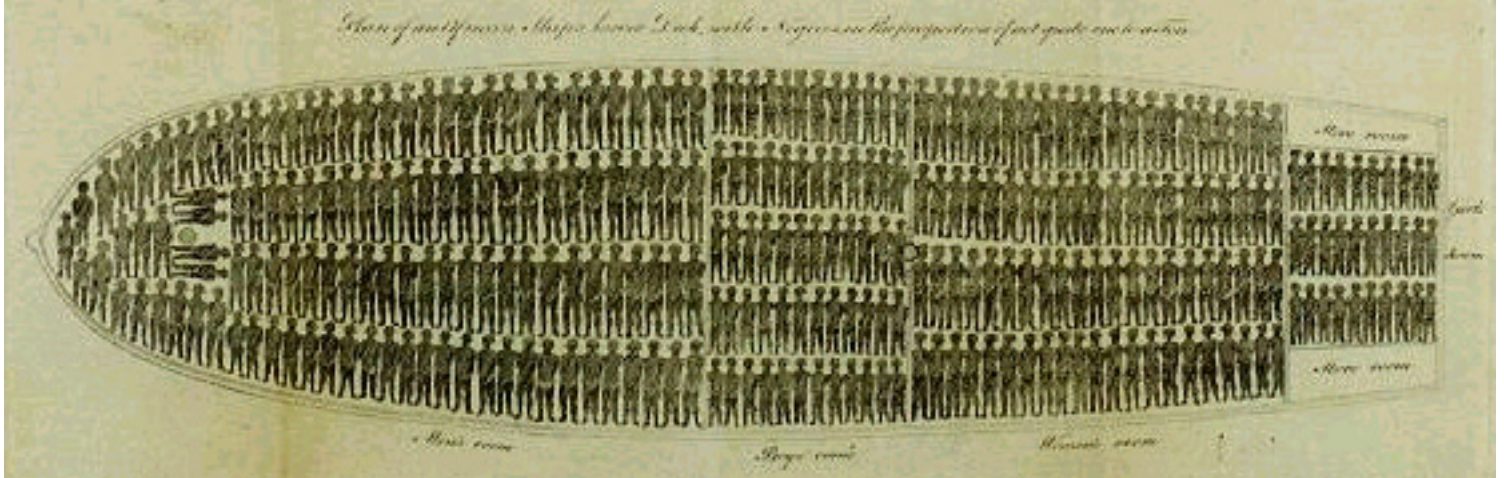
According to one account of it, it would have been in about this year that Friend Sarah Orrok, Friend David Orrok, Sr. and Friend Sarah Tillet Orrok’s daughter, married a Scotsman, Peter Burns (if so, then she was getting married at about the age of 12; another account has the wedding taking place on June 10, 1754 at the age of 16 and in fact she gave birth to her first child also during 1754, so perhaps the 1750 record is a record not of a wedding but of an elopement). The house on Prince Street in Boston would at some point pass to her. According to Aunt Maria Thoreau,

To gain the consent of her Quaker parents, Mr. Burns, my grandfather, was obliged to doff his rich apparel of gems and ruffles, and conform to the more simple garb of his Quaker bride.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

A [Quaker](#) in [Newport](#), one of the two major [slave](#) importing centers of the USA, was put under dealing by the elders of his monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), on account of his firm's continuing to engage in the [international slave trade](#).³⁶



[Aaron Lopez](#), who would be known as the “Merchant Prince” of early American commerce, and his family, at this point arrived in [Newport](#) from Lisbon, Portugal, where as a Marrano³⁷ he had been being required to use the Christian name “Don Duarte Lopez.”

36. So, exactly **who, by name**, was this interesting Friend? We know that Friend [Abraham Redwood](#) needed to be dealt with by the elders of his meeting, on account of his refusal to give up the ownership of beaucoup black slaves on his sugar plantation in Antigua, but I have not heard that this Friend Abraham was engaged in any trade other than the sugar trade — so presumably this [Quaker](#) slavetrader of unspecified name was some **other** Newport Quaker. Below, for your interest, appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#):



37. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to [Judaism](#).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

(Probably, the family came to the port of New-York first and then went on up to [Rhode Island](#).)



The father of the family immediately underwent ritual circumcision. Within twenty years he would own or have interests in nearly a hundred sailing vessels. Aaron and his nephew Moses would wholly own 27 square-rigged vessels, including whale-ships — although they would lose nearly all of these during the Revolutionary War. Like the aforementioned Newport [Quaker](#), he would be heavily involved in the international slave trade. He would be one of the original founders of and contributors to [Touro Synagogue](#).

1751

As an example of an acknowledgement of [Quaker Disownment](#), here is one that was duly received and placed on file in this year at the Wilmington monthly meeting, which hopefully led to J.W.'s reinstatement in the community:

Friends, — Whereas I contended with my neighbor, W.S., for what I apprehended to be my right, by endeavoring to turn a certain stream of water into its natural course, till it arose to a personal difference; in which dispute I gave way to warmth of temper so far as to put my friend W. into the pond; for which action of mine, being contrary to the good order of Friends, I am sorry, and desire, through Divine assistance, to live in unity with him for the future. From your friend, J.W.³⁸

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

18th of 10th month (New Style): [Job Scott](#) was born in the part of north [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that has since become Smithfield, to [Friends John Scott and Lydia Scott](#). After a period of what has been said to be youthful folly he “requested the care, and became a member of the Monthly Meeting of [Smithfield](#), then extending to Providence.”

38. Quoted in Ezra Michener, A RETROSPECT OF EARLY QUAKERISM (Philadelphia: Zell, 1860), pages 185-186; also Ruth M. Pitman, “Structures of Accountability,” QUAKER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT #60 (Summer 1985), page 35.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1754


Friend [Anthony Benezet](#) left the Friends' English School to set up one of his own in Philadelphia, providing girls with an opportunity for an "advanced learning in English" — the first public girls' school in America.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

QUAKER EDUCATION

The Quaker community of which 16-year-old [Benjamin West](#) was a part approved art training. The young [Quaker](#) of noticeable artistic talent was to study both in Philadelphia and in New-York.



 Members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) were being pressed to submit to military training and to bear arms for the state and Friends unwilling to embrace this way of violence were being forced out of public life. But this would not be an unmitigated disaster, for, freed of their involvement in the compromises of government, a number of these Friends would soon be turning their political energies toward the abolition of the institution of human slavery. Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting finally approved for publication Friend [John Woolman](#)'s 1746 treatise *SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES*.³⁹

SLAVERY





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1749-1756

His Marriage – The Death of his Father – His Journeys into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania – Considerations on keeping Slaves, and Visits to the Families of Friends at several times and places – An Epistle from the General Meeting – His Journey to Long Island – Considerations on Trading and on the Use of Spirituous Liquors and Costly Apparel – Letter to a Friend.

About this time [1753], a person at some distance lying sick, his brother came to me to write his will. I knew he had slaves, and, asking his brother, was told he intended to leave them as slaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ, and as offending sober people was disagreeable to my inclination, I was straitened in my mind; but as I looked to the Lord, he inclined my heart to His testimony. I told the man that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to this people was not right, and that I had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind; that though many in our Society kept them as slaves, still I was not easy to be concerned in it, and desired to be excused from going to write the will. I spake to him in the fear of the Lord, and he made no reply to what I said, but went away; he also had some concerns in the practice, and I thought he was displeased with me. In this case I had fresh confirmation that acting contrary to present outward interest, from a motive of divine love and in regard to truth and righteousness, and thereby incurring the resentments of people, opens the way to a treasure better than silver, and to a friendship exceeding the friendship of men.

The manuscript before mentioned having laid by me several years, the publication of it rested weightily upon me, and this year I offered it to the revisal of my friends, who, having examined and made some small alterations in it, directed a number of copies thereof to be published and dispersed amongst members of our Society.⁴⁰ In the year 1754 I found my mind drawn to join in a visit to Friends' families belonging to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, and having the approbation of our own, I went to their Monthly Meeting in order to confer with Friends, and see if way opened for it. I had conference with some of their members, the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one Friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning; but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness. I kept my distress secret, and, going with a Friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for His heavenly instruction.

In the morning I felt easy to proceed on the visit, though very low in my mind. As mine eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before Him, He was pleased graciously to afford help, so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service, part of which time was employed near home. And again in the following winter I was several weeks in the same service; some part of the time

39. JOURNAL, Chapter III 1749-1756 His Marriage. The Death of his Father. His Journeys into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania. Considerations on Keeping Slaves, and Visits to the Families of Friends at several times and places. An Epistle from the General Meeting. His Journey to Long Island. Considerations on Trading and on the Use of Spirituous Liquors and Costly Apparel. Letter to a Friend.

40. This pamphlet bears the imprint of Benjamin Franklin, 1754.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

at Shrewsbury, in company with my beloved friend, John Sykes; and I have cause humbly to acknowledge that through the goodness of the Lord our hearts were at times enlarged in His love, and strength was given to go through the trials which, in the course of our visit, attended us.

From a disagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this continent, and an epistle to Friends went forth from our general Spring Meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this Journal.

An Epistle from our General Spring Meeting of ministers and elders for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia, from the 29th of the Third Month to the 1st of the Fourth Month, inclusive, 1755.

TO FRIENDS ON THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA: —

DEAR FRIENDS, — In an humble sense of divine goodness, and the gracious continuation of God's love to His people, we tenderly salute you, and are at this time therein engaged in mind, that all of us who profess the truth, as held forth and published by our worthy predecessors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that Life which is the Light of men, and be strengthened to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, that our trust may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as the dust of the balance, and her inhabitants as grasshoppers" (ISAIAH 40:22).

Being convinced that the gracious design of the Almighty in sending His Son into the world was to repair the breach made by disobedience, to finish sin and transgression, that His kingdom might come, and His will be done on earth as it is in heaven, we have found it to be our duty to cease from those national contests which are productive of misery and bloodshed, and submit our cause to Him, the Most High, whose tender love to His children exceeds the most warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promised to His seed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee" (HEBREWS 13:5). And we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had experience of that work which is carried on, "not by earthly might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts" (ZECHARIAH 4:6). By which operation that spiritual kingdom is set up, which is to subdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand forever. In a deep sense thereof, and of the safety, stability, and peace that are in it, we are desirous that all who profess the truth may be inwardly acquainted with it, and thereby be qualified to conduct ourselves in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profession; and we trust, as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the Almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended "from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth" (ZECHARIAH 9:10), to the completion of those prophecies already begun,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

that "nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, nor learn war any more" (ISAIAH 2:4; MICAH 4:3).

And, dearly beloved friends, seeing that we have these promises, and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us constantly endeavour to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surfeiting cares of this life, and redeemed from the love of the world, that no earthly possessions nor enjoyments may bias our judgments, or turn us from that resignation and entire trust in God to which His blessing is most surely annexed; then may we say, "Our Redeemer is mighty, he will plead our cause for us" (JEREMIAH 50:34). And if, for the further promoting of His most gracious purposes in the earth, He should give us to taste of that bitter cup of which His faithful ones have often partaken, O that we might be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear friends, with respect to the commotions and stirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are desirous that none of us may be moved thereat, but repose ourselves in the munition of that rock which all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping us subjectly given up to His heavenly will, and feeling it daily to mortify that which remains in any of us which is of this world; for the worldly part in any is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in this world. For as the truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one, and many are made partakers of the spirit of it; and so many as do partake of it, so many will be straitened and perplexed with it. But they who are single to the truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, shall rejoice in the midst of adversity, and have to experience with the prophet, that, "although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet will they rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of their salvation" (HABAKKUK 3:17, 18).

If, contrary to this, we profess the truth, and, not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits disagreeable to the purity thereof, and trust to the strength of man to support ourselves, our confidence therein will be vain. For He who removed the hedge from His vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot by reason of the wild grapes it produced (ISAIAH 5:6), remains unchangeable; and if, for the chastisement of wickedness and the further promoting of His own glory, He doth arise, even to shake terribly the earth, who then may oppose Him and prosper?

We remain, in the love of the gospel, your friends and brethren.

(Signed by fourteen Friends.)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Scrupling to do writings relative to keeping slaves has been a means of sundry small trials to me, in which I have so evidently felt my own will set aside, that I think it good to mention a few of them. Tradesmen and retailers of goods, who depend on their business for a living, are naturally inclined to keep the good-will of their customers; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under any necessity to question the judgment or honesty of elderly men, and more especially of such as have a fair reputation. Deep-rooted customs, though wrong, are not easily altered; but it is the duty of all to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them. A charitable, benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro, may, I believe, under some circumstances, keep him in his family as a servant, on no other motives than the negro's good; but man, as man, knows not what shall be after him, nor hath he any assurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wisdom and goodness necessary rightly to exercise such power; hence it is clear to me, that I ought not to be the scribe where wills are drawn in which some children are made sale-masters over others during life.

About this time an ancient man of good esteem in the neighbourhood came to my house to get his will written. He had young negroes, and I asked him privately how he purposed to dispose of them. He told me. I then said, "I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace," and respectfully gave him my reasons for it. He signified that he had a choice that I should have written it, but as I could not, consistently with my conscience, he did not desire it, and so he got it written by some other person. A few years after, there being great alterations in his family, he came again to get me to write his will. His negroes were yet young, and his son, to whom he intended to give them, was, since he first spoke to me, from a libertine become a sober young man, and he supposed that I would have been free on that account to write it. We had much friendly talk on the subject, and then deferred it. A few days after he came again and directed their freedom, and I then wrote his will. Near the time that the last-mentioned Friend first spoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruise in his body and sent for me to bleed him, which having done, he desired me to write his will. I took notes, and amongst other things he told me to which of his children he gave his young negro. I considered the pain and distress he was in, and knew not how it would end, so I wrote his will, save only that part concerning his slave, and carrying it to his bedside, read it to him. I then told him in a friendly way that I could not write any instruments by which my fellow-creatures were made slaves, without bringing trouble on my own mind. I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done, and desired to be excused from doing the other part in the way he proposed. We then had a serious conference on the subject; at length, he agreeing to set her free, I finished his will. Having found drawings in my mind to visit Friends on Long Island, after obtaining a certificate from our Monthly Meeting, I set off 12th of Fifth Month, 1756. When I reached the island, I lodged the first night at the house of my dear friend, Richard Hallett. The next day being the first of the week, I was at the meeting in New Town, in which we experienced the renewed manifestations of the love of Jesus Christ to the comfort of the



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

honest-hearted. I went that night to Flushing, and the next day I and my beloved friend, Matthew Franklin, crossed the ferry at White Stone; were at three meetings on the main, and then returned to the island, where I spent the remainder of the week in visiting meetings. The Lord, I believe, hath a people in those parts who are honestly inclined to serve him; but many I fear, are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward bearing the cross in such faithfulness as He calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this visit, both in public and private, and at several places where I was, on observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity, in a friendly way, to labour with them on that subject; expressing, as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the Christian religion, and the ill effects of it manifested amongst us.

The latter end of the week their Yearly Meeting began; at which were our friends, John Scarborough, Jane Hoskins, and Susannah Brown, from Pennsylvania. The public meetings were large, and measurably favoured with divine goodness. The exercise of my mind at this meeting was chiefly on account of those who were considered as the foremost rank in the Society; and in a meeting of ministers and elders way opened for me to express in some measure what lay upon me; and when Friends were met for transacting the affairs of the church, having sat awhile silent, I felt a weight on my mind, and stood up; and through the gracious regard of our Heavenly Father, strength was given fully to clear myself of a burden which for some days had been increasing upon me.

Through the humbling dispensations of divine Providence, men are sometimes fitted for His service. The messages of the prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable to the people, and so adverse to the spirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach, and in the weakness of nature he thought of desisting from his prophetic office; but saith he, "His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones; and I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay." I saw at this time that, if I was honest in declaring that which truth opened in me, I could not please all men; and I laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however disagreeable to my own inclination. After this I went homeward, taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way, in both which meetings the pure influence of divine love was manifested, in an humbling sense whereof I went home. I had been out about twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and sixteen miles.

While I was out on this journey my heart was much affected with a sense of the state of the churches in our southern provinces; and believing the Lord was calling me to some further labour amongst them, I was bowed in reverence before Him, with fervent desires that I might find strength to resign myself to His heavenly will.

Until this year, 1756, I continued to retail goods, besides following my trade as a tailor; about which time I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I had begun with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell cloths and linens; and at length, having got a considerable shop of goods, my trade increased every year, and



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the way to large business appeared open, but I felt a stop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had, in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living. I had but a small family; and, on serious consideration, believed truth did not require me to engage much in cumbering affairs. It had been my general practice to buy and sell things really useful. Things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people, I was not easy to trade in; seldom did it; and whenever I did I found it weaken me as a Christian.

The increase of business became my burden; for though my natural inclination was toward merchandise, yet I believed truth required me to live more free from outward cumber; and there was now a strife in my mind between the two. In this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciously heard me, and gave me a heart resigned to His holy will. Then I lessened my outward business, and, as I had opportunity, told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to; and in a while I wholly laid down merchandise, and followed my trade as a tailor by myself, having no apprentice. I also had a nursery of apple trees, in which I employed some of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming, and inoculating.⁴¹ In merchandise it is the custom where I lived to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get in debt; when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often sue for it at law. Having frequently observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such goods as were most useful, and not costly.

In the time of trading I had an opportunity of seeing that the too liberal use of spirituous liquors and the custom of wearing too costly apparel led some people into great inconveniences; and that these two things appear to be often connected with each other. By not attending to that use of things which is consistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labour which extends beyond what our Heavenly Father intends for us. And by great labour, and often by much sweating, there is even among such as are not drunkards a craving of liquors to revive the spirits; that partly by the luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others (led to it through immoderate labour), very great quantities of rum are every year consumed in our colonies; the greater part of which we should have no need of, did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

When men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understandings, neglect their duty as members of a family or civil society, and cast off all regard to religion, their case is much to be pitied. And where those whose lives are for the most part regular, and whose examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, adhere to some customs which powerfully

41. Note by Whittier: He seems to have regarded agriculture as the business most conducive to moral and physical health. He thought, "If the leadings of the Spirit were more attended to, more people would be engaged in the sweet employment of husbandry, where labour is agreeable and healthful." He does not condemn the honest acquisition of wealth in other business free from oppression; even "merchandising," he thought, might be carried on innocently and in pure reason. Christ does not forbid the laying up of a needful support for family and friends; the command is, "Lay not up for YOURSELVES treasures on earth." From his little farm on the Rancocas he looked out with a mingled feeling of wonder and sorrow upon the hurry and unrest of the world; and especially was he pained to see luxury and extravagance overgrowing the early plainness and simplicity of his own religious society. He regarded the merely rich man with unfeigned pity. With nothing of his scorn he had all of Thoreau's commiseration, for people who went about bowed down with the weight of broad acres and great houses on their backs.



draw to the use of more strong liquor than pure wisdom allows, it hinders the spreading of the spirit of meekness, and strengthens the hands of the more excessive drinkers. This is a case to be lamented.

Every degree of luxury hath some connection with evil; and if those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, have that mind in them which was also in Christ, and so stand separate from every wrong way, it is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat and have taken spirits to revive me, I have found by experience that in such circumstances the mind is not so calm, nor so fitly disposed for divine meditation, as when all such extremes are avoided. I have felt an increasing care to attend to that Holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires, and leads those who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did those who have the care of great estates attend with singleness of heart to this heavenly Instructor, which so opens and enlarges the mind as to cause men to love their neighbours as themselves, they would have wisdom given them to manage their concerns, without employing some people in providing luxuries of life, or others in labouring too hard; but for want of steadily regarding this principle of divine love, a selfish spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness and manifold confusions in the world.

Though trading in things useful is an honest employ, yet through the great number of superfluities which are bought and sold, and through the corruption of the times, they who apply to merchandise for a living have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the Prophet Jeremiah laid down for his scribe: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not." In the winter this year I was engaged with friends in visiting families, and through the goodness of the Lord we often-times experienced his heart-tendering presence amongst us.

A Copy of a Letter written to a Friend

"In this, thy late affliction, I have found a deep fellow-feeling with thee, and have had a secret hope throughout, that it might please the Father of Mercies to raise thee up and sanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou being more fully acquainted with that way which the world esteems foolish, mayst feel the clothing of divine fortitude, and be strengthened to resist that spirit which leads from the simplicity of the everlasting truth.

"We may see ourselves crippled and halting, and from a strong bias to things pleasant and easy, find an impossibility to advance forward; but things impossible with men are possible with God; and our wills being made subject to His, all temptations are surmountable.

"This work of subjecting the will is compared to the mineral in the furnace, which, through fervent heat, is reduced from its first principle: 'He refines them as silver is refined; he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver.' By these comparisons, we are instructed in the necessity of the melting operation of



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore Him, and manifest that adoration by inwardly turning away from that spirit, in all its workings, which is not of Him. To forward this work the all-wise God is sometimes pleased, through outward distress, to bring us near the gates of death; that life being painful and afflicting, and the prospect of eternity opened before us, all earthly bonds may be loosened, and the mind prepared for that deep and sacred instruction which otherwise would not be received. If kind parents love their children and delight in their happiness, then He who is perfect goodness in sending abroad mortal contagions doth assuredly direct their use. Are the righteous removed by it? their change is happy. Are the wicked taken away in their wickedness? the Almighty is clear. Do we pass through with anguish and great bitterness, and yet recover? He intends that we should be purged from dross, and our ear opened to discipline. "And now, as thou art again restored, after thy sore affliction and doubts of recovery, forget not Him who hath helped thee, but in humble gratitude hold fast His instructions, and thereby shun those by-paths which lead from the firm foundation. I am sensible of that variety of company to which one in thy business must be exposed; I have painfully felt the force of conversation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly mind, and can sympathize with others in such conflicts, because much weakness still attends me.

"I find that to be a fool as to worldly wisdom, and to commit my cause to God, not fearing to offend men, who take offence at the simplicity of truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the sentiments of others.

"The fear of man brings a snare. By halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our spirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd, so that when we look at the way of the righteous, it seems as though it was not for us to follow them.

"A love clothes my mind while I write, which is superior to all expression; and I find my heart open to encourage to a holy emulation, to advance forward in Christian firmness. Deep humility is a strong bulwark, and as we enter into it we find safety and true exaltation. The foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God is stronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wisdom, and knowing the abasement of the creature, we find that power to arise which gives health and vigour to us."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

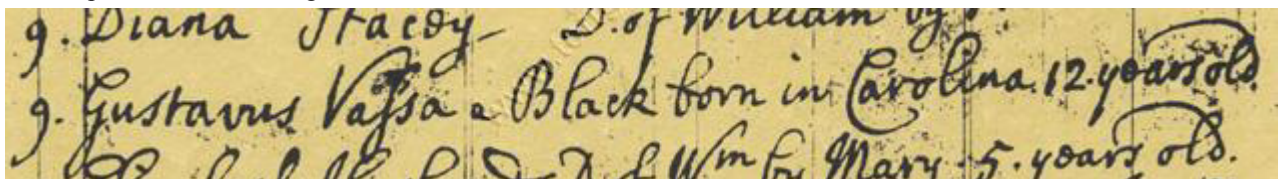
June: On [Nantucket Island](#), a dispute had arisen over the use of the Sheep Commons of the community for the overgrazing of sheep. Four members of the [Quaker](#) community were placed under dealing for their activities, and of these four, one made a satisfactory apology and three were disowned. There was a claim of private ownership made, to at least a portion of the land regarded as held in common by the community. There was considerable question raised, as to whether it was proper for a religious community to so closely regulate the economic affairs of its members, or whether it would be more appropriate to submit such financial disputes to the civil courts.

1755

The [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was enlarged beyond the original 20X20 structure by the addition of a 20X30 ell.

Samuel Fothergill asserted that the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) this year had the largest attendance of any such meeting in the world.

[Olaudah Equiano](#) was captured in Africa by slave-traders at the age of ten, along with a sister — unless his 1759 baptismal record in England is correct and he was born in Carolina in 1747:



He would be sold several times and would labor in Monserrat in the Caribbean (where he was [enslaved](#) to Friend Robert King, a [Quaker](#) merchant), Barbados, Virginia, and England. In THE LIFE OF OLAUDAH EQUIANO THE AFRICAN, he would describe his capture and the Middle Passage to Virginia:

I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a greeting in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life; so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across, I think, the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely.

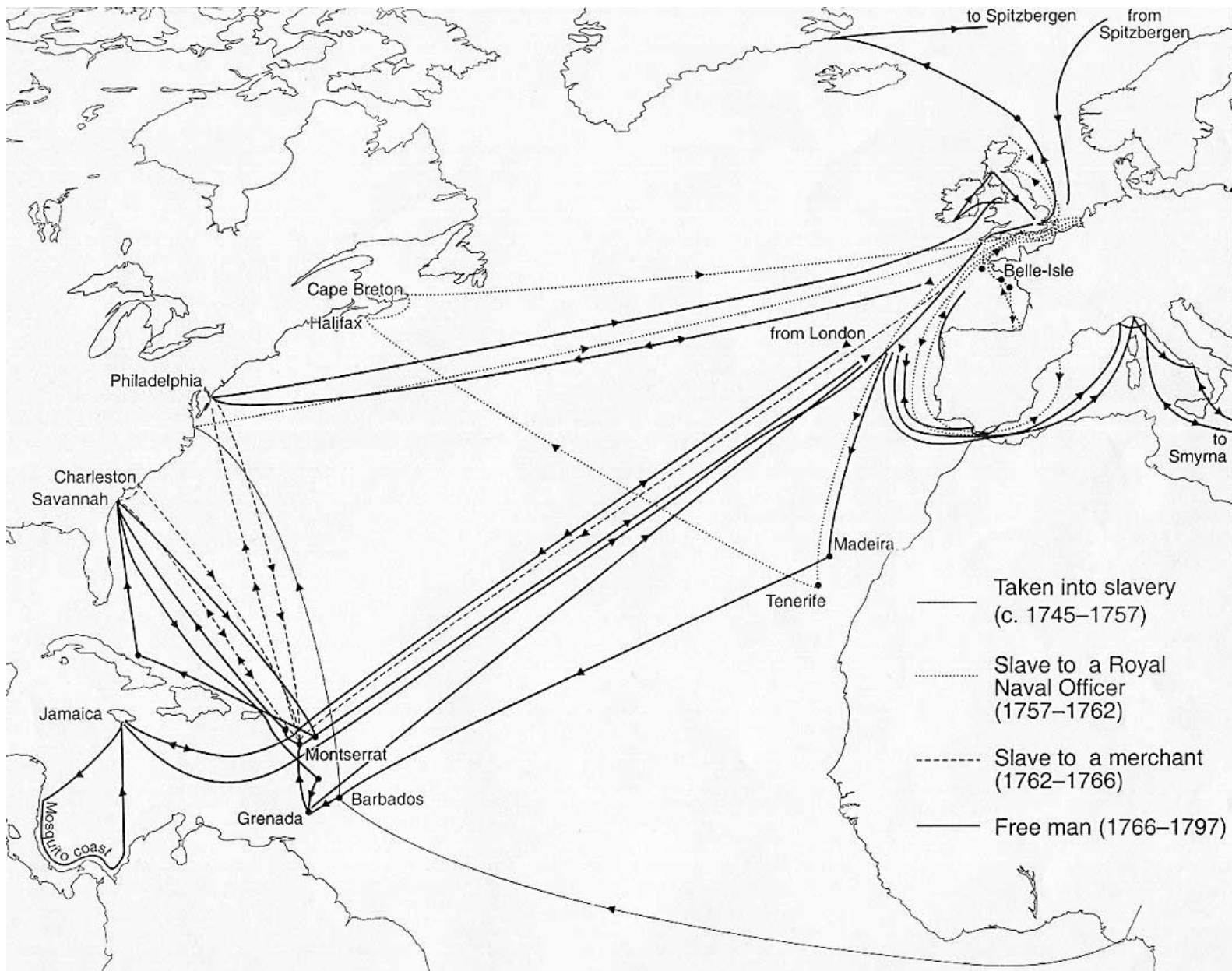
The white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so savage a manner; for I had never seen among my people such instances of brutal cruelty. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us.

The air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died. The wretched situation was again aggravated by the chains, now unsupportable, and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable.





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The recently bereaved [Stephen Hopkins](#) married a 2d time, with Friend Anne Arnold Smith, widow of Benjamin Smith. This, unlike his justice-of-the-peace home wedding with his 1st wife, as a full-scale [Quaker](#) affair, and the couple's Quaker wedding certificate is preserved at the [Rhode Island](#) Historical Society. His 2d wife was a Friend as had been his 1st wife and his mother and his mother's father, and at this point he "identified himself with that religious body to which his mother and his wife belonged" (William Eaton Foster, *STEPHEN HOPKINS, A RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN*, 1884; also, in a footnote on page 97, Foster asserts that "It was through this act of marriage, also, that Governor Hopkins connected himself by membership with the Society."). Well, at least he seems to have begun to dress like a Quaker, that being the easy part. He would not ever, however, embrace the core of the faith, which is the Peace Testimony, nor would he concern himself with the small issues such as the longstanding Quaker refusal to take oaths, nor would he ever respond to items of Quaker discipline such as the requirement that Friends dissociate themselves from American practices of human enslavement. He made himself a Quaker more or less in the "Friend Nixon" mode, which is to say, he was pleased to carry himself as a Quaker when convenient (but not when not). Eventually it would become necessary to disown his sorry ass.

Historian Kenneth Carroll has asserted that there was no such thing as applying for membership until the 1730s and 1740s. In her analysis of early New England Yearly Meeting records Quaker historian Elizabeth Cazden found no comprehensive membership lists until the 1780s when meetings were directed to visit every family and tighten enforcement of the discipline. Meetings often did not keep lists of members unless they happened to divide into two.⁴²

On [Nantucket Island](#), [Friend](#) Benjamin Coffin was almost disowned by the [Quakers](#) for dragging his feet in regard to the [manumission](#) of his three slaves. He would manage to avoid disownment, but eventually the former governor of [Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Hopkins](#), more recalcitrant, would indeed eventually be disowned for such continued slaveholding. (Looking up the inside of his nose: this Hopkins dude, later, would be a signer of our [Declaration of Independence](#) — which means that he apparently was willing to tolerate freedom, justice, and the pursuit of happiness at least for **some** of us at least **some** of the time.)

what we should do
a protest in such
Colony
Stephen Hopkins



"The capacity to get free is nothing; the capacity to be free, that is the task."

— André Gide, *THE IMMORALIST*
translation Richard Howard
NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, page 7



42. Pages 180-181 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's *FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE* (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

1756

The [Quakers](#) of the New World gave up their involvement in government: they couldn't compete with non-Quaker legislators in Pennsylvania without compromises they were unwilling to make, nor could they protect, from the non-Quaker immigrants, the members of Native American tribes who had assimilated to a peaceful way of life.

Opponents of these Quakers of Pennsylvania who were giving up their involvement in the general society were estimating that at this point between a quarter and a fifth of their colony's population was [Quaker](#).

On Long Island, birthright [Friend Elias Hicks](#), age 7, dreamt that he was walking home from school and found a hollow tree in which wrens had nested. He reached to get the eggs and a stream of flame came out of the hole, enclosing him in a blaze of pure fire about eight feet in diameter. Elias's father appeared and requested him to be still. He awoke safe in bed.

August 14: The French and Indians under Montcalm captured Fort Oswego and destroyed it.

Daniel Boone and Rebecca Bryan were wed. They would soon settle in Rowan County, [North Carolina](#).⁴³



43. There seems no indication that this was a [Quaker](#) bride or a meetinghouse ceremony — since the bridegroom had already been active as a warrior, it would appear that by this point he had left his family heritage forgotten and far behind him.

1757

[Benjamin West](#), formerly a [Quaker](#), now a former Quaker, served as a militia captain in Indian campaigns in Pennsylvania.



The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), held in London, this year considered it appropriate to emphasize that the Quaker Peace Testimony went so far as even to preclude any willingness to allow one's mind to become preoccupied with thoughts of the possibility of violence. That sort of frame of mind was not to be a [Quaker](#) mentation:

We think it necessary earnestly to recommend to monthly meetings, to keep a watchful eye over their members, in this important branch of our Christian testimony; and where any inclination toward such practices appears, that timely admonition and suitable counsel be given, in the spirit of love and meekness. And as we are called out of wars and fightings, so let them be as seldom as possible the subjects of our conversation; but let a holy care rest upon us, to abide in that power which gives dominion over the hopes and fears that arise from the concerns of an unstable world, and tend, as they are admitted into the mind, to lessen the trust on that Rock which

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

is immovable.

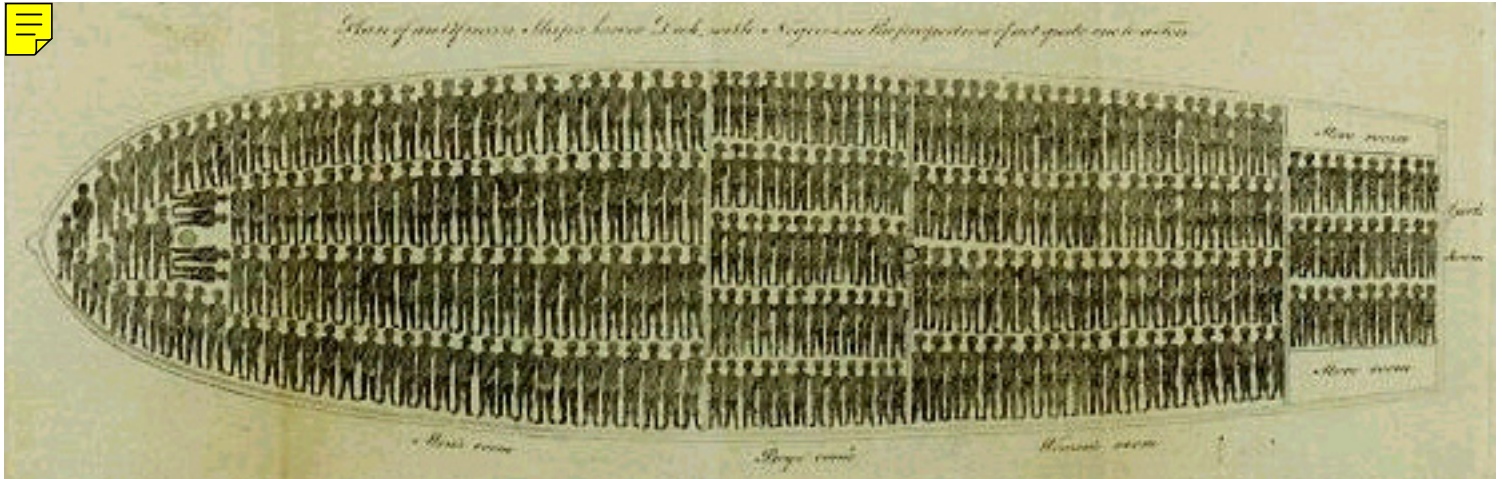
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In [Rhode Island](#) harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 8 vessels were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of 872 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island sloop *Dolphin*,⁴⁴ carrying a cargo of 80 slaves, the sloop *Gambia*, carrying a cargo of 140, the schooner *Sierra-Leone*, carrying 70, the snow *Two Brothers*, carrying 150, and a brig of unknown name, carrying 70.



A Quaker clerk turned over the blank volume in which the Friends Monthly Meeting of [South Kingstown](#) had been keeping since 1740 a record of its white births, white deaths, white marriages, and white removals, and upside down and backward in the back, began something very different from all that white stuff. What was begun upside down and backward at the end of the volume was — a record of the [manumissions](#) of the black slaves of these white [Rhode Island](#) Quakers. We learn that the 1st local [Quaker](#) to manumit a slave was Friend Richard Smith of Groton, Connecticut, who in this year manumitted an 18-year-old named Jane.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
	Hannah Knowles	
Job	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

Friend Richard explained that the “Negrow Girl” in question had been become the property of his wife, Friend Abigail Gardner Smith, by the will of her father Stephen Gardner, “in Order to be a Slave all her Days According to the common Custom of Slavery.” The document is so totally eloquent in its lengthy expression

44. Thomas Robinson was part owner of the [negrero](#) *Dolphin*. He was a [Quaker](#) in good standing, of [Newport](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

of antislavery sentiments that I will copy it all here:

I Richard Smith of Groton⁴⁵ in the County of New London and Colony of Connecticut upon Confederation and Knowing it Required of me I have written this in Order to Shew the reafon and make it manifest to mankind why that I Difcharge & Sett free my Negrow Girl named Jane at Eighteen Years of Age Daughter of Sarah which is now in Slavery with her Other Children among the Heirs of Stephen Gardnor of Norwich Deceafed this Girl Jane was Given to my Wife Abigail⁴⁶ by her Father Stephen Gardnor by will in order to be a Slave all her Days According to the common Cufdom of Slavery. But the falling into my hand by my Wife and the Lord by his free Goodnefs having Given me a clear Sight of the Cruelty of makeing a Slave of one that was by Nature as free as my Own Children and no ways by any Evil She had Committed brought her Self into Bondage and Slavery and therefore can no ways be Gilty of Slavery, and to argue because her Mother was made a Slave being by force and Violence brought Out of her Own Land against her mind and Will and Deprived of What She had there & made a Slave of her Should be a Sufficent Reafon that her posterity Should be oprest in bondage with Slavery. I see no Justice for it nor mercy in so Doing but Vi^olent Opprefing the Inocent without Cause For this thing of Servants it hath pleased God to Sett before me in a Clear manner the case of Servants and Especially the Unreasonablenefs of thefe matters and miftrefses who profefs to be the followers of Christ how they will buy & Sell and be pertakers in making marchandize in Great Babylon of the Slaves that in the bodys of men and womon and of thefe Strangers as Indians & Negrows that are taken Out of their Own Country
[page]

Country or taken in War one among a nother and Sent out which when brought here [word marked out] in Sed of being Released

are Sold into Slavery all there Days and their Pofterity after them they being never so Innofent in Ronging of any and thefe mafters and miftrefses that buy them or other ways by their parents have them, all this while profefs them selves to be the followers of Christ or Chriftians and yet how they will plead the Reafonablefs of Keeping them in Slavery and their pofterity after them But when they have pleaded all they can and used the beft arguments they have, it is Only to have there work done with eafe & they to be great and to be Lord over there fellow Creatures, Because they have power & authority to opprefs the helplefs by a Cuftomary Law of the Nations to keep them in Bondage under Slavery, Quite Renounfing and Rejecting and Hating to obey the Law & command of there great Lord and Mafter Christ as they call him who charge them saying Therefore all things whatfoever Ye would that man fhould do to You do ye even so to them for this if the Law and the prophets said

45. Friend Richard Smith of Groton deceased 28 of 8 mo 1800 "in the 96th year of his age."

46. Friend Abigail Smith of Groton deceased 15 of 6 mo 1799.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Our Great Lord Matt. 7 & 12. Now if it fhould be afked of any of thefe mafters or miftrefses if they in like Mannor with thefe Children fhould be carried away unto any Strange People in the world and be fold into Slavery whether they would be willing to serve a strange nation in Slavery & their Children after them and be Deprived of what they Injoyed in there own Country (for this is the Case) I fuppofe there anfwer would be no nor any of our Children upon any acc^t: no not if it were in a Christian Land as they call this well then how can any of them plead the Reafonables of Keeping of any of them in Slavery with there Poffterity and would set[^]them free in a Reafonable Time as they themfelves with their Children would be willing to be done by according to Chrifts words above mentioned for by Nature all nations are free one from the other and the apoftle Saith God is no Refpecter of perfons, the apoftle Likewife Saith that God hath made of one Blood all Nations of men to Dwell on all the face of the Earth Acts 17 & 26

So

[new page]

So that by Nature & blood wee are no better in Gods Sight than they and it is plain that Chrift taught a Doctrine that was to Releive Oppreffed and to Unbind heavy Burdens and let the Innoferent prifoner go free, and hath commanded us to love our Enemy, and to entertain Stranger, & not to opprefs them in Bondage with Slavery and said, he came not to Defstroy mens Lives but to save them Luke 9 & 56 So that the way that brings them into Slavery is forbidden by Chrift for by war violence & stealth and trading in them is the way by which they are first Ordered to go into Slavery, and they that buy them or other ways have them and keep them in Slavery as they do there Beafts, for to do there Labour & not to Releive them and set them free, are partakers of the same evil, Therefore I Leave this as a faithfull Teftimony in the fear of the living God against all such wicked proceedings, and upon true Confideration of what is above written I hereby Declare that now at this Time that my Negrow Girl Jane hath arrived to Eighteen Years of Age that fhe Shall now go out Free from Bondage and Slavery as free as if she had been free born and that my Heirs Executors or Administrators fhall have no power over her to make a Slave of Her or her poffterity no more than if she had been [word lined out] free born, for I freely give her her freedom now at the arrival of the afores^d age which is now fullfilled in this prefent Year 1757 as witnefs my hand

Richard Smith

Some time after I had written this Discharge I had it in Confideration which way was proper to make it manifest & secure and it appeared to me very proper to lay it before Friends at the preparative meeting, as buifinefs to the Monthly Meeting, to see if the Monthly Meeting would think proper that it might be put on



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*Record or would forward Untill I might Know
what might be done by Friends on this acc^t for this
thing hath had weight on my mind ever since this*

Girl

[new page]

*Girl was put into my hands to prove me in this part
of Self Denial whether I would be faithfull or not [flourish]
Now my Friends to tell you plainly some Years before
this my Intent was to have bought some negrow Slaves
for to have done my work to have saved hireing of help
But when I was about buying them I was forbidden
by the same power that now caufes me to set this
Girl at Liberty for the matter was set before me
in a Clear manner more Clear than what mortal
man Could have done, and Therefore I believe it is
not write for me to Think or hide in a thing of so
great Concernment as to give my Confent to do to others
Contrary to what we our selves would be willing to be
done unto our selves if we were in Slavery as many of
them are at this dayh & under such mafters and
miftrefses too as would be willing to be called Chrifts
true followers and make a large profefsion of some
of his Truths but if we truly Confider God will have
no part kept back for he call for Juftice and mercy
and his Soul Loathes the Oppressing of the Inocent
and poor & helplefs and such as have none to help
and will afsuredly avenge their caufe in Righeoufnefs
These things I have found on my mind to lay before
Friends as a matter worth due [word lined out] Confideration
and so lay it before this meeting as Buifinefs [flourish]*

Richard Smith [flourish]

We note that the 1st draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#), in taking the King of England to task for having insisted on the continuation of the international slave trade (“He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce.”⁴⁷), may be better understood by referring back to the debate in this year over banning the importation of [slaves](#) into Virginia. In this year, the question of a ban on the further importation of new slaves did come before the House of Burgesses, and it was not a debate over benevolence or over human rights. The primary sponsors of such a ban were the large planters of the Northern Neck region of Virginia, including the family of Richard Henry Lee, while the main opposition to it came primarily from smaller planters closer to the frontier, many of them affiliated with the John Robinson faction. Not long after this debate began, the legislators abandoned the possibility of a total ban and the discussion turned toward imposing a 10% tariff or

47. Although the sentences in question are confidently asserted to have been authored by [Jefferson](#), and confidently asserted to have been stricken from the draft by others, I know of no evidence to support any such speculation.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

head tax on newly imported Africans as a means of raising revenue to defray Virginia's expenses for the Seven Years' War. We do have some evidence that this situation in Virginia was then discussed with the British government, for after Francis Fauquier would become governor of Virginia, the topic would come up in his correspondence with the Board of Trade. Fauquier would on June 2, 1760 mention that this proposal had been made by some "old settlers who have bred large quantities of slaves and who would make a monopoly of them by a duty which they hoped would amount to a prohibition." In council on December 10, 1770, [King George III of England](#) would direct them not to thus interfere with the importation of new slaves from Africa — but this was not cruelty offsetting a colonial benevolence, for in this debate, the first consideration had been the business of making money, the second consideration had been the business of making money, and the third consideration had been the business of making money.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

According to the Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)'s book of discipline for this year:

PRIESTS' WAGES; OR HIRELING MINISTRY

LET us keep in remembrance, that it is under the immediate teaching and influence of the holy Spirit that all acceptable worship is performed, and all true gospel ministry supplied; that this pure and powerful influence, in vessels sanctified and prepared by the divine hand, is the essential qualification to that work; and that as the gift is divine, the service is freely and faithfully to be discharged, without any view to reward from man.

And it is advised that where any of our members are so regardless of this testimony as to contribute to the support of an hireling ministry, and vindicate such conduct, that they be tenderly laboured with to convince them of their error, but if this prove ineffectual, and they persist in their unfaithfulness, the monthly meetings to which they belong should proceed to declare our disunity with them, such conduct being opposed to our testimony for the free ministry of the gospel, which is "without money and without price."

When the Monthly Meeting of [John Bartram](#) began an inquiry into whether they ought to alert non-[Quakers](#) in Darby, Pennsylvania that he was not in unity with his meeting (such an alert to the general surrounding community is technically referred to as a "Disownment," and does not ever mean that the individual would be discouraged from continuing to attend worship, with his family), they did not focus upon his various problematic attitudes but instead upon what they rightly or wrongly took to be the underlying cause for those problematic attitudes:

PAGE 14 He wasn't so enlightened on the humanity of Indians as were the Friends' teachings; he wasn't so quick to abandon the practice of buying and selling humans as some others were; and his personal testimony on peace wasn't so pacific in wartime as the discipline prescribed. Yet what led to Darby Meeting's disownment of John had nothing to do with the social expression of religious beliefs; it bore no relation to his actions or inactions in the world. The issue that led to over a year of deliberation, of gentle attempts to persuade John of the error of his ways, was heresy, a most unusual charge for the Quakers of his day. John didn't believe in the divinity of Christ.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

What did this have to do with a book which Friend [John Bartram](#) was reading at the time? We know that he made three pages of notes while perusing a book about THE MORALS OF CONFUCIUS that had been recently acquired by the Library Company of Philadelphia. Taking a look at these notes, we discover that he had been attempting to “Bartramize” what he had been reading (we have all been guilty of this sort of error), distilling from the book a sort of corroboration for truths of which he already was convinced:

PAGE 17: The Confucius of John’s notes might have been a Quaker, except for one thing. Confucius, just as John Bartram, believed that God “is one,” not two or three. Indeed, it may even have been the reading of this book that prompted John to share his views on God’s unitary nature with the Darby Quakers, to deliver a message in Meeting for Worship about the parallels between the lives and teachings of Confucius and Jesus, and his estimation that they were comparably great men. It’s unclear whether John read the book before the enquiry started or after it had already begun, or what prompted him to read it, to take such notes, and to what end. The connection between the two events seems more than a coincidence in time, so the story I tell is that John read the book first and his enthusiasm for the wisdom of Confucius is what got him in trouble with Darby Meeting’s Overseers. The introduction to THE MORALS OF CONFUCIUS makes explicit the translators’ perceptions of identities between the teachings of Confucius and Christ. John’s notes show that he saw these parallels, too.

Friend [John Woolman](#) began a journal, retrojecting back to his birth and youth and carrying the story forward into his current activities.

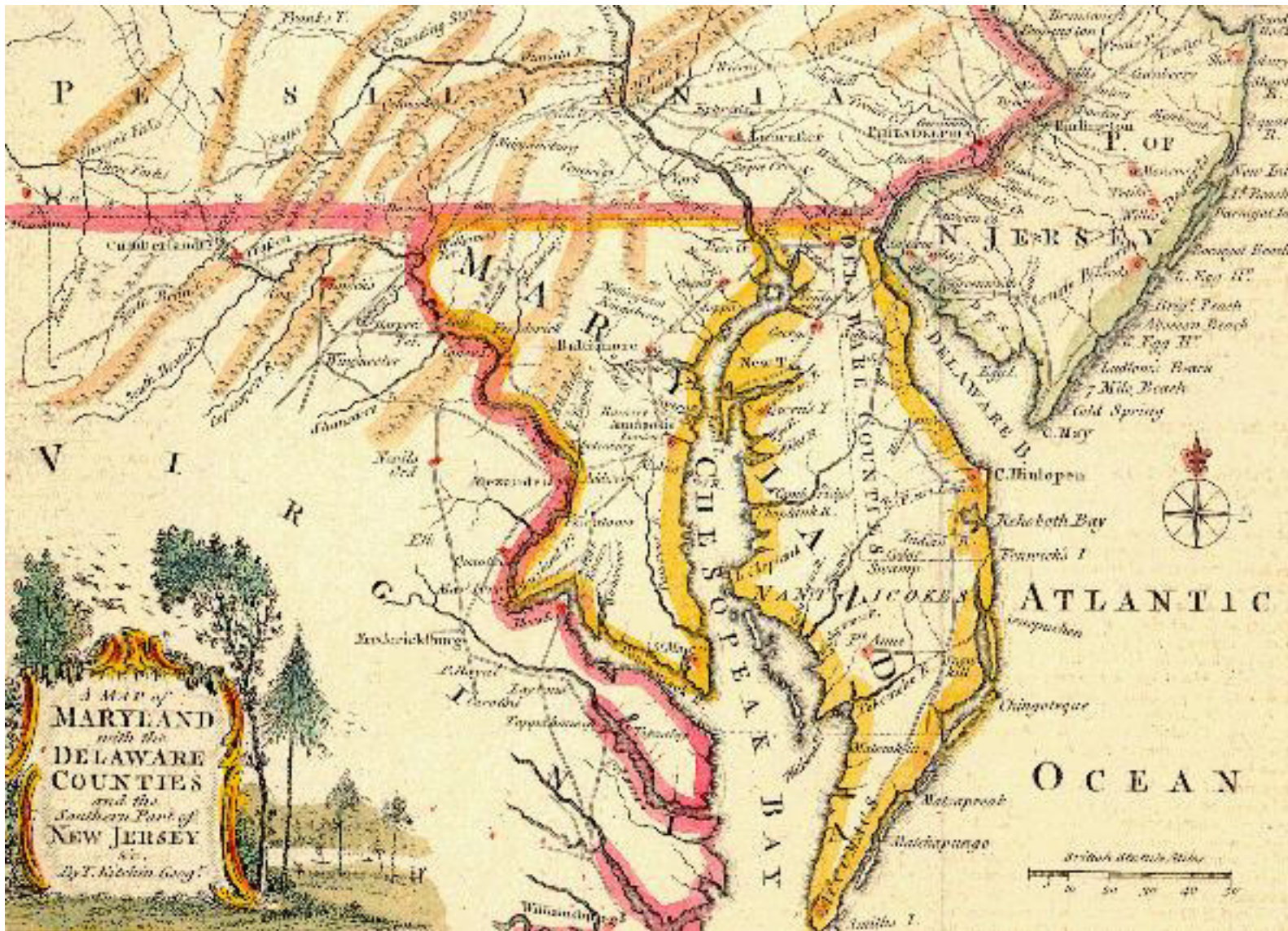
I have often felt a motion of love to leave some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God, and now, in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

During this year and the following one, he would be visiting the families of the [Quakers](#) of Burlington, and then traveling in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.



RACE SLAVERY

He would write to the [Quakers](#) of New Garden and of Crane Creek. He would attend Friends [Yearly Meeting](#) at Philadelphia particularly in regard to the issue of those who keep slaves, and, in the company of Benjamin Jones, would visit Friends in Pennsylvania. He would make notes on Thomas à Kempis and on John Huss. On the basis of his observations and conversations, he would become concerned over the absence of religious instruction in the education of young black slaves. He would become concerned over the drafting of the New Jersey militia for service in the Army. During this year and the following one, he was finding that he could not

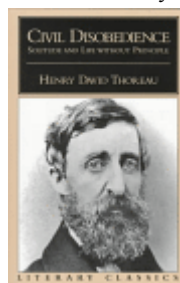
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in good conscience pay taxes part of which would be used to finance the “French and Indian” war:⁴⁸



48. In a commentary on this, on pages 58-9 of a Quaker-inspired collection of documents pertaining to conscientious objection in America from 1757 to 1967 titled *CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA* (NY: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968), the editor, Lillian Schlissel, pointed out that “Whereas the Quaker [John Woolman](#) refused to pay taxes out of a desire to keep [Quakers](#) separate from the worldly and warlike affairs of government, Henry Thoreau, on the contrary, saw his refusal to pay taxes as the beginning of a discourse with the government. He affirmed, by his action, the efficacy of saying ‘No.’ Out of a simple act, and a single night in a Concord jailhouse, Thoreau evolved a new morality in which a citizen, moved by ethical compulsion, acts to turn his society from its given course. Quaker pacifism had been inward and socially quietist, and the nonresistance of the peace societies had been largely hortatory, but Thoreau wrote of a conscientious objection committed to social change. Confronted with slavery and with war, a man of conscientious principle must do more than stand aside. Thoreau meant to affect his society, and he was willing to break its laws and go to prison.... Conscience and revolution were inseparable principles.... After the Constitution, Thoreau’s ‘Essay on Civil Disobedience’ is the most uniquely radical document in American history.... Thoreau at the end accepted the principle of violence.”





As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against outward wars in their time, I may therefore note some things which have occurred to my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account. From the steady opposition which faithful Friends in early times made to wrong things then approved, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world, and, suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men in every age to take heed to their own spirits; and in comparing their situation with ours, to me it appears that there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying such taxes, than is the case with us now. They had little or no share in civil government, and many of them declared that they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were, and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of their uniting in spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of truth. We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that sort. The profession of our predecessors was for a time accounted reproachful, but at length their uprightness being understood by the rulers, and their innocent sufferings moving them, our way of worship was tolerated, and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favor and prosperity, this world appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandise and the sciences, amongst which are many things useful, if followed in pure wisdom; but in our present condition I believe it will not be denied that a carnal mind is gaining upon us. Some of our members, who are officers in civil government, are, in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars; but being in doubt whether to act or to crave to be excused from their office, if they see their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, may think their case not much different, and so might quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds. Thus, by small degrees, we might approach so near to fighting that the distinction would be little else than the name of a peaceable people.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1757, 1758

Visit to the Families of Friends at Burlington – Journey to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina – Considerations on the State of Friends there, and the Exercise he was under in Travelling among those so generally concerned in keeping Slaves, with some Observations on this Subject – Epistle to Friends at New Garden and Crane Creek – Thoughts on the Neglect of a religious care in the Education of the Negroes.

THIRTEENTH Fifth Month, 1757. – Being in good health, and abroad with Friends visiting families, I lodged at a Friend's house in Burlington. Going to bed about the time usual with me, I awoke in the night, and my meditations, as I lay, were on the goodness and mercy of the Lord, in a sense whereof my heart was contrited. After this I went to sleep again; in a short time I awoke; it was yet dark, and no appearance of day or moonshine, and as I opened mine eyes I saw a light in my chamber, at the apparent distance of five feet, about nine inches in diameter, of a clear, easy brightness, and near its centre the most radiant. As I lay still looking upon it without any surprise, words were spoken to my inward ear, which filled my whole inward man. They were not the effect of thought, nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance, but as the language of the Holy One spoken in my mind. The words were, CERTAIN EVIDENCE OF DIVINE TRUTH. They were again repeated exactly in the same manner, and then the light disappeared.

Feeling the exercise in relation to a visit to the Southern Provinces to increase upon me, I acquainted our Monthly Meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate. Expecting to go alone, one of my brothers who lived in Philadelphia, having some business in North Carolina, proposed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of some outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion was some difficulty with me, whereupon I had conversation with him at sundry times. At length feeling easy in my mind, I had conversation with several elderly Friends of Philadelphia on the subject, and he obtaining a certificate suitable to the occasion, we set off in the Fifth Month, 1757. Coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, we lodged at John Churchman's, where I met with our friend, Benjamin Buffington, from New England, who was returning from a visit to the Southern Provinces. Thence we crossed the river Susquehanna, and lodged at William Cox's in Maryland.

Soon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exercise came upon me, which I often had some feeling of since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions. As the people in this and the Southern Provinces live much on the labour of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for Friends on such a visit to have entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received from what appeared to me to be the gain of oppression. Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that divine prohibition:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

"Thou shalt not receive any gift; for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous" (EXODUS 23:8). As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their labour in the gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my present journey, I could not see my way clear in that respect. The difference appeared thus: the entertainment the disciples met with was from them whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them and the truth they published; but we, considered as members of the same religious society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such receptions, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more convincing than language, and where people, by their actions, manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with some Friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and of being so distinguished from many whom I esteemed before myself, brought me very low, and such were the conflicts of my soul that I had a near sympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakness, when he said: "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy sight" (NUMBERS 11:15). But I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to the divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me, and in great abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty for His gracious and Fatherly assistance, and after a time of deep trial I was favoured to understand the state mentioned by the Psalmist more clearly than ever I had done before; to wit: "My soul is even as a weaned child" (PSALMS 131:2).

Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to Him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties, and that by His strength I should be enabled even to leave money with the members of society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting it would obstruct that work to which I believed He had called me. As I copy this after my return, I may here add that oftentimes I did so under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus: When I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of those pieces of silver, and give them to such of their negroes as they believed would make the best use of them; and at other times I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. Before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces for this purpose, and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people was a trial both to me and them. But the fear of the Lord so covered me at times that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some conversation, accepted of them.

Ninth of Fifth Month. — A Friend at whose house we breakfasted



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

setting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves, in which my heart was tender; I used much plainness of speech with him, and he appeared to take it kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia. In my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry rise from the centre of my mind, thus: "O Lord, I am a stranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me."

On the 11th, we crossed the rivers Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port Royal. On the way we had the company of a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man. I took occasion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves; the former, in my view, being the most happy life. He concurred in the remark, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the negroes, adding that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied that free men, whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but negroes, labouring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

After some further conversation I said, that men having power too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally. This he did not deny, but said the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country that many of them lived better here than there. I replied, "There is great odds in regard to us on what principle we act"; and so the conversation on that subject ended. I may here add that another person, some time afterwards, mentioned the wretchedness of the negroes, occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for slaves. To which I replied, if compassion for the Africans, on account of their domestic troubles, was the real motive of our purchasing them, that spirit of tenderness being attended to, would incite us to use them kindly, that, as strangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us. And as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same help and comfort from the Holy Scriptures as we do, we could not omit suitable endeavours to instruct them therein; but that while we manifest by our conduct that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves, and while our buying captives taken in war animates those parties to push on the war and increase desolation amongst them, to say they live unhappily in Africa is far from being an argument in our favour.

I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult; the slaves look like a burdensome stone to such as burden themselves with them; and that, if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burden will grow heavier and heavier, until times change in a way disagreeable to us. The person appeared very serious, and owned that in



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

considering their condition and the manner of their treatment in these provinces he had sometimes thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having travelled through Maryland, we came amongst Friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia, on the 12th; and the next day rode, in company with several of them, a day's journey to Camp Creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the need of divine aid to support me in the various difficulties which attended me, and in uncommon distress of mind I cried in secret to the Most High, "O Lord, be merciful, I beseech Thee, to Thy poor afflicted creature!" After some time I felt inward relief, and soon after a Friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark which God set upon him after he murdered Abel, his brother; that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which I replied in substance as follows: that Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to Scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families, being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations, and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose that they were spared. As to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family before Ham married a second time; moreover the text saith "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth" (GENESIS 7:21). I further reminded them how the prophets repeatedly declare "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, but every one be answerable for his own sins."

I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations, and in some pressure of spirit said, "The love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable. I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the truth. I believe liberty is their right, and as I see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He who is a refuge for the oppressed will, in His own time, plead their cause, and happy will it be for such as walk in uprightness before Him." And thus our conversation ended.

Fourteenth of Fifth Month. — I was this day at Camp Creek Monthly Meeting, and then rode to the mountains up James River, and had a meeting at a Friend's house, in both which I felt sorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleased to afford a degree of strength by which way was opened to clear my mind amongst Friends in those places. From thence I went to Ford Creek, and so to Cedar Creek again, at which place I now had a meeting. Here I found a tender seed, and as I was preserved in the ministry to keep low with the truth, the same



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

truth in their hearts answered it, that it was a time of mutual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I lodged at James Standley's, father of William Standley, one of the young men who suffered imprisonment at Winchester last summer on account of their testimony against fighting, and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp Meeting, and to Wayanoke Meeting, and then crossed James River, and lodged near Burleigh. From the time of my entering Maryland I have been much under sorrow, which of late so increased upon me that my mind was almost overwhelmed, and I may say with the Psalmist, "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried to my God," who, in infinite goodness, looked upon my affliction, and in my private retirement sent the Comforter for my relief, for which I humbly bless His holy name.

The sense I had of the state of the churches brought a weight of distress upon me. The gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed, and though this is the case too generally, yet the sense of it in these parts hath in a particular manner borne heavy upon me. It appeared to me that, through the prevailing of the spirit of this world, the minds of many were brought to an inward desolation, and instead of the spirit of meekness, gentleness, and heavenly wisdom, which are the necessary companions of the true sheep of Christ, a spirit of fierceness and the love of dominion too generally prevailed. From small beginnings in error great buildings by degrees are raised, and from one age to another are more and more strengthened by the general concurrence of the people; and as men obtain reputation by their profession of the truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and those of less note, to justify themselves, say, such and such good men did the like. By what other steps could the people of Judah arise to that height in wickedness as to give just ground for the Prophet Isaiah to declare, in the name of the Lord, "that none calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth" (ISAIAH 59:4), or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jerusalem just before the Babylonish captivity, "If ye can find a man, if there be any who executeth judgment, that seeketh the truth, and I will pardon it" (JEREMIAH 5:1)?

The prospect of a way being open to the same degeneracy, in some parts of this newly settled land of America, in respect to our conduct towards the negroes, hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey, and though briefly to relate how these people are treated is no agreeable work, yet, after often reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preserve them. Many of the white people in those provinces take little or no care of negro marriages; and when negroes marry after their own way, some make so little account of those marriages, that with views of outward interest they often part men from their wives by selling them far asunder, which is common when estates are sold by executors at vendue. Many whose labour is heavy being followed at their business in the field by a man with a whip, hired for that purpose, have in common little else allowed but one peck of Indian corn and some salt, for one week, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raise by their labour on the first day of the week. The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or slothfulness in business, is often very severe and sometimes desperate.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Men and women have many times scarcely clothes sufficient to hide their nakedness, and boys and girls ten and twelve years old are often quite naked amongst their master's children. Some of our Society, and some of the society called Newlights, use some endeavours to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are the people by whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many of them in the luxuries of life. These are the people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of. These are the souls for whom Christ died, and for our conduct towards them we must answer before Him who is no respecter of persons. They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, gospel spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled against oppression and cruelty, and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people will find cause for mourning.

From my lodgings I went to Burleigh Meeting, where I felt my mind drawn in a quiet, resigned state. After a long silence I felt an engagement to stand up, and through the powerful operation of divine love we were favoured with an edifying meeting. The next meeting we had was at Blackwater, and from thence went to the Yearly Meeting at the Western Branch. When business began, some queries were introduced by some of their members for consideration, and, if approved, they were to be answered hereafter by their respective Monthly Meetings. They were the Pennsylvania queries, which had been examined by a committee of Virginia Yearly Meeting appointed the last year, who made some alterations in them, one of which alterations was made in favour of a custom which troubled me.

The query was, "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or in buying them after imported?" which was thus altered, "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was, "Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to say that, as we profess the truth, and were there assembled to support the testimony of it, it was necessary for us to dwell deep and act in that wisdom which is pure, or otherwise we could not prosper. I then mentioned their alteration, and, referring to the last-mentioned query, added, that as purchasing any merchandise taken by the sword was always allowed to be inconsistent with our principles, so negroes being captives of war or taken by stealth, it was inconsistent with our testimony to buy them; and their being our fellow-creatures, and sold as slaves, added greatly to the iniquity. Friends appeared attentive to what was said; some expressed a care and concern about their negroes; none made any objection by way of reply to what I said, but the query was admitted as they had altered it.

As some of their members have heretofore traded in negroes, as in other merchandise, this query being admitted will be one step further than they have hitherto gone, and I did not see it my duty to press for an alteration, but felt easy to leave it all to Him who alone is able to turn the hearts of the mighty, and make way for the spreading of truth on the earth, by means agreeable to his infinite wisdom. In regard to those they



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

already had, I felt my mind engaged to labour with them, and said that, as we believe the Scriptures were given forth by holy men, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and many of us know by experience that they are often helpful and comfortable, and believe ourselves bound in duty to teach our children to read them; I believed that if we were divested of all selfish views, the same good Spirit that gave them forth would engage us to teach the negroes to read, that they might have the benefit of them. Some present manifested a concern to take more care in the education of their negroes.

Twenty-ninth Fifth Month. — At the house where I lodged was a meeting of ministers and elders. I found an engagement to speak freely and plainly to them concerning their slaves; mentioning how they as the first rank in the society, whose conduct in that case was much noticed by others, were under the stronger obligations to look carefully to themselves — expressing how needful it was for them in that situation to be thoroughly divested of all selfish views; that, living in the pure truth, and acting conscientiously towards those people in their education and otherwise, they might be instrumental in helping forward a work so exceedingly necessary, and so much neglected amongst them. At the twelfth hour the meeting of worship began, which was a solid meeting.

The next day, about the tenth hour, Friends met to finish their business, and then the meeting for worship ensued, which to me was a labourious time; but through the goodness of the Lord, truth, I believed, gained some ground, and it was a strengthening opportunity to the honest-hearted.

About this time I wrote an epistle to Friends in the back settlements of North Carolina, as follows: —

TO FRIENDS AT THEIR MONTHLY MEETING AT NEW GARDEN AND CANE CREEK, IN NORTH CAROLINA: —

DEAR FRIENDS, — It having pleased the Lord to draw me forth on a visit to some parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come in person to visit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they arise in the love of truth. First, my dear friends, dwell in humility; and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so, your eyes being single to the Lord, you may be preserved in the way of safety. Where people let loose their minds after the love of outward things, and are more engaged in pursuing the profits and seeking the friendships of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace, they walk in a vain shadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting. Their examples are often hurtful to others; and their treasures thus collected do many times prove dangerous snares to their children. But where people are sincerely devoted to follow Christ, and dwell under the influence of His Holy Spirit, their stability and firmness, through a divine blessing, is at times like dew on the tender plants round about them, and the weightiness of their spirits secretly works on the minds of others. In this condition, through the spreading influence of divine love, they feel a care



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

over the flock, and way is opened for maintaining good order in the Society. And though we may meet with opposition from another spirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekness, feeling our spirits subject, and moving only in the gentle, peaceable wisdom, the inward reward of quietness will be greater than all our difficulties. Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of discipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth come fresh in my way. Dear young people, choose God for your portion; love His truth, and be not ashamed of it; choose for your company such as serve him in uprightness; and shun as most dangerous the conversation of those whose lives are of an ill savour; for by frequenting such company some hopeful young people have come to great loss, and been drawn from less evils to greater, to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is so lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to those which we partake of in fully resigning ourselves to the divine will. These enjoyments add sweetness to all other comforts, and give true satisfaction in company and conversation, where people are mutually acquainted with it; and as your minds are thus seasoned with the truth, you will find strength to abide steadfast to the testimony of it, and be prepared for services in the church.

And now, dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbered amongst the first planters in one part of a province, I beseech you, in the love of Jesus Christ, wisely to consider the force of your examples, and think how much your successors may be thereby affected. It is a help in a country, yea, and a great favour and blessing, when customs first settled are agreeable to sound wisdom; but when they are otherwise the effect of them is grievous; and children feel themselves encompassed with difficulties prepared for them by their predecessors.

As moderate care and exercise, under the direction of true wisdom, are useful both to mind and body, so by these means in general the real wants of life are easily supplied, our gracious Father having so proportioned one to the other that keeping in the medium we may pass on quietly. Where slaves are purchased to do our labour, numerous difficulties attend it. To rational creatures bondage is uneasy, and frequently occasions sourness and discontent in them; which affects the family and such as claim the mastery over them. Thus people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there is a large number of Friends in your parts who have no slaves; and in tender and most affectionate love I beseech you to keep clear from purchasing any. Look, my dear friends, to divine Providence, and follow in simplicity that exercise of



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

body, that plainness and frugality, which true wisdom leads to; so may you be preserved from those dangers which attend such as are aiming at outward ease and greatness.

Treasures, though small, attained on a true principle of virtue, are sweet; and while we walk in the light of the Lord there is true comfort and satisfaction in the possession; neither the murmurs of an oppressed people, nor a throbbing uneasy conscience, nor anxious thoughts about the events of things, hinder the enjoyment of them.

When we look towards the end of life, and think on the division of our substance among our successors, if we know that it was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honesty, in equity, and in uprightness of heart before Him, we may consider it as His gift to us, and, with a single eye to His blessing, bestow it on those we leave behind us. Such is the happiness of the plain ways of true virtue. "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance forever" (ISAIAH 32:17).

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then in remote and solitary deserts you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be God, in truth and reality, there is safety for us: for He is a stronghold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that trust in Him.

ISLE OF WIGHT COUNTY, in VIRGINIA, 20th of the 5th Month, 1757.

From the Yearly Meeting in Virginia I went to Carolina, and on the 1st of Sixth Month was at Wells Monthly Meeting, where the spring of the gospel ministry was opened, and the love of Jesus Christ experienced among us; to His name be the praise.

Here my brother joined with some Friends from New Garden who were going homeward; and I went next to Simons Creek Monthly Meeting, where I was silent during the meeting for worship. When business came on, my mind was exercised concerning the poor slaves, but I did not feel my way clear to speak. In this condition I was bowed in spirit before the Lord, and with tears and inward supplication besought Him so to open my understanding that I might know His will concerning me; and at length my mind was settled in silence. Near the end of their business a member of their meeting expressed a concern that had some time lain upon him, on account of Friends so much neglecting their duty in the education of their slaves, and proposed having meetings sometimes appointed for them on a week-day, to be attended only by some Friends to be named in their Monthly Meetings.

Many present appeared to unite with the proposal. One said he had often wondered that they, being our fellow-creatures, and capable of religious understanding, had been so exceedingly neglected; another expressed the like concern, and appeared zealous that in future it might be more closely considered. At length a minute was made, and the further consideration of it referred to their next Monthly Meeting. The Friend who made this proposal hath negroes; he told me that he was at New Garden, about two hundred and fifty miles from home, and came back alone; that in this solitary journey this exercise, in regard to the



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

education of their negroes, was from time to time renewed in his mind. A Friend of some note in Virginia, who hath slaves, told me that he being far from home on a lonesome journey, had many serious thoughts about them: and his mind was so impressed therewith that he believed he saw a time coming when divine Providence would alter the circumstance of these people, respecting their condition as slaves.

From hence I went to a meeting at Newbegun Creek, and sat a considerable time in much weakness; then I felt truth open the way to speak a little in much plainness and simplicity, till at length, through the increase of divine love amongst us, we had a seasoning opportunity. This was also the case at the head of Little River, where we had a crowded meeting on a First-day. I went thence to the Old Neck, where I was led into a careful searching out of the secret workings of the mystery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itself against that pure spirit which leads in the way of meekness and self-denial. Pineywoods was the last meeting I was at in Carolina; it was large, and my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth into a fervent labour amongst them.

When I was at Newbegun Creek a Friend was there who laboured for his living, having no negroes, and who had been a minister many years. He came to me the next day, and as we rode together he signified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under, which he related nearly as follows: – That as moneys had of late years been raised by a tax to carry on the wars, he had a scruple in his mind in regard to paying it, and chose rather to suffer restraint of his goods; but as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any one else was in the like circumstances, he signified that it had been a heavy trial to him, especially as some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case. He added that, from a sympathy he felt with me yesterday in meeting, he found freedom thus to open the matter in the way of querying concerning Friends in our parts; I told him the state of Friends amongst us as well as I was able, and also that I had for some time been under the like scruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to walk uprightly before the Lord, and esteemed it my duty to preserve this note concerning him, Samuel Newby.

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's; it was a time of inward suffering, but through the goodness of the Lord I was made content; at another meeting, through the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortable season.

Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences that to be faithful to the Lord, and content with His will concerning me, is a most necessary and useful lesson for me to be learning; looking less at the effects of my labour than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it arises from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength; and as the mind, by humble resignation, is united to Him, and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring, though our way may be difficult, and it may require close attention to keep in it, and though the matter in which we may be led may tend to our own abasement; yet, if we continue in patience and meekness, heavenly peace will be the reward of our labours.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

I attended Curles Meeting, which, though small, was reviving to the honest-hearted. Afterwards I went to Black Creek and Caroline Meetings, from whence, accompanied by William Standley before mentioned, I rode to Goose Creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles. We lodged the first night at a public-house; the second in the woods; and the next day we reached a Friend's house at Goose Creek. In the woods we were under some disadvantage, having no fire-works nor bells for our horses, but we stopped a little before night and let them feed on the wild grass, which was plentiful, in the mean time cutting with our knives a store against night. We then secured our horses, and gathering some bushes under an oak we lay down; but the mosquitoes being numerous and the ground damp I slept but little.

Thus lying in the wilderness, and looking at the stars, I was led to contemplate on the condition of our first parents when they were sent forth from the garden; how the Almighty, though they had been disobedient, continued to be a Father to them, and showed them what tended to their felicity as intelligent creatures, and was acceptable to Him. To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wisdom, is good, and the gift of improving in things useful is a good gift, and comes from the Father of Lights. Many have had this gift; and from age to age there have been improvements of this kind made in the world. But some, not keeping to the pure gift, have in the creaturely cunning and self-exaltation sought out many inventions. As the first motive to these inventions of men, as distinct from that uprightness in which man was created, was evil, so the effects have been and are evil. It is, therefore, as necessary for us at this day constantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this life amidst great improvements, as it was for our first parents when they were without any improvements, without any friend or father but God only.

I was at a meeting at Goose Creek, and next at a Monthly Meeting at Fairfax, where, through the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us, His power prevailed over many hearts. From thence I went to Monoquacy and Pipe Creek in Maryland; at both places I had cause humbly to adore Him who had supported me through many exercises, and by whose help I was enabled to reach the true witness in the hearts of others. There were some hopeful young people in those parts. I had meetings afterwards at John Everit's in Monalen, and at Huntingdon, and I was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongst the people in these new settlements, so that it was a time of encouragement to the honest-minded.

At Monalen a Friend gave me some account of a religious society among the Dutch, called Mennonists, and amongst other things related a passage in substance as follows: One of the Mennonists having acquaintance with a man of another society at a considerable distance, and being with his waggon on business near the house of his said acquaintance and night coming on, he had thoughts of putting up with him, but passing by his fields, and observing the distressed appearance of his slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night. His said acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and afterward meeting the Mennonist, told him of it, adding he should have

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

been heartily welcome at his house, and from their acquaintance in former time wondered at his conduct in that case. The Mennonist replied, "Ever since I lodged by thy field I have wanted an opportunity to speak with thee. I had intended to come to thy house for entertainment, but seeing thy slaves at their work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee." He then admonished him to use them with more humanity, and added, "As I lay by the fire that night, I thought that as I was a man of substance thou wouldst have received me freely; but if I had been as poor as one of thy slaves, and had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder usage than they."

In this journey I was out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles. I returned home under an humbling sense of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preserving me through many trials and afflictions.



1758

Ann Lee (previously, "Lees") joined the small, radical Quaker group known as the "Shaking [Quakers](#)," who knew themselves as the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing (or, Coming). Their shaking was due to a contact with the French Camisards, and was akin to the sort of thing that you have heard goes on in Pentecostal meetings in the USA — akin, at the very least, by virtue of the fact that the two religions evoke from uninvolved spectators the same species of contempt. The same contemptuous attitude which you have heard expressed toward the no-class writhings of the Pentecostals, in our 20th Century, was expressed toward the no-class shakings of the Shakers in the 18th and 19th Centuries, and that is the reason for the name.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The Massachusetts General Court exempted [Quakers](#) from further official harassment for following the peace testimony and failing to participate in the military — provided of course that they would disregard their [Peace Testimony](#) by hiring someone else to kill people in their stead.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In [Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Hopkins](#) took the oath of office as main man in charge. In doing so he of course compromised the testimony against swearing of his monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) — but this would not cause him to be censured. (He would prove to be at least as good a Quaker as another such politician, Friend Richard Nixon.)

How had he acquired this governmental position? —The Quakers of [Newport](#) had written to the Quakers of [Smithfield](#) on April 28th to ask them to cast their votes for Hopkins for Governor “as we have reason to think his opponent [Samuel Ward] is not so moderate a man as we think is proper to sustain such a post.” In other words, the Quakers favored this politician only as the lesser of two evils. Hopkins thereupon won by a slender plurality of 66 votes.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In about this year the Reverend [Ezra Stiles](#) prepared a map of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) which is now at the [Redwood Library](#).



This map indicates that there were substantial buildings on Farewell Street, Marlborough Street, and Tanner Street surrounding the [Friends'](#) meetinghouse. A sampling of the accounts of the Proprietors of Easton's Point indicates that the Quakers were benefitting from making the grounds available for use.

GREAT MEETINGHOUSE

The [Nantucket Island Quakers](#), which in 1708 had numbered 75 adults and in 1728 had numbered 359 adults and in 1738 had numbered 580 adults and in 1748 had numbered 832 adults, at this point numbered 1,173 adults.

The painter [Benjamin West](#), formerly a [Quaker](#), relocated his portrait studio from Philadelphia to New-York.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

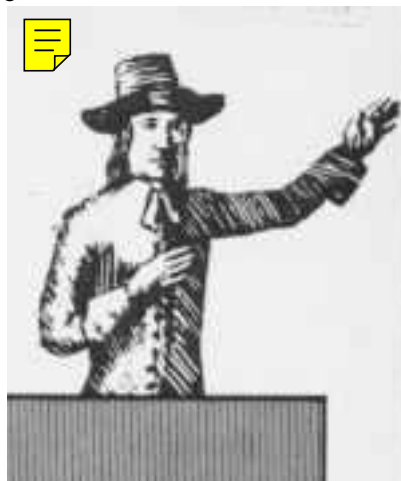
Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) required all members of their society to cease and desist from purchasing [slaves](#), resign from all public offices, and cease all participation in the political affairs of the colony.⁴⁹



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

This is what was going on for Friend [John Woolman](#):

49. [JOHN WOOLMAN](#)'S JOURNAL, Chapter VI 1758, 1759 Visit to the Quarterly Meetings in Chester County. Joins Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough in a Visit to such as kept Slaves there. Some Observations on the Conduct which those should maintain who speak in Meetings for Discipline. More Visits to such as kept Slaves, and to Friends near Salem. Account of the Yearly Meeting in the Year 1759, and of the increasing Concern in Divers Provinces to labour against Buying and Keeping Slaves. The Yearly Meeting Epistle. Thoughts on the Smallpox spreading, and on Inoculation.





1757, 1758

Considerations on the Payment of a Tax laid for Carrying on the War against the Indians – Meetings of the Committee of the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia – Some Notes on Thomas a Kempis and John Huss – The present Circumstances of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey very Different from those of our Predecessors – The Drafting of the Militia in New Jersey to serve in the Army, with some Observations on the State of the Members of our Society at that time – Visit to Friends in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones – Proceedings at the Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia, respecting those who keep Slaves.

A FEW years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be called in again by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes; and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it. I was told that Friends in England frequently paid taxes, when the money was applied to such purposes. I had conversation with several noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes; some of them I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time; yet there was in the depth of my mind a scruple which I never could get over; and at certain times I was greatly distressed on that account.

I believed that there were some upright-hearted men who paid such taxes, yet could not see that their example was a sufficient



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

reason for me to do so, while I believe that the Spirit of truth required of me, as an individual, to suffer patiently the distress of goods, rather than pay actively.

To refuse the active payment of a tax which our Society generally paid was exceedingly disagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my conscience appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and in my distress I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow Him wheresoever He was pleased to lead me. Under this exercise I went to our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia in the year 1755; at which a committee was appointed of some from each Quarterly Meeting, to correspond with the meeting for sufferers in London; and another to visit our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. After their appointment, before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed that these two committees should meet together in Friends' school-house in the city, to consider some things in which the cause of truth was concerned. They accordingly had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time I perceived there were many Friends under a scruple like that before mentioned.⁵⁰

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against outward wars in their time, I may therefore note some things which have occurred to my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account. From the steady opposition which faithful Friends in early times made to wrong things then approved, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world, and suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the Church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men in every age to take heed to their own spirits; and in comparing their situation with ours, to me it appears that there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying such taxes, than is the case with us now. They had little or no share in civil government, and many of them declared that they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were, and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of their uniting in spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of truth.

We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that sort. The profession of our predecessors was for a time accounted reproachful, but at length, their uprightness being understood by the rulers, and their innocent sufferings moving them, our way of worship was tolerated, and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and prosperity, this world appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandise and the sciences, amongst which are many things useful, if followed in pure wisdom; but in our present condition I believe it will not be denied that a carnal mind is gaining upon us. Some of our members, who are officers in civil government, are, in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars; but being in doubt whether to act

50. Christians refused to pay taxes to support heathen temples. See Cave's PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY, Part III. page 327.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

or to crave to be excused from their office, if they see their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, may think their case not much different, and so might quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds. Thus, by small degrees, we might approach so near to fighting that the distinction would be little else than the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded, if, by our fighting, there were a probability of overcoming the invaders. Whoever rightly attains to it does in some degree feel that spirit in which our Redeemer gave His life for us; and through divine goodness many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson; but many others, having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with that cross which crucifies to the world, do manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God. In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which, with respect to the outward means, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the Yearly Meeting, the said committees met at Philadelphia, and, by adjournments, continued sitting several days. The calamities of war were now increasing; the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised, some were slain, and many taken captive by the Indians; and while these committees sat, the corpse of one so slain was brought in a waggon, and taken through the streets of the city in his bloody garments, to alarm the people and rouse them to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax, which, to those who scrupled it, made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time might be construed into an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers not only here but in England; still there was a scruple so fixed on the minds of many Friends that nothing moved it. It was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at, and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some Friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments, withdrew; others of them continued till the last. At length an epistle of tender love and caution to Friends in Pennsylvania was drawn up, and being read several times and corrected, was signed by such as were free to sign it, and afterward sent to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings.

Ninth of Eighth Month, 1757. — Orders came at night to the military officers in our county (Burlington), directing them to draft the militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as soldiers, to the relief of the English at Fort William Henry, in New York government; a few days after which there was a general review of the militia at Mount Holly, and a number of men were chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draft three times as many, who were to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came. On the 17th there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount Holly, who agreed on draft; orders were sent to the men so chosen to meet their respective captains at set times and places, those



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in our township to meet at Mount Holly, amongst whom were a considerable number of our Society. My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it; and when such in the execution of their office have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted, it is a painful task to put them to trouble on account of scruples of conscience, and they will be likely to avoid it as much as easily may be. But where men profess to be so meek and heavenly-minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God that they cannot join in wars, and yet by their spirit and conduct in common life manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time.

When officers who are anxiously endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors see men who are insincere pretend scruples of conscience in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, it is likely they will be roughly handled. In this time of commotion some of our young men left these parts and tarried abroad till it was over; some came, and proposed to go as soldiers; others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near. I had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction. When the captain came to town, some of the last-mentioned went and told him in substance as follows: – That they could not bear arms for conscience' sake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned as to the event. At length the captain acquainted them all that they might return home for the present, but he required them to provide themselves as soldiers, and be in readiness to march when called upon. This was such a time as I had not seen before; and yet I may say, with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believed the trial was intended for our good; and I was favoured with resignation to Him. The French army having taken the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away; the company of men who were first drafted, after some days' march, had orders to return home, and those on the second draft were no more called upon on that occasion.

Fourth of Fourth Month, 1758. – Orders came to some officers in Mount Holly to prepare quarters for a short time for about one hundred soldiers. An officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house. The officer told me that he came to desire me to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, and that six shillings a week per man would be allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly, but sat a time silent, my mind being inward. I was fully convinced that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion; and to be hired to entertain men, who were then under pay as soldiers, was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did; and after a short time I said to the officer, If the men are sent here for entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house, but the nature of the case is such that I expect I cannot keep them on hire. One of the men intimated that he thought I might do it consistently with my religious principles. To which I made no reply,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

believing silence at that time best for me. Though they spake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly. When the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay, having admitted him into my house in a passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spake to me, and as I turned from him, he said he was obliged to me; to which I said nothing; but, thinking on the expression, I grew uneasy; and afterwards, being near where he lived, I went and told him on what grounds I refused taking pay for keeping the soldier.

I have been informed that Thomas a Kempis lived and died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion; and, in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true Christian spirit, as fully so as many who died martyrs because they could not join with some superstitions in that Church. All true Christians are of the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse, Jesus Christ appointing to each one his peculiar office, agreeably to His infinite wisdom.

John Huss contended against the errors which had crept into the Church, in opposition to the Council of Constance, which the historian reports to have consisted of some thousand persons. He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right; and though his language and conduct towards his judges appear to have been respectful, yet he never could be moved from the principles settled in his mind. To use his own words: "This I most humbly require and desire of you all, even for His sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against." And again, in his answer to the Emperor: "I refuse nothing, most noble Emperor, whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me, only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience."⁵¹ At length, rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of him, he chose to suffer death by fire. Thomas a Kempis, without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue and the inward spiritual religion; and I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ. True charity is an excellent virtue; and sincerely to labour for their good, whose belief in all points doth not agree with ours, is a happy state. Near the beginning of the year 1758, I went one evening, in company with a Friend, to visit a sick person; and before our return we were told of a woman living near, who had for several days been disconsolate, occasioned by a dream, wherein death, and the judgments of the Almighty after death, were represented to her mind in a moving manner. Her sadness on that account being worn off, the Friend with whom I was in company went to see her, and had some religious conversation with her and her husband. With this visit they were somewhat affected, and the man, with many tears, expressed his satisfaction. In a short time after, the poor man, being on the river in a storm of wind, was with one more drowned.

Eighth Month, 1758. — Having had drawings in my mind to be at the Quarterly Meeting in Chester County, and at some meetings in the county of Philadelphia, I went first to said Quarterly Meeting, which was large. Several weighty matters came under

51. Fox's ACTS AND MONUMENTS, page 233.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

consideration and debate, and the Lord was pleased to qualify some of His servants with strength and firmness to bear the burden of the day. Though I said but little, my mind was deeply exercised, and, under a sense of God's love, in the anointing and fitting of some young men for his work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before Him. From hence I went to the Youth's Meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother Benjamin Jones met me by appointment before I left home, to join in the visit. We were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North Wales, Plymouth, and Abington meetings, and had cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, our gracious God, by whose help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

The Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern on account of some Friends who this summer (1758) had bought negro slaves, proposed to their Quarterly Meeting to have the minute reconsidered in the Yearly Meeting, which was made last on that subject, and the said Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee to consider it, and to report to their next. This committee having met once and adjourned, and I, going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the Yearly Meeting, was in town the evening on which the Quarterly Meeting's committee met the second time, and finding an inclination to sit with them, I with some others was admitted, and Friends had a weighty conference on the subject. Soon after their next Quarterly meeting I heard that the case was coming to our Yearly Meeting. This brought a weighty exercise upon me, and under a sense of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the Lord that He would be graciously pleased to strengthen me; that, setting aside all views of self-interest and the friendship of this world, I might stand fully resigned to His holy will.

In this Yearly Meeting several weighty matters were considered, and toward the last that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase slaves. During the several sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer, and I could say with David, "that tears were my meat day and night." The case of slave-keeping lay heavy upon me, nor did I find any engagement to speak directly to any other matter before the meeting. Now when this case was opened several faithful Friends spake weightily thereto, with which I was comforted; and feeling a concern to cast in my mite, I said in substance as follows: –

"In the difficulties attending us in this life nothing is more precious than the mind of truth inwardly manifested; and it is my earnest desire that in this weighty matter we may be so truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of truth, and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the Society than any medium not in the clearness of divine wisdom. The case is difficult to some who have slaves, but if such set aside all self-interest, and come to be weaned from the desire of getting estates, or even from holding them together, when truth requires the contrary, I believe way will so open that they will know how to steer through those difficulties."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Many Friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work, and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of truth and universal righteousness on the earth. And though none did openly justify the practice of slave-keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned lest the meeting should go into such measures as might give uneasiness to many brethren, alleging that, if Friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord in His time might open a way for the deliverance of these people. Finding an engagement to speak, I said, "My mind is often led to consider the purity of the divine Being, and the justice of His judgments; and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases where people have not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High. Such are the purity and certainty of His judgments, that He cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness, He hath opened our understanding from one time to another concerning our duty towards this people, and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what He requires of us, and through a respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance, God may by terrible things in righteousness answer us in this matter."

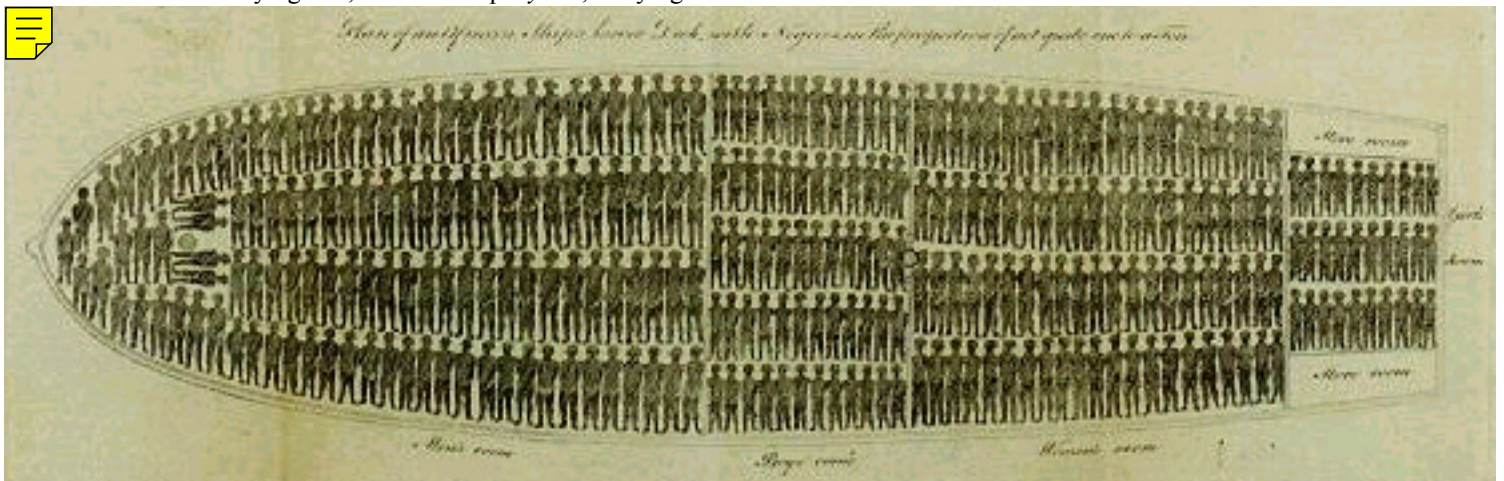
Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmness, and the love of truth in a good degree prevailed. Several who had negroes expressed their desire that a rule might be made to deal with such Friends as offenders who bought slaves in future. To this it was answered that the root of this evil would never be effectually struck at, until a thorough search was made in the circumstances of such Friends as kept negroes, with respect to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them, that impartial justice might be administered throughout. Several Friends expressed their desire that a visit might be made to such Friends as kept slaves, and many others said that they believed liberty was the negro's right; to which, at length, no opposition was publicly made. A minute was made more full on that subject than any heretofore; and the names of several Friends entered who were free to join in a visit to such as kept slaves.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



In [Rhode Island](#) harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 6 vessels were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of 636 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island sloop *Dolphin*,⁵² carrying a cargo of 145 slaves, the sloop *Dove*, carrying a cargo of 110, the brig *Prince George*, carrying 170, the snow *Venus*, carrying 150, and the sloop *Wydah*, carrying 60.



In this year, in Pennsylvania, at Yearly Meeting, [Friends](#) were deciding that if “any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons.”

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: One of the first American protests against the slave-trade came from certain German Friends, in 1688, at a Weekly Meeting held in Germantown, Pennsylvania. “These are the reasons,” wrote “Garret henderich, derick up de graeff, Francis daniell Pastorius, and Abraham up Den graef,”

52. Friend Thomas Robinson was part owner of the negrero *Dolphin*, and Friend Isaac Howland was the vessel’s captain. These men were [Quakers](#) in good standing, of [Newport](#). Nobody was looking the other way, it was simply that it hadn’t occurred to any who was white, as yet, that there was anything wrong with the buying and selling of black human beings. For instance, you can’t find anything in the BIBLE about the wickedness of this.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

"why we are against the traffick of men-body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner?... Now, tho they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike?"⁵³ This little leaven helped slowly to work a revolution in the attitude of this great sect toward slavery and the slave-trade. The Yearly Meeting at first postponed the matter, "It having so General a Relation to many other Parts."⁵⁴ Eventually, however, in 1696, the Yearly Meeting advised "That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more Negroes."⁵⁵ This advice was repeated in stronger terms for a quarter-century,⁵⁶ and by that time Sandiford, Benezet, Lay, and Woolman had begun their crusade. In 1754 the Friends took a step farther and made the purchase of slaves a matter of discipline.⁵⁷ Four years later the Yearly Meeting expressed itself clearly as "against every branch of this practice," and declared that if "any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons."⁵⁸ Further, manumission was recommended, and in 1776 made compulsory.⁵⁹ The effect of this attitude of the Friends was early manifested in the legislation of all the colonies where the sect was influential, and particularly in Pennsylvania.

One of the first duty acts (1710) laid a restrictive duty of 40s. on slaves, and was eventually disallowed.⁶⁰ In 1712 William Southey petitioned the Assembly totally to abolish slavery. This the Assembly naturally refused to attempt; but the same year, in response to another petition "signed by many hands," they passed an "Act to prevent the Importation of Negroes and Indians,"⁶¹ – the first enactment of its kind in America. This act was inspired largely by the general fear of insurrection which succeeded the "Negro-plot" of 1712 in New York. It declared: "Whereas, divers Plots and Insurrections have frequently happened, not only in the Islands but on the Main Land of *America*, by Negroes, which have been carried on so far that several of the inhabitants have been barbarously Murthered, an Instance whereof we have lately had in our Neighboring Colony of *New York*,"⁶² etc. It then proceeded to lay a prohibitive duty of £20 on all slaves imported. These acts were quickly disposed of in England. Three duty acts affecting Negroes, including the prohibitory act, were in 1713 disallowed, and it was directed that "the Dep^{ty} Gov^r Council and Assembly of Pensilvania, be &

53. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880. Cf. Whittier's poem, "Pennsylvania Hall" (POETICAL WORKS, Riverside ed., III. 62); and Proud, HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA (1797), I. 219.

54. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880.

55. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM. (1864), I. 383.

56. Cf. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, PASSIM.

57. Janney, HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 315-7.

58. HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 317.

59. Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 395.

60. PENN. COL. REC. (1852), II. 530; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 415.

61. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, COLLECTED, etc., 1714, page 165; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 387.

62. See preamble of the act.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

they are hereby Strictly Enjoynd & required not to permit the said Laws ... to be from henceforward put in Execution.”⁶³ The Assembly repealed these laws, but in 1715 passed another laying a duty of £5, which was also eventually disallowed.⁶⁴ Other acts, the provisions of which are not clear, were passed in 1720 and 1722,⁶⁵ and in 1725-1726 the duty on Negroes was raised to the restrictive figure of £10.⁶⁶ This duty, for some reason not apparent, was lowered to £2 in 1729,⁶⁷ but restored again in 1761.⁶⁸ A struggle occurred over this last measure, the Friends petitioning for it, and the Philadelphia merchants against it, declaring that “We, the subscribers, ever desirous to extend the Trade of this Province, have seen, for some time past, the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer’d for want of Labourers and artificers, ... have for some time encouraged the importation of Negroes;” they prayed therefore at least for a delay in passing the measure.⁶⁹ The law, nevertheless, after much debate and altercation with the governor, finally passed. These repeated acts nearly stopped the trade, and the manumission or sale of Negroes by the Friends decreased the number of slaves in the province. The rising spirit of independence enabled the colony, in 1773, to restore the prohibitive duty of £20 and make it perpetual.⁷⁰ After the Revolution unpaid duties on slaves were collected and the slaves registered,⁷¹ and in 1780 an “Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery” was passed.⁷² As there were probably at no time before the war more than 11,000 slaves in Pennsylvania,⁷³ the task thus accomplished was not so formidable as in many other States. As it was, participation in the slave-trade outside the colony was not prohibited until 1788.⁷⁴ It seems probable that in the original Swedish settlements along the Delaware slavery was prohibited.⁷⁵ This measure had, however, little practical effect; for as soon as the Dutch got control the slave-trade was opened, although, as it appears, to no large extent. After the fall of the Dutch Delaware came into English hands. Not until 1775 do we find any legislation on the

63. The Pennsylvanians did not allow their laws to reach England until long after they were passed: PENN. ARCHIVES, I. 161-2; COL. REC., II. 572-3. These acts were disallowed Feb. 20, 1713. Another duty act was passed in 1712, supplementary to the Act of 1710 (COL. REC., II. 553). The contents are unknown.

64. ACTS AND LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1715, page 270; Chalmers, OPINIONS, II. 118. Before the disallowance was known, the act had been continued by the Act of 1718: Carey and Bioren, LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1700-1802, I. 118; PENN. COL. REC., III. 38.

65. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 165; PENN. COL. REC., III. 171; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 389, note.

66. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 214; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388. Possibly there were two acts this year.

67. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA (ed. 1742), page 354, ch. 287. Possibly some change in the currency made this change appear greater than it was.

68. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 371; ACTS OF ASSEMBLY (ed. 1782), page 149; Dallas, LAWS, I. 406, ch. 379. This act was renewed in 1768: Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 451; PENN. COL. REC., IX. 472, 637, 641.

69. PENN. COL. REC., VIII. 576.

70. A large petition called for this bill. Much altercation ensued with the governor: Dallas, LAWS, I. 671, ch. 692; PENN. COL. REC., X. 77; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388-9.

71. Dallas, LAWS, I. 782, ch. 810.

72. LAWS, I. 838, ch. 881.

73. There exist but few estimates of the number of slaves in this colony: —

In 1721, 2,500-5,000. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 604.

In 1754, 11,000. Bancroft, HIST. OF UNITED STATES (1883), II. 391.

In 1760, very few. Reverend Andrew Burnaby, TRAVELS THROUGH THE MIDDLE SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH-AMERICA, IN THE YEARS 1759 AND 1760 ... (2d ed.), page 81.

In 1775, 2,000. PENN. ARCHIVES, IV 597.

74. Dallas, LAWS, II. 586.

75. Cf. ARGONAUTICA GUSTAVIANA, pages 21-3; DEL. HIST. SOC. PAPERS, III. 10; HAZARD’S REGISTER, IV. 221, §§ 23, 24; HAZARD’S ANNALS, page 372; Armstrong, RECORD OF UPLAND COURT, pages 29-30, and notes.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

slave-trade. In that year the colony attempted to prohibit the importation of slaves, but the governor vetoed the bill.⁷⁶ Finally, in 1776 by the Constitution, and in 1787 by law, importation and exportation were both prohibited.⁷⁷

1759

By this year the wooden meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on Stony Brook near Princeton, New Jersey was totaled, either by fire or by wind. It would be rebuilt, in stone, over the original foundation, in 1761.

Samuel Davies was installed as 4th president of the College of New-Jersey.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

A decision was handed down by Yearly Meeting in London, that the action of the monthly meeting of [Quakers](#) on [Nantucket Island](#) in 1754, of disowning three of its members for having grazed too many sheep on the island's common land, had been improper. It would not be considered "expedient" for a monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends to involve itself so closely in issues of property title and of land use. The disowned Quakers were to be reinstated in their religious community. The overgrazing of the Sheep Common would continue.

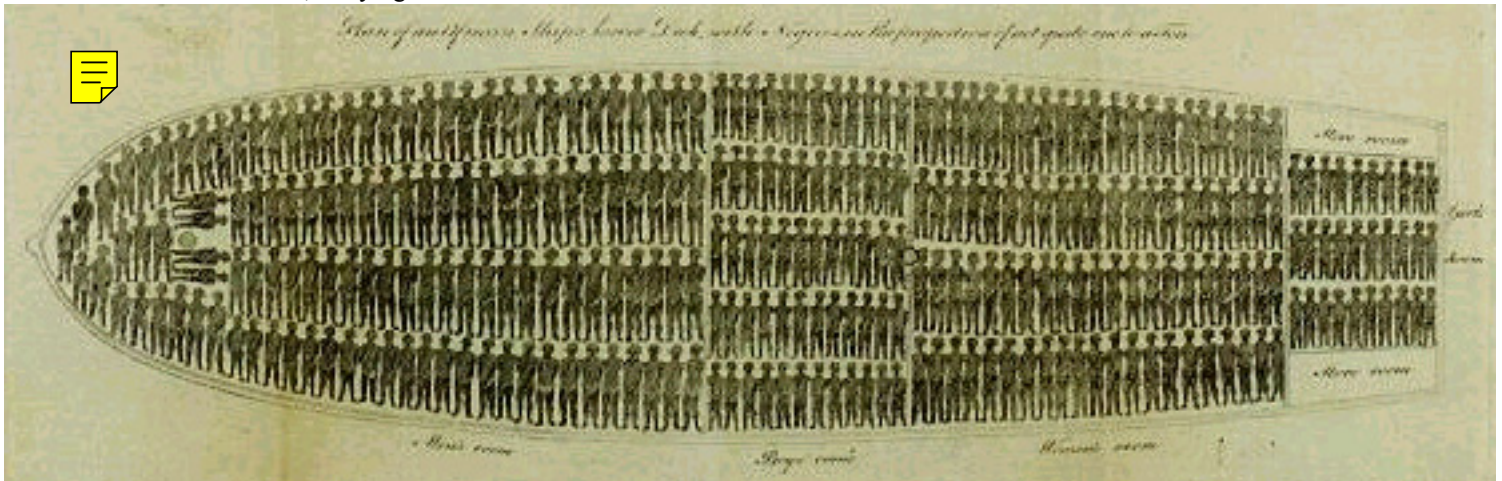
76. Force, AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 4th Ser., II. 128-9.

77. AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 5th Ser., I. 1178; LAWS OF DELAWARE, 1797 (Newcastle ed.), page 884, ch. 145 b.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In [Rhode Island](#) harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 7 vessels were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of 763 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island sloop *Abigail*, carrying a cargo of 40 slaves, the brig *Charming Betty*, carrying a cargo of 117, the sloop *Dolphin*,⁷⁸ carrying 145, the snow *Industry*, carrying 150, the brig *Marygold*, carrying 135, the sloop *Three Friends*, carrying 78, and the snow *Two Brothers*, carrying 150.



78. Thomas Robinson was part owner of the [negrero](#) *Dolphin*. He was a [Quaker](#) in good standing, of [Newport](#). (How could he have been in good standing? –Well, he was.)

This is what was going on for the [Quaker](#) opponent of [slavery](#), Friend [John Woolman](#):



1758, 1759

Visit to the Quarterly Meetings in Chester County – Joins Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough in a Visit to such as kept Slaves there – Some Observations on the Conduct which those should maintain who speak in Meetings for Discipline – More Visits to such as kept Slaves, and to Friends near Salem – Account of the Yearly Meeting in the Year 1759, and of the increasing Concern in Divers Provinces to Labour against Buying and Keeping Slaves – The Yearly Meeting Epistle – Thoughts on the Small-pox spreading, and on Inoculation.

ELEVENTH of Eleventh Month, 1758. – This day I set out for Concord; the Quarterly Meeting heretofore held there was now, by reason of a great increase of members, divided into two by the agreement of Friends at our last Yearly Meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby from England, and with Joseph White from Bucks County; the latter had taken leave of his family in order to go on a religious visit to Friends in England, and, through divine goodness, we were favoured with a strengthening opportunity together. After this meeting I joined with my friends, Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in visiting Friends who had slaves. At night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious, reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a sick neighbour, and thence to the burial of the corpse of a Friend at Uwchland



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of divine favour, after which we visited some who had slaves. In the evening we had a family meeting at a Friend's house, where the channel of the gospel love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goshen Monthly Meeting, and on the 18th attended the Quarterly Meeting at London Grove, it being first held at that place. Here we met again with all the before-mentioned Friends, and had some edifying meetings.

Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, Friends were incited to constancy in supporting the testimony of truth, and reminded of the necessity which the disciples of Christ are under to attend principally to His business as He is pleased to open it to us, and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth, and our outward affairs in as little room as may be, that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of truth in labouring to promote the pure spirit of meekness and heavenly-mindedness amongst the children of men in these days of calamity and distress, wherein God is visiting our land with His just judgments.

Each of these Quarterly Meetings was large and sat near eight hours. I had occasion to consider that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for business, for except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly understand the case we speak to, instead of forwarding we hinder business, and make more labour for those on whom the burden of the work is laid. If selfish views or a partial spirit have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work; if we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak, we should avoid useless apologies and repetitions. Where people are gathered from far, and adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting, especially when they have sat six or seven hours, and have a great distance to ride home. After this meeting I rode home.

In the beginning of the twelfth month I joined in company with my friends John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in visiting such as had slaves. Some whose hearts were rightly exercised about them appeared to be glad of our visit, but in some places our way was more difficult. I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded, and have cause in reverent thankfulness humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preserved my mind in calmness under some sharp conflicts, and begat a spirit of sympathy and tenderness in me towards some who were grievously entangled by the spirit of this world.

First Month, 1759. — Having found my mind drawn to visit some of the more active members in our Society at Philadelphia, who had slaves, I met my friend John Churchman there by agreement, and we continued about a week in the city. We visited some that were sick, and some widows and their families, and the other part of our time was mostly employed in visiting such as had slaves. It was a time of deep exercise, but, looking often to the Lord for His assistance, He in unspeakable kindness favoured us with the influence of that Spirit which crucifies to the greatness and splendour of this world, and enabled us to go



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

through some heavy labours, in which we found peace.

Twenty-fourth of Third Month, 1759. — After attending our general Spring Meeting at Philadelphia I again joined with John Churchman on a visit to some who had slaves in Philadelphia, and with thankfulness to our Heavenly Father I may say that divine love and a true sympathizing tenderness of heart prevailed at times in this service.

Having at times perceived a shyness in some Friends of considerable note towards me, I found an engagement in gospel love to pay a visit to one of them; and as I dwelt under the exercise, I felt a resignedness in my mind to go and tell him privately that I had a desire to have an opportunity with him alone; to this proposal he readily agreed, and then, in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom, and we had a large conference, which, I believe was of use to both of us, and I am thankful that way was opened for it.

Fourteenth of Sixth Month. — Having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends about Salem, and having the approbation of our Monthly Meeting, I attended their Quarterly Meeting, and was out seven days, and attended seven meetings; in some of them I was chiefly silent; in others, through the baptizing power of truth, my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and I found a near fellowship with the brethren and sisters, in the manifold trials attending their Christian progress through this world.

Seventh Month. — I have found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our Society who have slaves, and having no opportunity of the company of such as were named in the minutes of the Yearly Meeting, I went alone to their houses, and, in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exercise I was under; and thus, sometimes by a few words, I found myself discharged from a heavy burden. After this, our friend John Churchman coming into our province with a view to be at some meetings, and to join again in the visit to those who had slaves, I bore him company in the said visit to some active members, and found inward satisfaction.

At our Yearly Meeting this year, we had some weighty seasons, in which the power of truth was largely extended, to the strengthening of the honest-minded. As the epistles which were to be sent to the Yearly Meetings on this continent were read, I observed that in most of them, both this year and the last, it was recommended to Friends to labour against buying and keeping slaves, and in some of them the subject was closely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy exercise to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account, and at times in some meetings have been almost alone therein, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness in observing the increasing concern in our religious society, and seeing how the Lord was raising up and qualifying servants for His work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the cause of truth in general.

This meeting continued near a week. For several days, in the fore part of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward stillness, and being at times covered with the spirit of supplication, my heart was secretly poured out before the Lord. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, way opened in the pure flowings of divine love for me to express what lay upon me,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

which, as it then arose in my mind, was first to show how deep answers to deep in the hearts of the sincere and upright; though, in their different growths, they may not all have attained to the same clearness in some points relating to our testimony. And I was then led to mention the integrity and constancy of many martyrs who gave their lives for the testimony of Jesus, and yet, in some points they held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold, that, in all ages, where people were faithful to the light and understanding which the Most High afforded them, they found acceptance with Him, and though there may be different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet, if we mutually keep to that spirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all superfluities, and give up our hearts to fear and serve the Lord, true unity may still be preserved amongst us; that, if those who were at times under sufferings on account of some scruples of conscience kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifested a spirit of true charity, it would be more likely to reach the witness in others, and be of more service in the Church, than if their sufferings were attended with a contrary spirit and conduct. In this exercise I was drawn into a sympathizing tenderness with the sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in this world, and the like disposition appeared to spread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodness of the Lord towards His poor creatures.

An epistle went forth from this Yearly Meeting which I think good to give a place in this Journal. It is as follows: —

From the Yearly Meeting, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the 22nd day of the Ninth Month to the 28th of the same, inclusive, 1759.

TO THE QUARTERLY AND MONTHLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS BELONGING TO THE SAID YEARLY MEETING: —

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS AND BRETHREN, — In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Lord our God, whose tender mercies have been continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you, with sincere and fervent desires that we may reverently regard the dispensations of His providence, and improve under them.

The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to His almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh, and deals with His people agreeably to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable. We in these provinces may say, He hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was He who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives, so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress. It was by the gracious influences of His Holy Spirit that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly towards each other and towards the natives; in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion, whereby they retain their esteem and friendship. Whilst



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

they were labouring for the necessaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote pity and virtue in the earth, and to educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars which for a long time we enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gives us a being in a part so signally favoured with tranquillity and plenty, and in which the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the Psalmist, "What shall we render unto the Lord for all His benefits?"

Our own real good and the good of our posterity in some measure depends on the part we act, and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the just and unjust in a future state, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ, to devote ourselves to His service, and to engage fervently in His cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free, intelligent creature. We shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind, in a national capacity, as recorded in Holy Writ, do sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, "It is righteousness which exalteth a nation"; and though He doth not at all times suddenly execute His judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see in many instances that when "men follow lying vanities they forsake their own mercies"; and as a proud, selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy, and confusions increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doing. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backsliding shall reprove thee; know, therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that My fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of Hosts" (JEREMIAH 2:19).

The God of our fathers, who hath bestowed on us many benefits, furnished a table for us in the wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice. He doth now mercifully call upon us to serve Him more faithfully. We may truly say with the Prophet, "It is His voice which crieth to the city, and men of wisdom see His name. They regard the rod, and Him who hath appointed it." People who look chiefly at things outward, too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but they who fear the Lord and think often upon His name, see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading amongst the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Most High, in His visitations



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to us, instead of calling, lifteth up His voice and crieth: He crieth to our country, and His voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders; many of our fellow-subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers, some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in their fields, some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians.

We have seen men and women who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and, being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief. It is not long since many young men in one of these provinces were drafted, in order to be taken as soldiers; some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and spirituality of that religion which we profess, and found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the truth's sake is experienced. Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to consider that their care to get outward treasure for them had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

Let us not forget that "The Most High hath His way in the deep, in clouds, and in thick darkness"; that it is His voice which crieth to the city and to the country, and oh that these loud and awakening cries may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may for a short time afford a pleasing prospect, yet, while a selfish spirit, that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness which ever continues; if we desire in this life to dwell under the favour and protection of that Almighty Being whose habitation is in holiness, whose ways are all equal, and whose anger is now kindled because of our backslidings, — let us then awfully regard these beginnings of His sore judgments, and with abasement and humiliation turn to Him whom we have offended.

Contending with one equal in strength is an uneasy exercise; but if the Lord is become our enemy, if we persist in contending with Him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity? and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in things outward, look beyond our own dissolution? and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wise builders, lay the foundation deep, and by our constant uniform regard to an inward piety and virtue let them see that we really value it. Let us labour in the fear of the Lord that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruptions; that as they advance in age they may rightly understand their true interest, may consider the uncertainty of temporal things, and, above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in the blessing of that Almighty Being who inhabits eternity and preserves and supports the world.

In all our cares about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind that riches possessed by children who do not truly serve God, are likely to prove snares that may more grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation which stands in opposition to real peace and happiness, and renders those who submit to the influence of it enemies to the cause of Christ.

To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling-places, to comfort those who, through the dispensations of divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds, is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a Christian favoured with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for, "here we have no continuing city"; may we therefore diligently "seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God."

"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things, and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you."

(Signed by appointment, and on behalf of said meeting.)

Twenty-eighth of Eleventh Month. – This day I attended the Quarterly Meeting in Bucks County. In the meeting of ministers and elders my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ, and the favour of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing meeting.

I had conversation at my lodging with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn, who expressed a concern to join in a visit to some Friends in that county who had negroes, and as I had felt a drawing in my mind to the said work, I came home and put things in order. On the 11th of Twelfth Month I went over the river, and on the next day was at Buckingham Meeting, where, through the descendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Jesus Christ.

Entering upon this business appeared weighty, and before I left home my mind was often sad, under which exercise I felt at times



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities, and through which my prayers were at times put up to God in private that He would be pleased to purge me from all selfishness, that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty faithfully, how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of spirit, and went to the houses of the most active members who had negroes throughout the county. Through the goodness of the Lord my mind was preserved in resignation in times of trial, and though the work was hard to nature, yet, through the strength of that love which is stronger than death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph White's family, he being in England; we had also a family sitting at the house of an elder who bore us company, and were at Makefield on a First-day: at all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord who was graciously pleased to renew His loving-kindness to us, His poor servants, uniting us together in His work.

In the winter of this year, the smallpox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of whom a few died, some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follows: –

The more fully our lives are conformable to the will of God, the better it is for us; I have looked on the smallpox as a messenger from the Almighty, to be an assistant in the cause of virtue, and to incite us to consider whether we employ our time only in such things as are consistent with perfect wisdom and goodness. Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our creatures; preparing clothing suitable for the climate and season, and food convenient, are all duties incumbent on us. And under these general heads are many branches of business in which we may venture health and life, as necessity may require.

This disease being in a house, and my business calling me to go near it, incites me to consider whether this is a real indispensable duty; whether it is not in conformity to some custom which would be better laid aside, or whether it does not proceed from too eager a pursuit after some outward treasure. If the business before me springs not from a clear understanding and a regard to that use of things which perfect wisdom approves, to be brought to a sense of it and stopped in my pursuit is a kindness, for when I proceed to business without some evidence of duty, I have found by experience that it tends to weakness. If I am so situated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think whether my manner of life in things outward has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this messenger in a way the most favourable to me. Do I use food and drink in no other sort and in no other degree than was designed by Him who gave these creatures for our sustenance? Do I never abuse my body by inordinate labour, striving to accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed? Do I use action enough in some useful employ, or do I sit too much idle while some persons who labour to support me have too great a share of it? If in any of these things I am deficient, to be incited to consider it is a favour to me. Employment is necessary in social life, and this infection, which often proves mortal, incites me to think whether these social acts of mine are real duties. If I go on a visit to the widows and fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from any selfish



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

views? If I go to a religious meeting it puts me on thinking whether I go in sincerity and in a clear sense of duty, or whether it is not partly in conformity to custom, or partly from a sensible delight which my animal spirits feel in the company of other people, and whether to support my reputation as a religious man has no share in it.

Do affairs relating to civil society call me near this infection? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life, and it becomes me to think seriously whether love to truth and righteousness is the motive of my attending; whether the manner of proceeding is altogether equitable, or whether aught of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names, or distinctions among men, do not stain the beauty of those assemblies, and render it doubtful; in point of duty, whether a disciple of Christ ought to attend as a member united to the body or not. Whenever there are blemishes which for a series of time remain such, that which is a means of stirring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to labour according to our capacities to have health and soundness restored in our country, we may justly account a kindness from our gracious Father, who appointed that means.

The care of a wise and good man for his only son is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of the universe for His creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature, and "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men." Chastisement is intended for instruction, and instruction being received by gentle chastisement, greater calamities are prevented. By an earthquake hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes, multitudes of people perish suddenly, and many more, being crushed and bruised in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great misery.

By the breaking in of enraged merciless armies, flourishing countries have been laid waste, great numbers of people have perished in a short time, and many more have been pressed with poverty and grief. By the pestilence, people have died so fast in a city, that, through fear, grief, and confusion, those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins. By famine, great numbers of people in some places have been brought to the utmost distress, and have pined away from want of the necessaries of life. Thus, when the kind invitations and gentle chastisements of a gracious God have not been attended to, his sore judgments have at times been poured out upon people.

While some rules approved in civil society and conformable to human policy, so called, are distinguishable from the purity of truth and righteousness, — while many professing the truth are declining from that ardent love and heavenly-mindedness which was amongst the primitive followers of Jesus Christ, it is time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chastisement, and to consider the most deep and inward design of them.

The Most High doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward ears, but, if we humbly meditate on His perfections, consider that He is perfect wisdom and goodness, and that to afflict His creatures to no purpose would be utterly averse to His nature, we shall hear and understand His language both in His gentle and more heavy chastisements, and shall take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavour to escape

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

His hand by means too powerful for us.
 Had he endowed men with understanding to prevent this disease (the smallpox) by means which had never proved hurtful nor mortal, such a discovery might be considered as the period of chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge extended.⁷⁹
 But as life and health are His gifts, and are not to be disposed of in our own wills, to take upon us by inoculation when in health a disorder of which some die, requires great clearness of knowledge that it is our duty to do so.



January 17: On [Cuttyhunk Island](#) near the commercial port of [New Bedford](#), [Paul Cuffe](#) was born to a father, Kofi Slocum, who had formerly been a slave to an American family, the Slocums, but who had been allowed by his benevolent [Quaker](#) slavemaster to purchase his own [manumission](#) — and to a mother who was Pequot.

The family, although not accepted as Friends did live following Quaker values. Sometime in his youth, Cuffe received about two weeks of formal education, which led him to a basic knowledge of reading and writing.

1760

The 2d meetinghouse of [Aquidneck Island](#) was built. It would be used for [Quaker](#) worship until 1792. The burial grounds contains thousands of unmarked graves, of orthodox Friends who regarded the use of grave stones as a part of the idolatry which they had totally eschewed. (This burial ground does have, however, a few markers, placed by [Hicksites](#) and Gurneyite Quakers, who were known among the orthodox as “Heretical Friends.”)

RHODE ISLAND

79. Whatever may be thought of these scruples of John Woolman in regard to inoculation, his objections can scarcely be considered valid against vaccination, which, since his time, has so greatly mitigated the disease. He almost seems to have anticipated some such preventive.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

During the 1760s, some [Quakers](#) from [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) were moving to a new community in the Hoosac Valley in the Berkshires, called at the time East Hoosuck Plantation — that eventually would be known, in honor of Samuel Adams of Boston, as Adams.

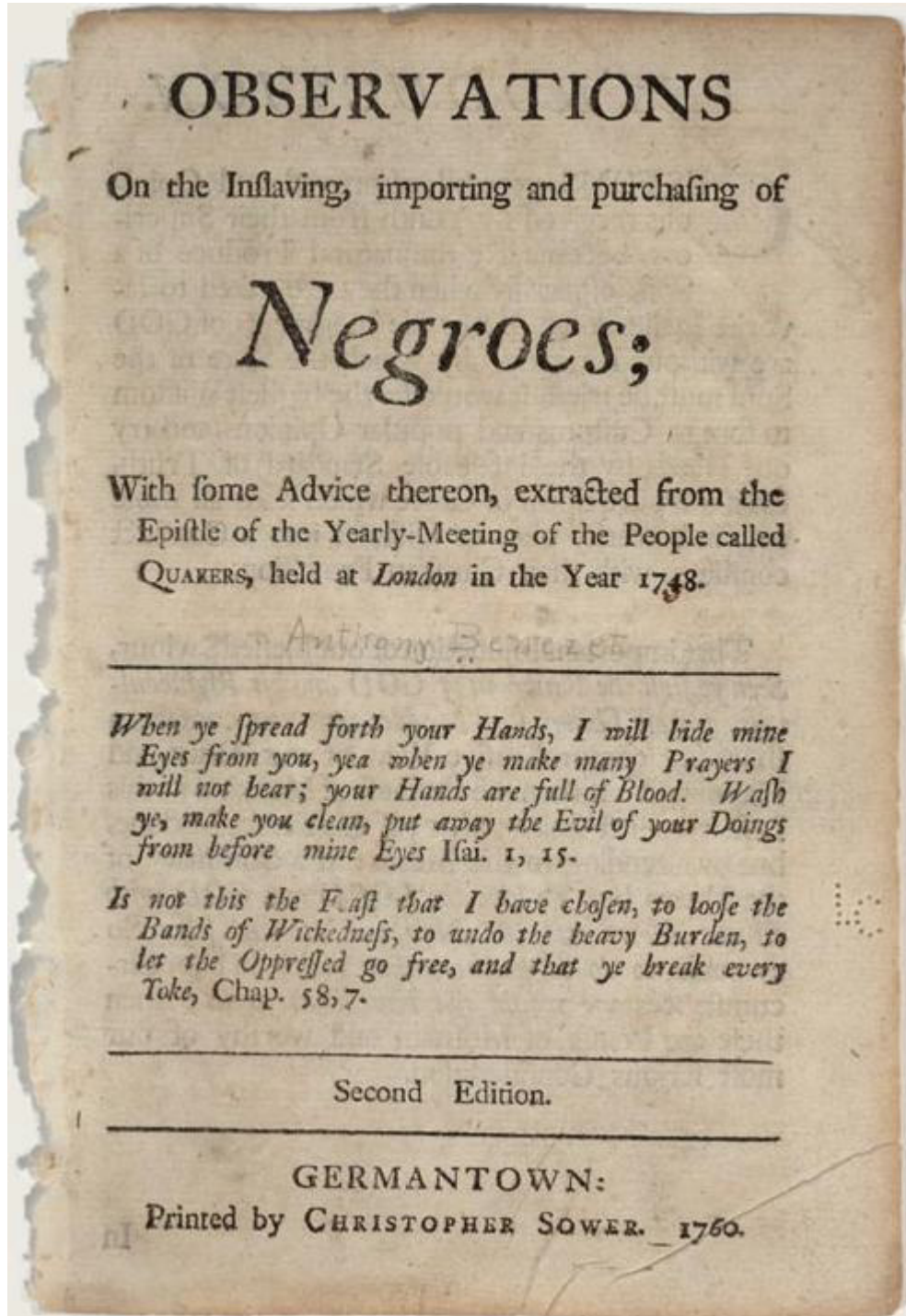


They would be in this new community some 15 years before beginning a meetinghouse, in 1782, and would complete it four years later. Above is how this Quaker meetinghouse would appear as of 1904.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Friend Anthony Benezet, a Quaker of Huguenot extraction, pointed out in OBSERVATIONS ON THE INFLAVING, IMPORTING AND PURCHAFING OF NEGROES. WITH SOME ADVICE THEREON, EXTRACTED FROM THE EPISTLE OF THE YEARLY-MEETING OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS HELD AT LONDON IN THE YEAR 1748 (2d edition, printed in Germantown PA by Christopher Sower) that if buyers did not demand *slaves*, the supply would end. "Without purchasers," he argued, "there would be no trade; and consequently every purchaser as



he encourages the trade, becomes partaker in the guilt of it." He saw guilt existed on both sides of the Atlantic,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

for some Africans, it appeared, would “sell their own children, kindred, or neighbors.” Benezet applied “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you” to enslavement.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: All the great geniuses of the British senate, Fox, Pitt, Burke, Grenville, Sheridan, Grey, Canning, ranged themselves on its side; the poet Cowper wrote for it: Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, in this country, all recorded their votes.

Since emancipation alone would not do the trick, Friend Anthony proposed schooling.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1760 England, the chief slave-trading nation, was sending on an average to Africa 163 ships annually, with a tonnage of 18,000 tons, carrying exports to the value of £163,818. Only about twenty of these ships regularly returned to England. Most of them carried slaves to the West Indies, and returned laden with sugar and other products. Thus may be formed some idea of the size and importance of the slave-trade at that time, although for a complete view we must add to this the trade under the French, Portuguese, Dutch, and Americans. The trade fell off somewhat toward 1770, but was flourishing again when the Revolution brought a sharp and serious check upon it, bringing down the number of English slavers, clearing, from 167 in 1774 to 28 in 1779, and the tonnage from 17,218 to 3,475 tons. After the war the trade gradually recovered, and by 1786 had reached nearly its former extent. In 1783 the British West Indies received 16,208 Negroes from Africa, and by 1787 the importation had increased to 21,023. In this latter year it was estimated that the British were taking annually from Africa 38,000 slaves; the French, 20,000; the Portuguese, 10,000; the Dutch and Danes, 6,000; a total of 74,000. Manchester alone sent £180,000 annually in goods to Africa in exchange for Negroes.⁸⁰

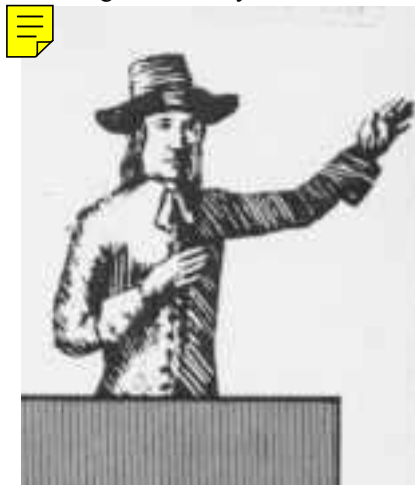
80. These figures are from the REPORT OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, etc. (London, 1789).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), some sailors were [hanged](#) for having been guilty of a mutiny at sea.

Some of the [Quaker](#) group in [Newport](#), including some of the elders and some of the ministers, were, however little superior in morality to such condemned persons, for they were not only slavemasters but also were still entangled in the [international slave trade](#). For instance, at this point the Wanton family that would produce [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was still engaging in this trade. Friend [John Woolman](#) wrote that he and his companions “in bowedness of spirit went to the [Yearly Meeting](#) at Newport, where I understood that a large number of slaves were imported from Africa and then on sale by a member of our Society.... At this time I had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk as thus expressed: ‘When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak. I trembled in myself that I might rest in the day of trouble.’ I had many cogitations and was sorely distressed.” Habakkuk 3:16 is of course a graphic description of the wrath of God; the verse concluding with “I sigh for the day of distress to dawn over my assailants.”



Friend John engaged in a successful effort to read in [Yearly Meeting](#) session a petition to the [Rhode Island](#) legislature to discourage the importation of [slaves](#). Apparently he got through this with his customary delicate, compassionate, and forceful persuasion. Having been able to read the petition aloud in the hearing of Friends, he “felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed on it as they believed best.”

Then, however, the [Yearly Meeting](#) took up the question of lotteries, and Friend John evidently was not able to maintain his temperance. He reports that “The matter was zealously handled by some on both sides.... And in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an ancient Friend said, which when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity, and after this I spake no more on the subject. ...Some time after ... I, remaining uneasy with the manner of my speaking ... could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, but was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. And then after some close exercise and hearty repentance for that I had not attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up and ... acquainted Friends that though I dare not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, as believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement, it appeared to have a good savor amongst us, after a warm debate.” Woolman had managed to rein in his anger and distress during his careful and skillful management of his antislavery petition, using the emotional energy to power his compassion, discernment, and charity toward the [slaveholders](#) themselves, but then during the discussion of lotteries his anger had slipped out. Following the general Meeting, however Woolman was able to meet with a number of slaveholding ministers, elders, overseers, and others, and was able to report that “My exercise was heavy and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of Truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us, and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit.”

Visit, in Company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, etc. — Remarks on the Slave-Trade at Newport; also on Lotteries — Some Observations on the Island of Nantucket.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

FOURTH Month, 1760. — Having for some time past felt a sympathy in my mind with Friends eastward, I opened my concern in our Monthly Meeting, and, obtaining a certificate, set forward on the 17th of this month, in company with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield, and were at their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders in Rahway. We laboured under some discouragement, but through the invisible power of truth our visit was made reviving to the lowly-minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my mind. We passed on and visited most of the meetings on Long Island. It was my concern from day to day, to say neither more nor less than what the Spirit of truth opened in me, being jealous over myself lest I should say anything to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low, and through the subjecting power of truth we were kept low with it; from place to place they whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ appeared to be comforted in our labours, and though it was in general a time of abasement of the creature, yet, through His goodness who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly edifying seasons both in meetings and in families where we tarried. Sometimes we found strength to labour earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those whose station in families or in the Society was such that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed truth.

At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows: —

24th of the Fourth Month, 1760.

DEARLY BELOVED WIFE, — We are favoured with health; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey and on this island. My mind hath been much in an inward, watchful frame since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our Heavenly Father.

As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outward cheerfulness, remembering that promise, "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord"; as this from day to day has been revived in my memory, I have considered that His internal presence in our minds is a delight of all others the most pure, and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He regards the helpless and distressed, and reveals His love to His children under affliction, who delight in beholding His benevolence, and in feeling divine charity moving in them. Of this I may speak a little, for, though since I left you I have often an engaging love and affection towards thee and my daughter and friends about home, and going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whose minds are in captivity; for whose sake my heart is at times moved with compassion, so that I feel my mind resigned to



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

leave you for a season, to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me, which though small compared with some, yet in this I rejoice that I feel love unfeigned towards my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who, I trust, cares for you, and under a sense of His heavenly love remain,
Thy loving husband, J. W.

We crossed from the east end of Long Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us, so that to me it appeared dangerous, but my mind was at that time turned to Him who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to Him; as He was mercifully pleased to preserve us, I had fresh occasion to consider every day as a day lent to me, and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time, and all I had, to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset, and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father preserved us in an humble dependence on Him through deep exercises that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In several families in the country where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private, concerning their slaves; and through divine aid I was favoured to give up thereto. Though in this concern I differ from many whose service in travelling is, I believe, greater than mine, yet I do not think hardly of them for omitting it; I do not repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him who appoints to His servants their respective employments, and is good to all who serve Him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening, and on the next day visited two sick persons, with whom we had comfortable sittings, and in the afternoon attended the burial of a Friend. The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; the spring of the ministry was opened, and strength was given to declare the Word of Life to the people.

The day following we went on our journey, but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made a deep impression on me, and my cries were often put up to my Heavenly Father in secret, that He would enable me to discharge my duty faithfully in such way as He might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swansea, Freetown, and Taunton in our way to Boston, where also we had a meeting; our exercise was deep, and the love of truth prevailed, for which I bless the Lord. We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preserved in an humble dependence on that arm which drew us out; and though we had some hard labour with the disobedient, by laying things home and close to such as were stout against the truth, yet through the goodness of God we had at times to partake of heavenly comfort with those who were meek, and were often favoured to part with Friends in the nearness of true gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston and had another comfortable opportunity with Friends there, and thence rode back a day's journey eastward of Boston. Our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, my companion and I expressed our freedom to go on without him, to which he consented, and we respectfully



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

took our leave of him; this we did as believing the journey would have been hard to him and his horse.

In visiting the meetings in those parts we were measurably baptized into a feeling of the state of the Society, and in bowedness of spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport, where we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foster, and Mercy Redman, from our parts, all ministers of the gospel, of whose company I was glad. Understanding that a large number of slaves had been imported from Africa into that town, and were then on sale by a member of our Society, my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as thus expressed: "When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble." I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed. I was desirous that Friends might petition the Legislature to use their endeavours to discourage the future importation of slaves, for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and to bring distresses on the people for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned. But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning, and such was the exercise of my mind that I thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly then sitting in town.

This exercise came upon me in the afternoon on the second day of the Yearly Meeting, and on going to bed I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned thereto. In the morning I inquired of a Friend how long the Assembly was likely to continue sitting, who told me it was expected to be prorogued that day or the next. As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived the Assembly was likely to separate before the business was over, after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting; on the last day of which I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way opened. And being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting to speak with those in authority on cases relating to the Society, I opened my mind to several of them, and showed them the essay I had made, and afterwards I opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows: —

I have been under a concern for some time on account of the great number of slaves which are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of Heaven without doing so. I have prepared an essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way open; and what I have to propose to this meeting is that some Friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting. If they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting to consider whether to take any further notice of it, as a meeting, or not.

After a short conference some Friends went out, and, looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read, which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal, and some signified that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and signed out of meeting by such as were free,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected at first that if it was done it would be in that way, yet such was the exercise of my mind that to move it in the hearing of Friends when assembled appeared to me as a duty, for my heart yearned towards the inhabitants of these parts, believing that by this trade there had been an increase of inquietude amongst them, and way had been made for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility which is a sure resting-place for the soul; and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but would increase their malady.

Having proceeded thus far, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed best. And now an exercise revived in my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had mentioned the subject in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour of Friends being held excused who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. And now, on moving it again, it was opposed as before; but the hearts of some solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members, and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confuse and darken the understanding, and that pleading for it in our meetings, which were set apart for the Lord's work, was not right. In the heat of zeal, I made reply to what an ancient Friend said, and when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity. After this I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made, a copy of which was to be sent to their several Quarterly Meetings, inciting Friends to labour to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made I remained uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the ancient Friend, and could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, though I was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. After some close exercise and hearty repentance for not having attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up, and, reciting the passage, acquainted Friends that though I durst not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement after a warm debate, it appeared to have a good savour amongst us.

The Yearly Meeting being now over, there yet remained on my mind a secret though heavy exercise, in regard to some leading active members about Newport, who were in the practice of keeping slaves. This I mentioned to two ancient Friends who came out of the country, and proposed to them, if way opened, to have some conversation with those members. One of them and I, having consulted one of the most noted elders who had slaves, he, in a respectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myself of what lay upon me. Near the beginning of the Yearly Meeting, I had had a private conference with this said elder and his wife concerning their slaves, so that the way seemed clear to me to advise with him about the manner of proceeding.

I told him I was free to have a conference with them all together



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in a private house; or, if he thought they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoken with in the hearing of one another, I was free to spend some time amongst them, and to visit them all in their own houses. He expressed his liking to the first proposal, not doubting their willingness to come together; and, as I proposed a visit to only ministers, elders, and overseers, he named some others whom he desired might also be present. A careful messenger being wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses, to open the matter to them, – and did so. About the eighth hour the next morning we met in the meeting-house chamber, the last-mentioned country Friend, my companion, and John Storer being with us. After a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under, and we then proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. At length, feeling my mind released from the burden which I had been under, I took my leave of them in a good degree of satisfaction; and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them: and I am humbly thankful to God, who supported my mind and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou who sometimes travellest in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, seest many tokens of their satisfaction in having thee for their guest. It is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people. If we believe truth points towards a conference on some subjects in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have experienced that, in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to outward interest, is hard labour. Sometimes, when I have felt truth lead towards it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship; and as the sense thereof hath abased me and my cries have been to the Lord, so I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for His sake; and thus a door hath been opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to speak of that which is the burden of the Word in a way easy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship, tends to undermine the foundation of true unity. The office of a minister of Christ is weighty, and they who now go forth as watchmen have need to be steadily on their guard against the snares of prosperity and an outside friendship.

After the Yearly Meeting we were at meetings at Newtown, Cushnet, Long Plain, Rochester, and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt, Mercy Redman, and several other Friends. The wind being slack we only reached



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Tarpawling Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public-house, and beds for a few of us, – the rest slept on the floor. We went on board again about break of day, and though the wind was small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then about ten of us got into our boat and rowed to the harbour before dark; a large boat went off and brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight. The next day but one was their Yearly Meeting, which held four days, the last of which was their Monthly Meeting for business. We had a labourious time amongst them; our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great searching of heart. The longer I was on the island the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable Friends there, though an evil spirit, tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any visits except as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in Friends' houses, where the heavenly wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort. My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day if the weather was suitable and we were well; and being called up the latter part of the night, about fifty of us went on board a vessel; but, the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered, so we returned on shore. Feeling clear as to any further visits, I spent my time in my chamber, chiefly alone; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my Heavenly Father for His help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. While I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women Friends who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before; but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly Friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the Friend who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the gospel. The next morning about break of day going again on board the vessel, we reached Falmouth on the Main before night, where our horses being brought, we proceeded towards Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also, that a great shoal which encloses their harbour prevents the entrance of sloops except when the tide is up. Waiting without for the rising of the tide is sometimes hazardous in storms, and by waiting within they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice that there was on that small island a great number of inhabitants, and the soil not very fertile, the timber being so gone that for vessels, fences, and firewood, they depend chiefly on buying from the Main, for the cost whereof, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery.⁸¹

I also encouraged the young women to continue their neat, decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house; showing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, used themselves to business, and were content with a plain way of life, they had ever had more true peace and calmness of mind than they who, aspiring to greatness and outward show, have



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

grasped hard for an income to support themselves therein. And as I observed they had so few or no slaves, I had to encourage them to be content without them, making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations which frequently attended the minds of the people who depend on slaves to do their labour.

We attended the Quarterly Meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a Monthly Meeting, and in the whole held three days. We were in various ways exercised amongst them, in gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us, and were at times overshadowed with the virtue of truth, to the comfort of the sincere and stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time. Reaching Newport the evening before their Quarterly Meeting, we attended it, and after that had a meeting with our young people, separated from those of other societies. We went through much labour in this town; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found inward peace, and was in some degree comforted in a belief that a good number remain in that place who retain a sense of truth, and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the Heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting, in which Friends from the several parts of the quarter came together, was a select meeting, and through the renewed manifestation of the Father's love the hearts of the sincere were united together.⁸² From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick, and were helped to labour amongst Friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer. Afterwards, accompanied by our friend John Casey from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, visited the meetings in those parts, and thence proceeded to the Quarterly Meeting at Ryewoods. Through the gracious extendings of divine help, we had some seasoning opportunities in those places. We also visited Friends at New York and Flushing, and thence to Rahway. Here our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion and true yokemate Samuel Eastburn, and reached home the 10th of Eighth Month, where I found my family well. For the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgments, and I find renewed desires to dwell and walk in resignedness before Him.

81. I considered that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters were more cleared, it would require more labour to get timber and wood. I understood that the whales, being much hunted and sometimes wounded and not killed, grow more shy and difficult to come at. I considered that the formation of the earth, the seas, the islands, bays, and rivers, the motions of the winds and great waters, which cause bars and shoals in particular places, were all the works of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to His heavenly instruction, and put their trust in Him, He provides for them in all parts where he gives them a being; and as in this visit to these people I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation, besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak with the women Friends in their Monthly Meeting of business, many being present, and in the fresh spring of pure love to open before them the advantage, both inwardly and outwardly, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility and the disuse of all superfluities. I reminded them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea, and that the more plain and simple their way of living was the less need there would be of running great hazards to support them.

82. The poverty of spirit and inward weakness, with which I was much tried the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me a dispensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never appeared more weighty to me, and I was led into a deep search whether in all things my mind was resigned to the will of God; often querying with myself what should be the cause of such inward poverty, and greatly desiring that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend to the secret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind, which prepared the way to some duties, that, in more easy and prosperous times as to the outward, I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM




February 14: Richard Allen was born a slave, to a family in service to the [Quaker](#) family of Benjamin Chew of Philadelphia. He and his family of origin would later be sold.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 March 20: A fire broke out in a tanning yard near the center of Boston. 133 houses, 36 barns, 129 shops and stores, and the brick [Friends](#) meetinghouse were destroyed.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

From the diary of Nathaniel Ames:

Alarm'd this morning about 4 o'clock with cry that Boston was half burnt up. With that I got up, and looking out at my window beheld a blaze big enough to terrify any Heart of common Resolution, considering such valuable combustibles fed it -All College up by five. I went to Boston about 9 o'clock and there beheld a most shocking sight! Nigh 300 Houses consumed by Fire! It began at the Brazen Head and spread away to the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in King Street, then over to Fort Hill; burnt the Fort and blew up the magazine, then it also burnt a ship, several sloops and boats. By far the largest fire ever known in New England. It was seen above 30 miles from Boston.

This would turn out to be the worst fire of the colonial period. Over 200 families were left homeless — but there was no loss of life, and the Quaker worship center would be rebuilt much as it had been before.⁸³

November 27: [John Brown](#) got married with Sarah Smith (1738-1825). Now at the John Brown mansion in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the docents allege that Mrs. Brown was a Quaker, but if they are speaking of this Sarah Smith whom John Brown married in 1760, Sarah was the daughter of Daniel and Dorcas (Harris) Smith. Was that family [Quaker](#) rather than [Baptist](#)? **Well, did Quakers engage in the distilling of alcohol?** —There is no record that might indicate such, nor is there any record that any young woman was disowned by the Friends for “marrying out,” as inevitably would have followed. (This marriage is recorded in Volume I, page 170 and in Volume II, page 5 of the Providence city records: they were “m. by Elder Samuel Winsor.”)



However, when a Los Angeles newsman who forthrightly admits that he is no historian, Charles Rappleye, came to town a few years back in the search for a story to tell in order to make some money, he made the mistake of crediting the preposterous account offered to him by these docents. So now, this is what he has written on pages 26 and 27 of his *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION*, a trade press book put out without any fact checking in 2006:

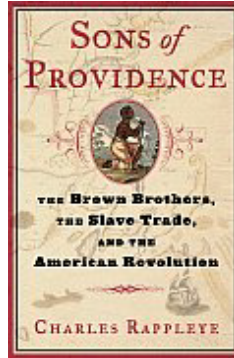
When John was wed, in 1760, at the age of twenty-four, he reached outside his family congregation and chose a Quaker, Sarah Smith, the daughter of a successful merchant and distiller. Their wedding was a gala celebration attended by most of the town's

83. Quaker Lane, a strange alley in downtown Boston, was the path through the cemetery associated with this building.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

elite; the Browns borrowed coaches and carriages to ferry their guests from the nuptials to the reception. The next day, John moved his new bride into a new home, one of the first brick buildings to be erected on Towne Street. He furnished it with new chairs and looking glasses imported from Philadelphia, along with burnished walnut desks and bookcases made by John Goddard at Newport, regarded ever since as exemplars of colonial craftsmanship.



(Several times now, in casual conversations in Providence, I have had people recommend this book to me. I have been unfailingly polite in such situations, and by polite I mean unfailingly nonresponsive. However, allow me to state here now, once, and this is for the record: if you have read this book and think it worthy then you are either too stupid or too totally uninformed to be allowed to remain alive. — In a just world you would already have been eaten by alligators.)

1761

The destroyed wooden meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on Stony Brook near Princeton, New Jersey was rebuilt in stone over the original foundation.

Samuel Finley became the 5th president of the College of New-Jersey.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Dr. Joseph Fry, a [Quaker](#), purchased the apothecary shop of Friend Walter Churchman. Along with this shop came a royal patent for a machine used in making [chocolate](#), and a factory for the processing of [cocoa](#) beans.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ A Quaker counted a total of 1,027 Quaker families in Rhode Island, including Nantucket Island, and a total of 1,146 Quaker families living elsewhere in New England. Despite the continuing ownership of slaves by Quaker families, at this point those who traded in slaves were being disowned.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ For the next several years Elias Hicks would be hanging out with Walt Whitman's grandfather Walter Whitman, age 13-17, on Long Island, going to dances, singing popular tunes, playing cards and gambling, hunting and fishing, riding horses in races at the Little Plains track in the summer, going on winter night sleigh rides and then "bundling" all night with girl Friends in their beds at home as was then the accepted practice even among Quakers, etc. On one occasion Hicks was thrown sixteen feet but was not badly injured.



ELIAS HICKS

*"I never committed
any sin
but that I loved it
better than my God."*

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



Carpenters



and



Testifiers



and



Surveyors

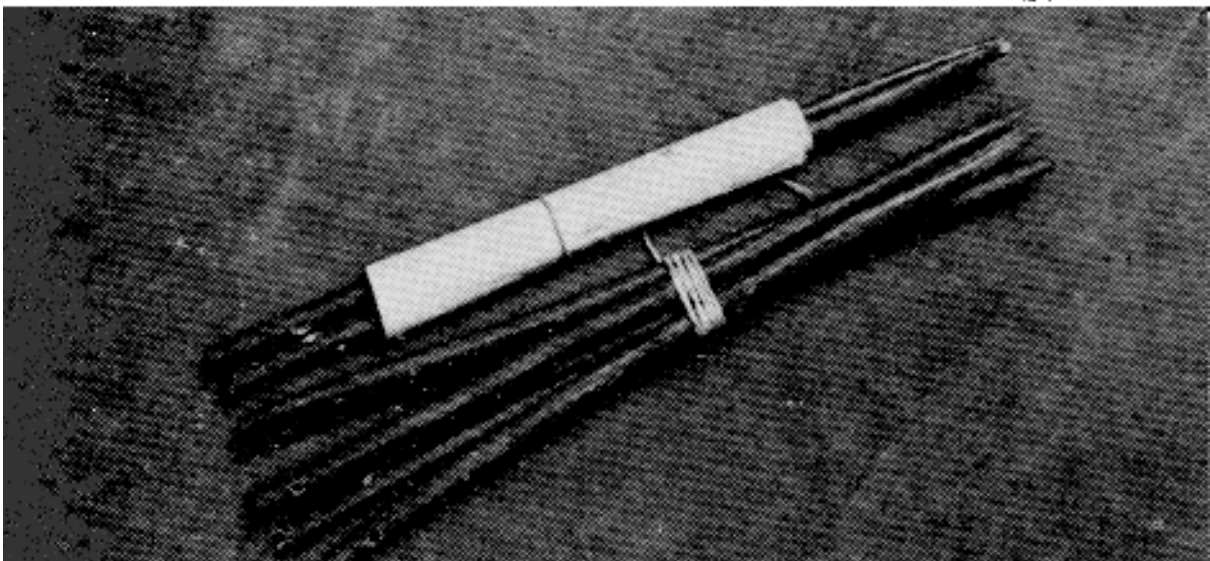
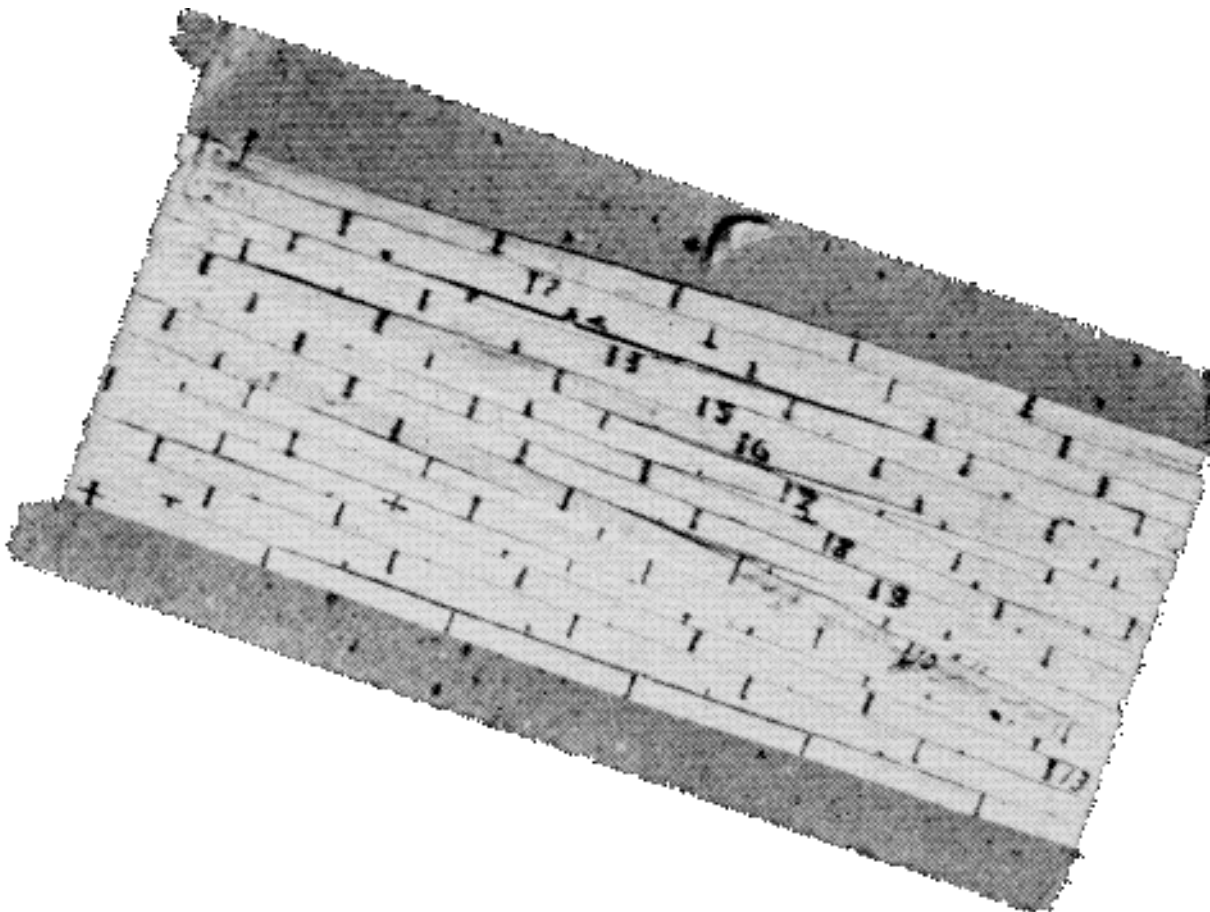
In his youth Friend Elias was trained as a surveyor, like the young Thoreau would be, and as a carpenter, like the young Whitman would be, two generations hence. But his main vocation was to be traveling around influencing people, which would also become the main vocation of Thoreau, and of Whitman, two generations hence. (Thoreau's homemade surveying tools are now in the Concord Museum and are shown on the next page; Hicks had made equivalent homemade surveying tools.) Nevertheless, such linkages are obviously spurious and no serious historian would pay attention to any such linkages. —For they do not have the blessing of matching the presumptions of previous generations of historians.

In his adult years the spirit of Friend Elias would map onto what we know as the spirit of Henry David Thoreau, spirit for spirit, attitude for attitude. But our historians know nothing of this, for they are forbidden by their discipline to enter such arenas of subjectivity. No spirit, no attitudes. That would be undisciplined. Facts: we deal in facts.

And when an unattached inconvenient fact shows up, a fact which does not match the story that is established to be told, that fact simply — goes away. For instance, the Concord Museum at one time had on display, next to Thoreau's flute, the slipcover in which Thoreau kept his flute. That slipcover which used to be on display was made of gray flannel cloth, of the sort used by Quakers for dresses, and it had a drawstring at one end. It was made, the card in the case asserted, from a scrap of cloth from one of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)'s old Quaker dresses. When questions were raised about this card in the display case, the museum simply removed the slipcover from public display. Then neither a personal visit to the museum, waiting in the vestibule for officials who never came out from their back rooms, nor a formal letter to these officials by name on letterhead stationery of the project, nor a formal follow-up letter to these officials by name on letterhead stationery of the project, enclosing the previous letter, elicited any response whatever. That inconvenient fact has disappeared. That fact had been a mistake, it had never existed. The flute slipcover made out of a piece of cloth from one of Friend Lucretia's old dresses had never existed and had never been on display. Friend Lucretia never existed and her gray dresses never wore out and she went around naked. Thoreau, we should know, had contacts only with [Unitarians](#), with humanists, with members of the same faith system as the historians who write about the Reverend Waldo Emerson, and other such important people, and this low-rent imitator of their RWE, Thoreau, of course was influenced only by RWE, and other such important people, never by such a person as Friend Lucretia, who was after all only a woman, and only a Quaker, and not even in very good standing among the Quakers. On the following page is a Newell Convers Wyeth painting which well depicts the official respective standings of Emerson and Thoreau, down to and including the funny hats (next screen):

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



1762

[Friend Anthony Benezet](#)'s A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THAT PART OF AFRICA INHABITED BY THE NEGROES was published in Philadelphia by W. Dunlap.

When Robert Hazard II died as the largest slaveholder in [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), his son Thomas Hazard III, a [Quaker](#) abolitionist, declined to inherit these slaves.⁸⁴

Part II of Friend [John Woolman](#)'s SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES: RECOMMENDED TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY OF EVERY DENOMINATION.⁸⁵

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1761, 1762

Visits Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury, and Squan – Publishes the Second Part of his Considerations on keeping Negroes – The Grounds of his appearing in some Respects singular in his Dress – Visit to the Families of Friends of Ancocas and Mount Holly Meetings – Visits to the Indians at Wehaloosing on the River Susquehanna.

HAVING felt my mind drawn towards a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be rightly instructed as to the time of setting off. On the 10th of the Fifth Month, 1761, being the first day of the week, I went to Haddonfield Meeting,

84. Please do not assume that this means that anyone became free.

85. JOURNAL, Chapter VIII 1761, 1762

Visits Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury, and Squan.

Publishes the Second Part of his Considerations on Keeping Negroes.

The Grounds of his appearing in some Respects singular in his Dress.

Visit to the Families of Friends of Ancocas and Mount Holly Meetings.

Visits to the Indians at Wehaloosing on the River Susquehanna.

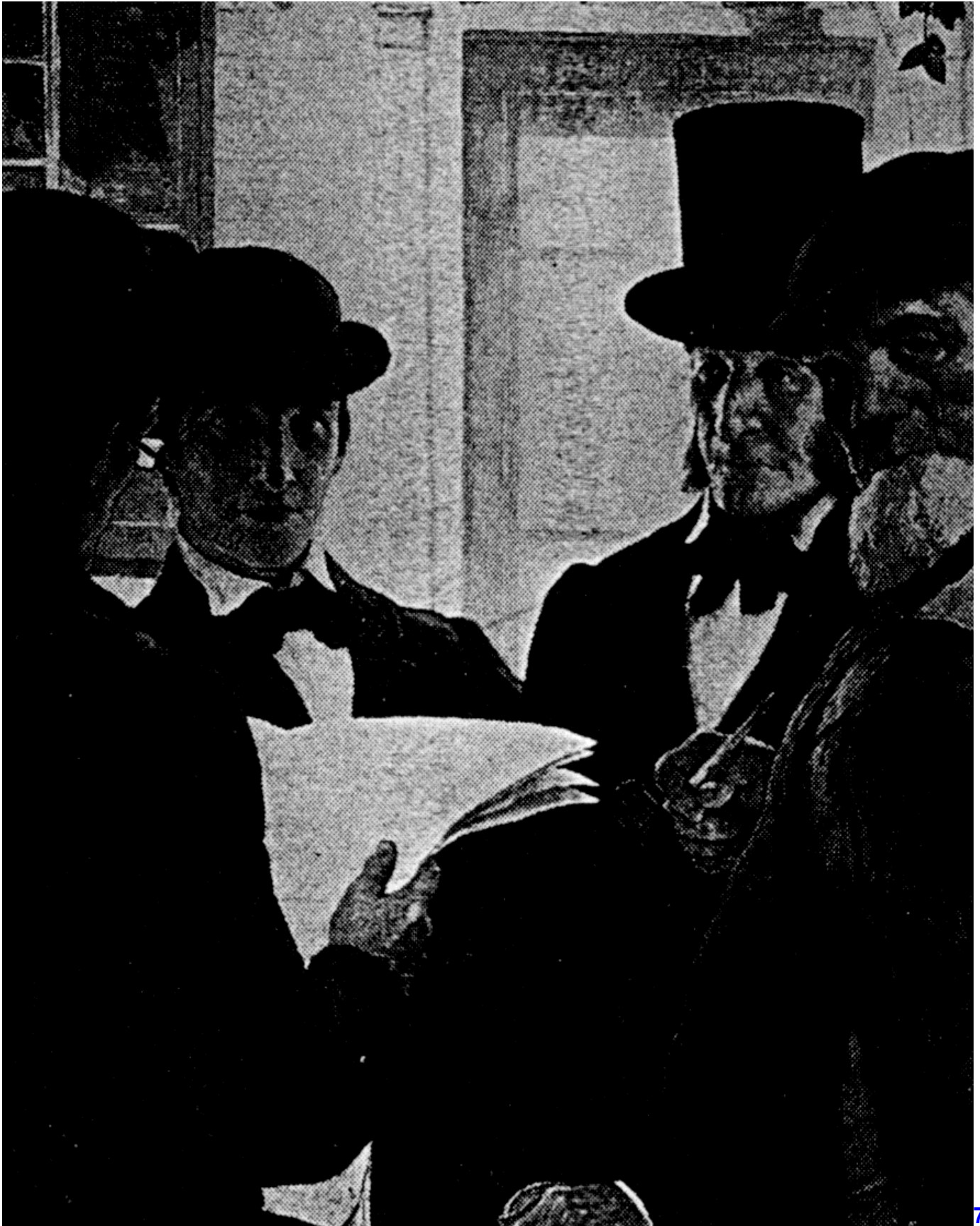
[HDT](#)

[WHAT?](#)

[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

concluding to seek for heavenly instruction, and come home, or go on, as I might then believe best for me, and there through the springing up of pure love I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two Quarterly and three Monthly Meetings, and in the love of truth I felt my way open to labour with some noted Friends who kept negroes. As I was favoured to keep to the root, and endeavour to discharge what I believed was required of me, I found inward peace therein, from time to time, and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

Eighth Month, 1761. — Having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends in and about Shrewsbury; I went there, and was at their Monthly Meeting, and their First-day meeting; I had also a meeting at Squan, and another at Squanquam, and, as way opened, had conversation with some noted Friends concerning their slaves. I returned home in a thankful sense of the goodness of the Lord.

From the concern I felt growing in me for some years, I wrote part the second of a work entitled "Considerations on keeping Negroes," which was printed this year, 1762. When the overseers of the press had done with it, they offered to get a number printed, to be paid for out of the Yearly Meeting's stock, to be given away; but I being most easy to publish it at my own expense, and offering my reasons, they appeared satisfied.

This stock is the contribution of the members of our religious society in general, among whom are some who keep negroes, and, being inclined to continue them in slavery, are not likely to be satisfied with such books being spread among a people, especially at their own expense, many of whose slaves are taught to read, and such, receiving them as a gift, often conceal them. But as they who make a purchase generally buy that which they have a mind for, I believed it best to sell them, expecting by that means they would more generally be read with attention. Advertisements were signed by order of the overseers of the press, and directed to be read in the Monthly Meetings of business within our own Yearly Meeting, informing where the books were, and that the price was no more than the cost of printing and binding them. Many were taken off in our parts; some I sent to Virginia, some to New York, some to my acquaintance at Newport, and some I kept, intending to give part of them away, where there appeared a prospect of service.

In my youth I was used to hard labour, and though I was middling healthy, yet my nature was not fitted to endure so much as many others. Being often weary, I was prepared to sympathize with those whose circumstances in life, as free men, required constant labour to answer the demands of their creditors, as well as with others under oppression. In the uneasiness of body which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but a voluntary oppression, I have often been excited to think on the original cause of that oppression which is imposed on many in the world. The latter part of the time wherein I laboured on our plantation, my heart, through the fresh visitations of heavenly love, being often tender, and my leisure time being frequently spent in reading the life and doctrines of our blessed Redeemer, the account of the sufferings of martyrs, and the history of the first rise of our Society, a belief was gradually settled in my mind, that, if such as had great estates



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

generally lived in that humility and plainness which belong to a Christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and moneys, and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful that labour both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ, and divers branches of business, which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of our minds, and which at present seem necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might, in this way of pure wisdom, be discontinued. As I have thus considered these things, a query at times hath arisen: Do I, in all my proceedings, keep to that use of things which is agreeable to universal righteousness? And then there hath some degree of sadness at times come over me, because I accustomed myself to some things which have occasioned more labour than I believe divine wisdom intended for us.

From my early acquaintance with truth I have often felt an inward distress, occasioned by the striving of a spirit in me against the operation of the heavenly principle; and in this state I have been affected with a sense of my own wretchedness, and in a mourning condition have felt earnest longings for that divine help which brings the soul into true liberty. Sometimes on retiring into private places, the spirit of supplication hath been given me, and under a heavenly covering I have asked my gracious Father to give me a heart in all things resigned to the direction of His wisdom; in uttering language like this, the thought of my wearing hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them has made lasting impression on me.

In visiting people of note in the Society who had slaves, and labouring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have seen, and the sight has affected me, that a conformity to some customs distinguishable from pure wisdom has entangled many, and that the desire of gain to support these customs has greatly opposed the work of truth. Sometimes when the prospect of the work before me has been such that in bowedness of spirit I have been drawn into retired places, and have besought the Lord with tears that He would take me wholly under His direction, and show me the way in which I ought to walk, it hath revived with strength of conviction that if I would be His faithful servant I must in all things attend to His wisdom, and be teachable, and so cease from all customs contrary thereto, however used among religious people.

As He is the perfection of power, of wisdom, and of goodness, so I believe He hath provided that so much labour shall be necessary for men's support in this world as would, being rightly divided, be a suitable employment of their time; and that we cannot go into superfluities, or grasp after wealth in a way contrary to His wisdom, without having connection with some degree of oppression, and with that spirit which leads to self-exaltation and strife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries by parties contending about their claims.

Being thus fully convinced, and feeling an increasing desire to live in the spirit of peace, I have often been sorrowfully affected with thinking on the unquiet spirit in which wars are generally carried on, and with the miseries of many of my fellow-creatures engaged therein; some suddenly destroyed; some wounded, and after much pain remaining cripples; some deprived



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

of all their outward substance and reduced to want; and some carried into captivity. Thinking often on these things, the use of hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, and wearing more clothes in summer than are useful, grew more uneasy to me, believing them to be customs which have not their foundation in pure wisdom. The apprehension of being singular from my beloved friends was a strait upon me, and thus I continued in the use of some things contrary to my judgment.

On the 31st of Fifth Month, 1761, I was taken ill of a fever, and after it had continued near a week, I was in great distress of body. One day there was a cry raised in me that I might understand the cause of my affliction, and improve under it, and my conformity to some customs which I believed were not right was brought to my remembrance. In the continuance of this exercise I felt all the powers in me yield themselves up into the hands of Him who gave me being, and was made thankful that He had taken hold of me by His chastisements. Feeling the necessity of further purifying, there was now no desire in me for health until the design of my correction was answered. Thus I lay in abasement and brokenness of spirit, and as I felt a sinking down into a calm resignation, so I felt, as in an instant, an inward healing in my nature, and from that time forward I grew better.

Though my mind was thus settled in relation to hurtful dyes, I felt easy to wear my garments heretofore made, and continued to do so about nine months. Then I thought of getting a hat the natural colour of the fur, but the apprehension of being looked upon as one affecting singularity felt uneasy to me. Here I had occasion to consider that things, though small in themselves, being clearly enjoined by divine authority, become great things to us; and I trusted that the Lord would support me in the trials that might attend singularity, so long as singularity was only for His sake. On this account I was under close exercise of mind in the time of our General Spring Meeting, 1762, greatly desiring to be rightly directed; when, being deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, I was made willing to submit to what I apprehended was required of me, and when I returned home got a hat of the natural color of the fur.

In attending meetings this singularity was a trial to me, and more especially at this time, as white hats were used by some who were fond of following the changeable modes of dress, and as some Friends who knew not from what motives I wore it grew shy of me, I felt my way for a time shut up in the exercise of the ministry. In this condition, my mind being turned toward my Heavenly Father with fervent cries that I might be preserved to walk before Him in the meekness of wisdom, my heart was often tender in meetings, and I felt an inward consolation which to me was very precious under these difficulties.

I had several dyed garments fit for use which I believed it best to wear till I had occasion for new ones. Some Friends were apprehensive that my wearing such a hat savoured of an affected singularity; those who spoke with me in a friendly way I generally informed, in a few words, that I believed my wearing it was not in my own will. I had at times been sensible that a superficial friendship had been dangerous to me; and many Friends being now uneasy with me, I had an inclination to acquaint some with the manner of my being led into these things;



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

yet upon a deeper thought I was for a time most easy to omit it, believing the present dispensation was profitable, and trusting that, if I kept my place, the Lord in his own time would open the hearts of Friends towards me. I have since had cause to admire His goodness and loving-kindness in leading about and instructing me, and in opening and enlarging my heart in some of our meetings.

In the Eleventh Month this year, feeling an engagement of mind to visit some families in Mansfield, I joined my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, and we spent a few days together in that service. In the Second Month, 1763, I joined, in company with Elizabeth Smith and Mary Noble, in a visit to the families of Friends at Ancocas. In both these visits, through the baptizing power of truth, the sincere labourers were often comforted, and the hearts of Friends opened to receive us. In the Fourth Month following, I accompanied some Friends in a visit to the families of Friends in Mount Holly; during this visit my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulness, wherein strong desires were raised for the everlasting welfare of my fellow-creatures, and through the kindness of our Heavenly Father our hearts were at times enlarged, and Friends were invited in the flowings of divine love to attend to that which would settle them on the sure foundation.

Having for many years felt love in my heart towards the natives of this land who dwell far back in the wilderness, whose ancestors were formerly the owners and possessors of the land where we dwell, and who for a small consideration assigned their inheritance to us, and being at Philadelphia in the Eighth Month, 1761, on a visit to some Friends who had slaves, I fell in company with some of those natives who lived on the east branch of the river Susquehanna, at an Indian town called Wehaloosing, two hundred miles from Philadelphia. In conversation with them by an interpreter, as also by observations on their countenances and conduct, I believed some of them were measurably acquainted with that divine power which subjects the rough and froward will of the creature. At times I felt inward drawings towards a visit to that place, which I mentioned to none except my dear wife until it came to some ripeness.

In the winter of 1762 I laid my prospects before my friends at our Monthly and Quarterly, and afterwards at our General Spring Meeting; and having the unity of Friends, and being thoughtful about an Indian pilot, there came a man and three women from a little beyond that town to Philadelphia on business. Being informed thereof by letter, I met them in town in the 5th Month, 1763; and after some conversation, finding they were sober people, I, with the concurrence of Friends in that place, agreed to join them as companions in their return, and we appointed to meet at Samuel Foulk's, at Richland, in Bucks County, on the 7th of Sixth Month. Now, as this visit felt weighty, and was performed at a time when travelling appeared perilous, so the dispensations of divine Providence in preparing my mind for it have been memorable, and I believe it good for me to give some account thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with unusual sadness, at which times my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for His



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

heavenly support, that I might not fail to follow Him wheresoever He might lead me. Being at our youth's meeting at Chesterfield, about a week before the time I expected to set off, I was there led to speak on that prayer of our Redeemer to the Father: "I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil." And in attending to the pure openings of truth, I had to mention what He elsewhere said to His Father: "I know that Thou hearest Me at all times;" so, as some of His followers kept their places, and as His prayer was granted, it followed necessarily that they were kept from evil: and as some of those met with great hardships and afflictions in this world, and at last suffered death by cruel men, so it appears that whatsoever befalls men while they live in pure obedience to God certainly works for their good, and may not be considered an evil as it relates to them. As I spake on this subject my heart was much tendered, and great awfulness came over me.

On the first day of the week, being at our own afternoon meeting, and my heart being enlarged in love, I was led to speak on the care and protection of the Lord over His people, and to make mention of that passage where a band of Syrians, who were endeavouring to take captive the prophet, were disappointed; and how the Psalmist said, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him." Thus, in true love and tenderness, I parted from Friends, expecting the next morning to proceed on my journey. Being weary I went early to bed. After I had been asleep a short time, I was awoke by a man calling at my door, and inviting me to meet some Friends at a public-house in our town, who came from Philadelphia so late that Friends were generally gone to bed. These Friends informed me that an express had arrived the last morning from Pittsburg, and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the English westward, and had slain and scalped some English people near the said Pittsburg, and in divers places.

Some elderly Friends in Philadelphia, knowing the time of my intending to set off, had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of these things before I left home, that I might consider them and proceed as I believed best. Going to bed again, I told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for His heavenly instruction; and it was an humbling time to me. When I told my dear wife, she appeared to be deeply concerned about it; but in a few hours' time my mind became settled in a belief that it was my duty to proceed on my journey, and she bore it with a good degree of resignation. In this conflict of spirit there were great searchings of heart and strong cries to the Lord, that no motion might in the least degree be attended to but that of the pure spirit of truth.

The subjects before mentioned, on which I had so lately spoken in public, were now fresh before me, and I was brought inwardly to commit myself to the Lord, to be disposed of as He saw best. I took leave of my family and neighbours in much bowedness of spirit, and went to our Monthly Meeting at Burlington. After taking leave of Friends there, I crossed the river, accompanied by my friends Israel and John Pemberton; and parting the next morning with Israel, John bore me company to Samuel Foulk's, where I met the before-mentioned Indians; and we were glad to see each other.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Here my friend Benjamin Parvin met me, and proposed joining me as a companion, — we had before exchanged some letters on the subject, — and now I had a sharp trial on his account; for, as the journey appeared perilous, I thought if he went chiefly to bear me company, and we should be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing him into these difficulties would add to my own afflictions; so I told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was resigned to go alone; but after all, if he really believed it to be his duty to go on, I believed his company would be very comfortable to me. It was, indeed, a time of deep exercise, and Benjamin appeared to be so fastened to the visit that he could not be easy to leave me; so we went on, accompanied by our friends John Pemberton and William Lightfoot of Pikeland. We lodged at Bethlehem, and there parting with John, William and we went forward on the 9th of the Sixth Month, and got lodging on the floor of a house, about five miles from Fort Allen. Here we parted with William, and at this place we met with an Indian trader lately come from Wyoming. In conversation with him, I perceived that many white people often sell rum to the Indians, which I believe is a great evil. In the first place, they are thereby deprived of the use of reason, and, their spirits being violently agitated, quarrels often arise which end in mischief, and the bitterness and resentment occasioned hereby are frequently of long continuance. Again, their skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy clothing, they often sell at a low rate for more rum, when they become intoxicated; and afterward, when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life, are angry with those who, for the sake of gain, took advantage of their weakness.

Their chiefs have often complained of this in their treaties with the English. Where cunning people pass counterfeits and impose on others that which is good for nothing, it is considered as wickedness; but for the sake of gain to sell that which we know does people harm, and which often works their ruin, manifests a hardened and corrupt heart, and is an evil which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue to suppress. While my mind this evening was thus employed, I also remembered that the people on the frontiers, among whom this evil is too common, are often poor; and that they venture to the outside of the colony in order to live more independently of the wealthy, who often set high rents on their land. I was renewedly confirmed in a belief, that, if all our inhabitants lived according to sound wisdom, labouring to promote universal love and righteousness, and ceased from every inordinate desire after wealth, and from all customs which are tintured with luxury, the way would be easy for our inhabitants, though they might be much more numerous than at present, to live comfortably on honest employments, without the temptation they are so often under of being drawn into schemes to make settlements on lands which have not been purchased of the Indians, or of applying to that wicked practice of selling rum to them.

Tenth of Sixth Month. — We set out early this morning and crossed the western branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehigh, near Fort Allen. The water being high, we went over in a canoe. Here we met an Indian, had friendly conversation with him, and gave him some biscuit; and he, having killed a deer, gave some of it



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to the Indians with us. After travelling some miles, we met several Indian men and women with a cow and horse, and some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wyoming, and were going to settle at another place. We made them some small presents, and, as some of them understood English, I told them my motive for coming into their country, with which they appeared satisfied. One of our guides talking awhile with an ancient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me, and took her leave of us with an appearance of sincere affection. We pitched our tent near the banks of the same river, having laboured hard in crossing some of those mountains called the Blue Ridge. The roughness of the stones and the cavities between them, with the steepness of the hills, made it appear dangerous. But we were preserved in safety, through the kindness of Him whose works in these mountainous deserts appeared awful, and towards whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the sides of large trees peeled for that purpose, were various representations of men going to and returning from the wars, and of some being killed in battle. This was a path heretofore used by warriors, and as I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red or black, and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce spirit produceth in the world, also on the toils and fatigues of warriors in travelling over mountains and deserts; on their miseries and distresses when far from home and wounded by their enemies; of their bruises and great weariness in chasing one another over the rocks and mountains; of the restless, unquiet state of mind of those who live in this spirit, and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of their children, – the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace among these people arose very fresh in me.

This was the first night that we lodged in the woods, and being wet with travelling in the rain, as were also our blankets, the ground, our tent, and the bushes under which we purposed to lay, all looked discouraging; but I believed that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that He would dispose of me as He saw good, and so I felt easy. We kindled a fire, with our tent open to it, then laid some bushes next the ground, and put our blankets upon them for our bed, and, lying down, got some sleep. In the morning, feeling a little unwell, I went into the river; the water was cold, but soon after I felt fresh and well. About eight o'clock we set forward and crossed a high mountain supposed to be upward of four miles over, the north side being the steepest. About noon we were overtaken by one of the Moravian brethren going to Wehaloosing, and an Indian man with him who could talk English; and we being together while our horses ate grass had some friendly conversation; but they, travelling faster than we, soon left us. This Moravian, I understood, has this spring spent some time at Wehaloosing, and was invited by some of the Indians to come again.

Twelfth of Sixth Month being the first of the week and rainy day, we continued in our tent, and I was led to think on the nature of the exercise which hath attended me. Love was the first motion, and thence a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction



from them, or they might be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth among them; and as it pleased the Lord to make way for my going at a time when the troubles of war were increasing, and when, by reason of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than usual at that season, I looked upon it as a more favourable opportunity to season my mind, and to bring me into a nearer sympathy with them. As mine eye was to the great Father of Mercies, humbly desiring to learn His will concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our guide's horse strayed, though hobbled, in the night, and after searching some time for him his footsteps were discovered in the path going back, whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and after about seven hours returned with him. Here we lodged again, tying up our horses before we went to bed, and loosing them to feed about break of day.

Thirteenth of Sixth Month. – The sun appearing, we set forward, and as I rode over the barren hills my meditations were on the alterations in the circumstances of the natives of this land since the coming in of the English. The lands near the sea are conveniently situated for fishing; the lands near the rivers, where the tides flow, and some above, are in many places fertile and not mountainous, while the changing of the tides makes passing up and down easy with any kind of traffic. The natives have in some places, for trifling considerations, sold their inheritance so favourably situated, and in other places have been driven back by superior force; their way of clothing themselves is also altered from what it was, and they being far removed from us have to pass over mountains, swamps, and barren deserts, so that travelling is very troublesome in bringing their skins and furs to trade with us. By the extension of English settlements, and partly by the increase of English hunters, the wild beasts on which the natives chiefly depend for subsistence are not so plentiful as they were, and people too often, for the sake of gain, induce them to waste their skins and furs in purchasing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and desires were now very much broken, and my heart was with much earnestness turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me. I had a prospect of the English along the coast for upwards of nine hundred miles where I travelled, and their favourable situation and the difficulties attending the natives as well as the negroes in many places were open before me. A weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart towards all mankind, in which I felt a strong engagement that we might be obedient to the Lord while in tender mercy He is yet calling to us, and that we might so attend to pure universal righteousness as to give no just cause of offence to the Gentiles, who do not profess Christianity, whether they be the blacks from Africa, or the native inhabitants of this continent.

Here I was led into a close and labourious inquiry whether I, as an individual, kept clear from all things which tended to stir up or were connected with wars, either in this land or in Africa, my heart was deeply concerned that in future I might in all things keep steadily to the pure truth, and live and walk in the plainness and simplicity of a sincere follower of Christ. In this lonely journey I did greatly bewail the spreading of a



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

wrong spirit, believing that the prosperous, convenient situation of the English would require a constant attention in us to divine love and wisdom, in order to their being guided and supported in a way answerable to the will of that good, gracious, and Almighty Being, who hath an equal regard to all mankind. And here luxury and covetousness, with the numerous oppressions and other evils attending them, appeared very afflicting to me, and I felt in that which is immutable that the seeds of great calamity and desolation are sown and growing fast on this continent. Nor have I words sufficient to set forth the longing I then felt, that we who are placed along the coast, and have tasted the love and goodness of God, might arise in the strength thereof, and like faithful messengers labour to check the growth of these seeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our posterity.

On reaching the Indian settlement at Wyoming, we were told that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians having taken an English fort westward, and destroyed the people, and that they were endeavouring to take another; also, that another Indian runner came there about the middle of the previous night from a town about ten miles from Wehaloosing, and brought the news that some Indian warriors from distant parts came to that town with two English scalps, and told the people that it was war with the English.

Our guides took us to the house of a very ancient man. Soon after we had put in our baggage, there came a man from another Indian house some distance off. Perceiving there was a man near the door I went out; the man had a tomahawk wrapped under his match-coat out of sight. As I approached him he took it in his hand; I went forward, and, speaking to him in a friendly way, perceived he understood some English. My companion joining me, we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our visit in these parts; he then went into the house with us, and, talking with our guides, soon appeared friendly, sat down and smoked his pipe. Though taking his hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew near to him had a disagreeable appearance, I believe he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence were offered to him.

On hearing the news brought by these Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged that the Indians about Wyoming expected in a few days to move to some larger towns, I thought, to all outward appearance, it would be dangerous travelling at this time. After a hard day's journey I was brought into a painful exercise at night, in which I had to trace back and view the steps I had taken from my first moving in the visit; and though I had to bewail some weakness which at times had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to wilful disobedience. Believing I had, under a sense of duty, come thus far, I was now earnest in spirit, beseeching the Lord to show me what I ought to do. In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers, or the fear of disgrace from my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me. Full of these thoughts, I lay great part of the night, while my beloved companion slept by me, till the Lord, my gracious Father, who saw the conflicts of my soul, was pleased



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to give quietness. Then I was again strengthened to commit my life, and all things relating thereto, into His heavenly hands, and got a little sleep towards day.

Fourteenth of Sixth Month. — We sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with, in number about twenty. They were chiefly in one place, about a mile from where we lodged. I expressed to them the care I had on my mind for their good, and told them that true love had made me willing thus to leave my family to come and see the Indians and speak with them in their houses. Some of them appeared kind and friendly. After taking leave of them, we went up the river Susquehanna about three miles, to the house of an Indian called Jacob January. He had killed his hog, and the women were making store of bread and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots had left their canoe when they came down in the spring, and lying dry it had become leaky. This detained us some hours, so that we had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family; and, eating dinner with them, we made them some small presents. Then putting our baggage into the canoe, some of them pushed slowly up the stream, and the rest of us rode our horses. We swam them over a creek called Lahawahamunk, and pitched our tent above it in the evening. In a sense of God's goodness in helping me in my distress, sustaining me under trials, and inclining my heart to trust in Him, I lay down in an humble, bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

Fifteenth of Sixth Month. — We proceeded forward till the afternoon, when, a storm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place and stayed all night, the rain continuing so heavy that it beat through our tent and wet both us and our baggage. The next day we found abundance of trees blown down by the storm yesterday, and had occasion reverently to consider the kind dealings of the Lord who provided a safe place for us in a valley while this storm continued. We were much hindered by the trees which had fallen across our path, and in some swamps our way was so stopped that we got through with extreme difficulty. I had this day often to consider myself as a sojourner in this world. A belief in the all-sufficiency of God to support His people in their pilgrimage felt comfortable to me, and I was industriously employed to get to a state of perfect resignation. We seldom saw our canoe but at appointed places, by reason of the path going off from the river. This afternoon, Job Chilaway, an Indian from Wehaloosing, who talks good English and is acquainted with several people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river. Understanding where we expected to lodge, he pushed back about six miles, and came to us after night; and in a while our own canoe arrived, it being hard work pushing up the stream. Job told us that an Indian came in haste to their town yesterday and told them that three warriors from a distance lodged in a town above Wehaloosing a few nights past, and that these three men were going against the English at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the province-store at Shamokin. Though I was so far favoured with health as to continue travelling, yet, through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way of living from which I had been used to, I grew sick. The news of these warriors being on their march so near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a fresh trial of my faith; and though, through



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the strength of divine love, I had several times been enabled to commit myself to the divine disposal, I still found the want of a renewal of my strength, that I might be able to persevere therein; and my cries for help were put up to the Lord, who, in great mercy, gave me a resigned heart, in which I found quietness.

Parting from Job Chilaway on the 17th, we went on and reached Wehaloosing about the middle of the afternoon. The first Indian that we saw was a woman of a modest countenance, with a Bible, who spake first to our guide, and then with an harmonious voice expressed her gladness at seeing us, having before heard of our coming. By the direction of our guide we sat down on a log, while he went to the town to tell the people we were come. My companion and I, sitting thus together in a deep inward stillness, the poor woman came and sat near us; and, great awfulness coming over us, we rejoiced in a sense of God's love manifested to our poor souls. After a while we heard a conch-shell blow several times, and then came John Curtis and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a house near the town, where we found about sixty people sitting in silence. After sitting with them a short time I stood up, and in some tenderness of spirit acquainted them, in a few short sentences, with the nature of my visit, and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to see them; which, some of them understanding, interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladness among them. I then showed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the Moravian who overtook us on the way, being now here, bade me welcome.

But the Indians knowing that this Moravian and I were of different religious societies, and as some of their people had encouraged him to come and stay awhile with them, they were, I believe, concerned that there might be no jarring or discord in their meetings; and having, I suppose, conferred together, they acquainted me that the people, at my request, would at any time come together and hold meetings. They also told me that they expected the Moravian would speak in their settled meetings, which are commonly held in the morning and near evening. So finding liberty in my heart to speak to the Moravian, I told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people, and my belief that no ill effects would follow if I sometimes spake in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course. He expressed his good-will towards my speaking at any time all that I found in my heart to say.

On the evening of the 18th I was at their meeting, where pure gospel love was felt, to the tendering of some of our hearts. The interpreters endeavoured to acquaint the people with what I said, in short sentences, but found some difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware tongues, so they helped one another, and we laboured along, divine love attending. Afterwards, feeling my mind covered with the spirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed, if I prayed aright He would hear me; and I expressed my willingness for them to omit interpreting; so our meeting ended with a degree of divine love. Before the people went out, I observed Papunehang (the man who had been zealous in labouring for a reformation in that town,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

being then very tender) speaking to one of the interpreters, and I was afterwards told that he said in substance as follows: – “I love to feel where words come from.”

Nineteenth of Sixth Month and first of the week. – This morning the Indian who came with the Moravian, being also a member of that society, prayed in the meeting, and then the Moravian spake a short time to the people. In the afternoon, my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I spake to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I feeling the current of love run strong, told the interpreters that I believed some of the people would understand me, and so I proceeded without them; and I believe the Holy Ghost wrought on some hearts to edification where all the words were not understood. I looked upon it as a time of divine favour, and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord. After I sat down, one of the interpreters seemed spirited to give the Indians the substance of what I said.

Before our first meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts. A near sympathy with them was raised in me, and, my heart being enlarged in the love of Christ, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction does not exceed what I then felt for that people. I came to this place through much trouble; and though through the mercies of God I believed that if I died in the journey it would be well with me, yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of Indian warriors were, in times of weakness, afflicting to me; and being of a tender constitution of body, the thoughts of captivity among them were also grievous; supposing that as they were strong and hardy they might demand service of me beyond what I could well bear. But the Lord alone was my keeper, and I believed that if I went into captivity it would be for some good end. Thus, from time to time, my mind was centred in resignation, in which I always found quietness. And this day, though I had the same dangerous wilderness between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had strengthened me to come on this visit, and had manifested a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine own eyes I appeared inferior to many among the Indians.

When the last-mentioned meeting was ended, it being night, Papunehang went to bed; and hearing him speak with an harmonious voice, I suppose for a minute or two, I asked the interpreter, who told me that he was expressing his thankfulness to God for the favours he had received that day, and prayed that He would continue to favour him with the same, which he had experienced in that meeting. Though Papunehang had before agreed to receive the Moravian and join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us.

I was at two meetings on the 20th, and silent in them. The following morning, in meeting, my heart was enlarged in pure love among them, and in short plain sentences I expressed several things that rested upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily. The meeting ended in supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord towards us; and then I believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ



to labour among these people. And now, feeling my mind at liberty to return, I took my leave of them in general at the conclusion of what I said in meeting, and we then prepared to go homeward. But some of their most active men told us that, when we were ready to move the people would choose to come and shake hands with us. Those who usually came to meeting did so; and from a secret draught in my mind I went among some who did not usually go to meeting, and took my leave of them also. The Moravian and his Indian interpreter appeared respectful to us at parting. This town, Wehaloosing, stands on the bank of the Susquehanna, and consists, I believe, of about forty houses, mostly compact together, some about thirty feet long and eighteen wide – some bigger, some less. They are built mostly of split plank, one end being set in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate on which rafters are laid, and then covered with bark. I understand a great flood last winter overflowed the greater part of the ground where the town stands, and some were now about moving their houses to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be of our company, but when we were ready to go we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with skins and furs, and chose to go in company with us. So they loaded two canoes, in which they desired us to go, telling us that the waters were so raised with the rains that the horses should be taken by such as were better acquainted with the fording-places. We, therefore, with several Indians, went in the canoes, and others went on horses, there being seven besides ours. We met with the horsemen once on the way by appointment, and at night we lodged a little below a branch called Tankhannah, and some of the young men, going out a little before dusk with their guns, brought in a deer.

Through diligence we reached Wyoming before night, the 22d, and understood that the Indians were mostly gone from this place. We went up a small creek into the woods with our canoes, and, pitching our tent, carried out our baggage, and before dark our horses came to us. Next morning, the horses being loaded and our baggage prepared, we set forward, being in all fourteen, and with diligent travelling were favoured to get near half-way to Fort Allen. The land on this road from Wyoming to our frontier being mostly poor, and good grass being scarce, the Indians chose a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the best for grazing. I had sweat much in travelling, and, being weary, slept soundly. In the night I perceived that I had taken cold, of which I was favoured soon to get better.

Twenty-fourth of Sixth Month. – This day we passed Fort Allen and lodged near it in the woods. We forded the westerly branch of the Delaware three times, which was a shorter way than going over the top of the Blue Mountains called the Second Ridge. In the second time of fording where the river cuts through the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, my companion's mare, being a tall, tractable animal, was sundry times driven back through the river, being laden with the burdens of some small horses which were thought unable to come through with their loads. The troubles eastward, and the difficulty for Indians to pass through our frontier, I apprehend, were one reason why so many came, expecting that our being in company would prevent the outside inhabitants being surprised. We reached Bethlehem on the 25th, taking care to keep foremost, and

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to acquaint people on and near the road who these Indians were. This we found very needful, for the frontier inhabitants were often alarmed at the report of the English being killed by Indians westward. Among our company were some whom I did not remember to have seen at meeting, and some of these at first were very reserved; but we being several days together, and behaving in a friendly manner towards them, and making them suitable return for the services they did us, they became more free and sociable.

Twenty-sixth of Sixth Month. – Having carefully endeavoured to settle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey, we took leave of them, and I thought they generally parted from us affectionately. We went forward to Richland and had a very comfortable meeting among our friends, it being the first day of the week. Here I parted with my kind friend and companion Benjamin Parvin, and accompanied by my friend Samuel Foulk, we rode to John Cadwallader's, from whence I reached home the next day, and found my family tolerably well. They and my friends appeared glad to see me return from a journey which they apprehended would be dangerous; but my mind, while I was out, had been so employed in striving for perfect resignation, and had so often been confirmed in a belief that, whatever the Lord might be pleased to allot for me, it would work for good, that I was careful lest I should admit any degree of selfishness in being glad overmuch, and laboured to improve by those trials in such a manner as my gracious Father and Protector designed. Between the English settlements and Wehaloosing we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with bushes, and interrupted by abundance of trees lying across it. These, together with the mountain swamps and rough stones, make it a difficult road to travel, and the more so because rattlesnakes abound here, of which we killed four. People who have never been in such places have but an imperfect idea of them; and I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God, who thus led about and instructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whose situation in life is difficult.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

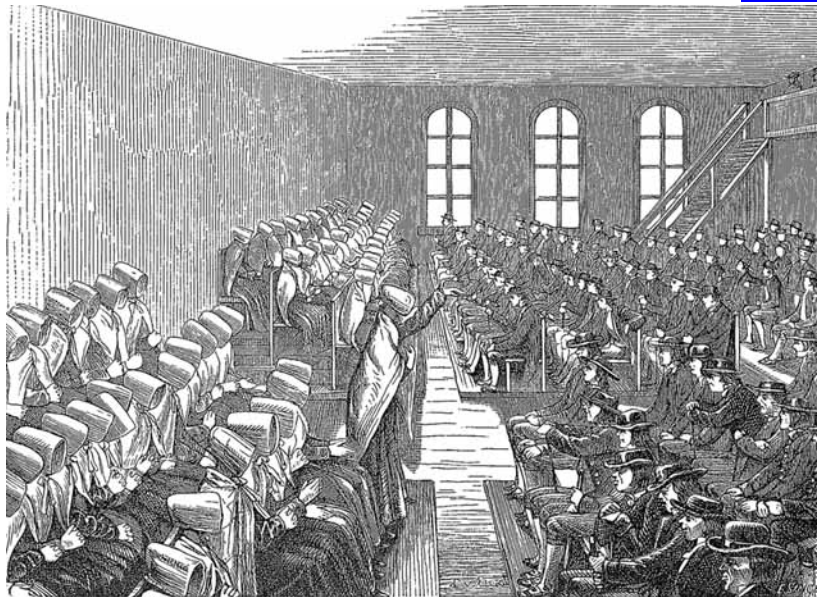
1763

In this year Friend [John Woolman](#) wrote A PLEA FOR THE POOR, and warned the [Quakers](#) of [Nantucket Island](#) to beware of small pox inoculation and other such worldly practices that might display a suspicious lack of faith in God's providence.



Those who inoculated their children against the disease, he recommended, should be disowned and driven from the faith community.⁸⁶ (Ironically, in 1772, while attending a Quaker meeting in England, Friend John would die of the small pox.)

QUAKER DISOWNMENT



Here is an attitude Friend John expressed toward the frivolous arts: "There came a man to Mount Holly who had previously published a printed advertisement that at a certain public-house he would show many wonderful operations, which were therein enumerated. At the appointed time he did, by sleight of hand, perform sundry things which appeared strange to the spectators. Understanding that the show was to be repeated the next night, and that the people were to meet about sunset, I felt an exercise on that account.

86. JOURNAL, Chapter IX 1763-1769 "Account of John Smith's Advice and of the Proceeding of a Committee at the Yearly Meeting in 1764. Contemplations on the Nature of True Wisdom. Visit to the Families of Friends at Mount Holly, Mansfield, and Burlington, and to the Meetings on the Sea-Coast from Cape May towards Squan. Some Account of Joseph Nichols and his Followers. On the different State of the first Settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own Labour, compared with those of the Southern Provinces who kept Negroes. Visit to the Northern Parts of New Jersey and the Western Parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania, also to the Families of Friends at Mount Holly and several Parts of Maryland. Further Considerations on Keeping Slaves, and his Concern for having been a Party to the Sale of One. Thoughts on Friends exercising Offices in Civil Government."

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

So I went to the public-house in the evening, and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then, sitting down by the door, I spoke to the people in the fear of the Lord, as they came together, concerning this show, and laboured to convince them that their thus assembling to see these sleight-of-hand tricks, and bestowing their money to support men who, in that capacity, were of no use to the world, was contrary to the nature of the Christian religion. One of the company endeavoured to show by arguments the reasonableness of their proceedings herein; but after considering some texts of Scripture and calmly debating the matter he gave up the point. After spending about an hour among them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.”⁸⁷



87. “Religious Conversation with a Company met to see the Tricks of a Juggler” in JOURNAL, ed. Rufus Jones. Available online. A slightly different version is found in THE JOURNAL AND MAJOR ESSAYS OF JOHN WOOLMAN, ed. Phillips P. Moulton (Richmond IN: Friends United Press, 1989) 138f.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1764

The Greet Meetinghouse of the [Quakers](#) on [Nantucket Island](#) was again expanded, from seating 1,500 to seating 2,000, which would have been a majority of the entire population of the island.



Friend Anthony Purver's *A NEW AND LITERAL TRANSLATION OF ALL THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT; WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY* (2 Vols. London: W. Richardson and S. Clark). This effort is sometimes referred to as "The Quaker Bible" because Purver, a schoolmaster of Bristol, England, was the clerk of a Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). He was a friend of the Wesley brothers, founders of Methodism. His footnotes on his translation from the Greek of the *SEPTUAGINT* are voluminous.

1765

[Friend](#) Samuel Smith's *HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NOVA-CÆSARIA, OR NEW JERSEY TO YEAR 1721*.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

READ SMITH TEXT

[Friend](#) Timothy Matlack was [disowned](#) by the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. He would in 1781 help to form the Society of Free Quakers. Here is his portrait, done in 1826 by Charles Willson Peale, in which he at the

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

age of 86 walking with the use of a cane has donned the “liberty cap” in order to display his politics:



As an example of [Quaker Disownment](#), here is one that was announced in this year at the New Garden monthly meeting:

Whereas, W.M. hath had his education among us, and been deemed a member of our Society, but for want of enough regarding the dictates of Truth in his heart, which would have preserved him from evil, and enabled him to live a life of integrity and self-denial, he hath given way to his libertine inclinations, so far as to neglect his lawful business, and too much practice jockeying or dealing in horses, and several other things tending to a vain and idle life; whereby he involved himself in debt, and became unable to satisfy his creditors, by paying their just demands; and hath also, for a considerable time, almost wholly absented himself from our religious meetings, and doth not keep to the plain language, nor appear convinced of the necessity thereof; all which being reproachful, we disown him,....⁸⁸

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1766

[Friend Abraham Redwood](#) had another, smaller summer house built on his estate on the shore of Narragansett Bay in [Portsmouth](#). This is the building that would be moved to [Newport, Rhode Island](#), in 1917.

April: In New Jersey, James Anderson and his wife Ann Anderson [manumitted](#) Jane, a “Girl Born of the body of a Negroe Woman but supposed to be begotten by a White man which said Girl according to the Custom of the Land is held in [Slavery](#) and bondage.” James Anderson was one of the earliest and staunchest followers of the local religious leader [Joseph Nichols](#), who was antislavery, so it is possible that the manumission was due to his influence. Since this happened a couple of months before the arrival of [Friend John Woolman](#), it cannot be said to have been the result of his Quaker antislavery influence.

88. Quoted in Ezra Michener, A RETROSPECT OF EARLY QUAKERISM (Philadelphia: Zell, 1860), pages 189-190.

[HDT](#)

[WHAT?](#)

[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

KING PHILIP.



Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

May 24: In New Jersey, Paris Chipman and Margaret Chipman [manumitted](#) Thomas, a Negro boy. The Chipmans, like the Andersons, were followers of the local religious leader [Joseph Nichols](#), who was antislavery, so it is possible that the manumission of a [slave](#) was due to his influence. Since this happened prior to the arrival of [Friend John Woolman](#), it cannot be said to have been the result of his Quaker antislavery influence.

June: [Friend John Woolman](#) began his 1st walking tour through Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland. His testimonies seem to have had some impact on [Joseph Nichols](#) and the [Nicholites](#) in the middle region of the Delmarva Peninsula, for shortly after his visit the people of this group, almost as a group, would not only [manumit](#) their slaves, but would adopt Woolman's style of undyed clothing (notice that this was happening among the "Nicholites" significantly **before** the Quakers of this region would begin to embrace the testimony of Friend John in regard to human enslavement). In addition, the group would like Friend John come to embrace "a very strong peace testimony." The Nicholites would reject any "hireling ministry" or "man-made ministry" and dissent from the Maryland "priests' tax" of that period. They would adopt a marriage ceremony similar to that of the Quakers and would sometimes be referred to by others as "New Quakers."

September 6: [John Dalton](#), who would develop a modern atomic theory of matter, was born in a [Quaker](#) weaving family at Eaglesfield in Cumberland, England.

1767

[Friend Anthony Benezet](#)'s A CAUTION AND WARNING TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES, IN A SHORT REPRESENTATION OF THE CALAMITOUS STATE OF THE ENSLAVED NEGROES IN THE BRITISH DOMINIONS. COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS, ETC. (Philadelphia: D. Hall & W. Sellers, 1767)

The following declaration was made to the Narragansett monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), by a [Rhode Island](#) farmer who had become involved in an altercation:

A man came to me in my field and tho' I desired him to keep off, yet [he] made an attempt to beat or abuse me. To prevent which I suddenly and with too much warmth pushed him from me with the rake I was leaning on, which act of mine as it did not manifest to that Christian patience and example in suffering trials becoming my profession I thereby freely condemn it and desire that I may be enabled for the future to suffer patiently any abuse or whatever else I may be tried with and also desire Friends to continue their watchful care over me.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Charles Lynch had been born in 1736 into what would seem to have been a Roman Catholic family on a plantation in Virginia. By 1754, while Charles was about eighteen years of age, his mother Sarah Clark Lynch had begun to invite neighbors into her home to worship in the Quaker manner. There is, however, no mention of her husband's involvement in such religious activities. In 1757, three years later, while her son Charles was about 21 years of age, these people had organized South River Meetinghouse as a monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and Charles would have been considered as a member of that body. However, in this year, when Charles won election to the Virginia House of Burgesses, this participation in civil government of course led to his disownment, since at that time Quakers were not allowing themselves to take the requisite oaths or to hold such public office. (Had he not been [disowned](#) for this, then certainly he would have been disowned later for taking part in the revolutionary fighting, if not for owning slaves.) Therefore, when he served as a district Judge during the revolutionary fighting, he was in no sense acting as a Quaker. It should be mentioned, also, that while Judge Lynch did in those hectic times dispense a "summary" sort of justice, what he dispensed was never capital punishment: there is no record of his having ordered that any person brought before him be [hanged](#) or otherwise executed. The stories of the tree in the yard, the one which was used after court as the hanging tree, are to the best of my knowledge merely further accretions to the nice legend of "Lynch Law," and are to be dismissed alongside the ridiculous accretion "Judge Lynch was a Quaker."

In this year Cesare Beccaria, in *ON CRIMES AND PUNISHMENT*, was insisting that there was no justification for the state's taking of life. Soon [capital punishment](#) would be abolished in Austria and in Tuscany.

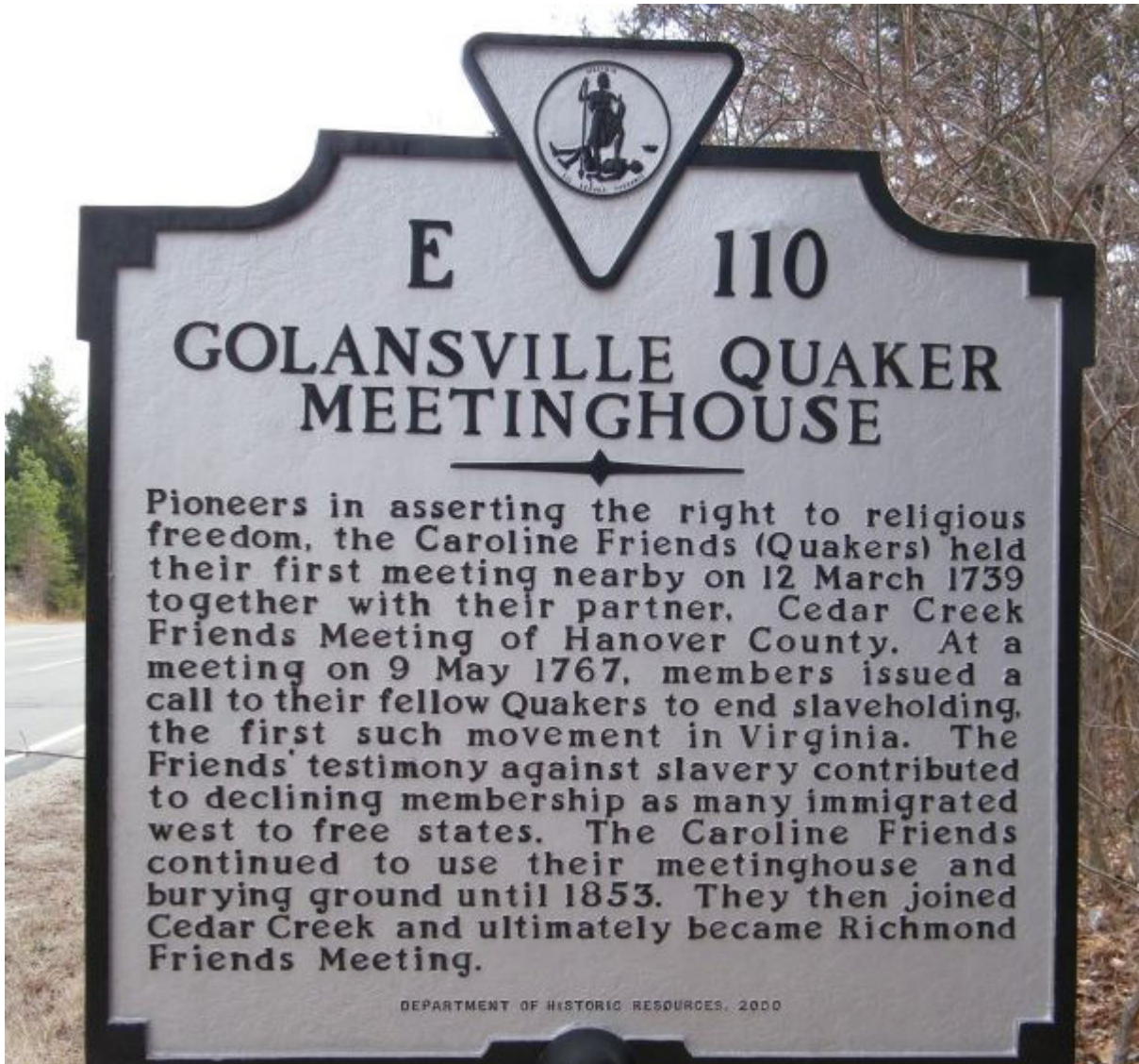
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

May 9: [John Leonard Knapp](#) was born at Shenley, Buckinghamshire, England, the youngest son of the Reverend Primatt Knapp, Rector of Shenley, and Keturah French Knapp, 3rd daughter of Nathaniel French, Esquire. After attending school at Thame in Oxfordshire he would go at an early age into the British Navy.

A meeting of Quakers in Golansville, Virginia, between Alexandria and Richmond, issued a call to fellow Quakers to discontinue their [slaveholding](#).

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)**1768**

Richard Tapper [Cadbury](#) was born in Exeter, a birthright [Quaker](#).

[CHOCOLATE](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The [South Kingstown](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends petitioned the [Rhode Island](#) general assembly for a law against the sort of “Disorderly People Black Tawnies & others” who had been disrupting the annual gatherings of [Quakers](#) there. By “Tawnies,” presumably, these white people meant the local reservation [Narragansett](#). The legislature obligingly provided them with such a there-oughta-be-a-law.

In this year [Friend John Woolman](#) wrote CONSIDERATIONS ON PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY.



This was not, however, the sort of reading material being favored by the now-motherless 16-year-old [Friend Jemimah Wilkinson](#) in [Cumberland](#), [Rhode Island](#). She was, instead, making a study of the religio-pornographic titillations of the Reverend George Whitefield.

—She had embarked on her personal road to self-entitlement and to perdition.

WILKINSON FAMILY

1763-1769

Religious Conversation with a Company met to see the Tricks of a Juggler — Account of John Smith's Advice and of the [tree] — Proceedings of a Committee at the Yearly Meeting in 1764 — Contemplations on the Nature of True Wisdom — Visit to the Families of Friends at Mount Holly, Mansfield, and Burlington, and to the Meetings on the Sea-Coast from Cape May towards Squan — Some Account of Joseph Nichols and his Followers — On the different State of the First Settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own Labour, compared with those of the Southern Provinces who kept Negroes — Visit to the Northern Parts of New Jersey and the Western Parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania; also to the Families of Friends at Mount Holly and several parts of Maryland — Further Considerations on keeping Slaves, and his Concern for having been a Party to the Sale of One — Thoughts on Friends exercising Offices in Civil Government.

Friend [John Woolman](#): THE latter part of the summer, 1763, there came a man to Mount Holly who had previously published a printed advertisement that at a certain public-house he would show many wonderful operations, which were therein enumerated. At the appointed time he did, by sleight of hand, perform sundry things which appeared strange to the spectators. Understanding that the show was to be repeated the next night, and that the people were to meet about sunset, I felt an exercise on that account. So I



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

went to the public-house in the evening, and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then, sitting down by the door, I spoke to the people in the fear of the Lord, as they came together, concerning this show, and laboured to convince them that their thus assembling to see these sleight-of-hand tricks, and bestowing their money to support men who, in that capacity, were of no use to the world, was contrary to the nature of the Christian religion. One of the company endeavoured to show by arguments the reasonableness of their proceedings herein; but after considering some texts of Scripture and calmly debating the matter he gave up the point. After spending about an hour among them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.

Twenty-fifth of Ninth Month, 1764. — At our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia this day, John Smith, of Marlborough, aged upwards of eighty years, a faithful minister, though not eloquent, stood up in our meeting of ministers and elders, and appearing to be under a great exercise of spirit, informed Friends in substance as follows: "That he had been a member of our Society upwards of sixty years, and he well remembered that, in those early times, Friends were a plain, lowly-minded people, and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings. That, at twenty years from that time, the Society increasing in wealth and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility was less apparent, and their meetings in general were not so lively and edifying. That at the end of forty years many of them were grown very rich, and many of the Society made a specious appearance in the world; that wearing fine costly garments, and using silver and other watches, became customary with them, their sons, and their daughters.

"These marks of outward wealth and greatness appeared on some in our meetings of ministers and elders; and, as such things became more prevalent, so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Ghost were less manifest in the Society. That there had been a continued increase of such ways of life, even until the present time; and that the weakness which hath now overspread the Society and the barrenness manifest among us is matter of much sorrow." He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending these meetings in future, expecting his dissolution was near; and, having tenderly expressed his concern for us, signified that he had seen in the true light that the Lord would bring back His people from these things, into which they were thus degenerated, but that His faithful servants must go through great and heavy exercises.

Twentieth of Ninth Month. — The committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings gave an account in writing of their proceedings in that service. They signified that, in the course of the visit, they had been apprehensive that some persons holding offices in government inconsistent with our principles, and others who kept slaves, remaining active members in our meetings for discipline, had been one means of weakness prevailing in some places. After this report was read, an exercise revived in my mind which had attended me for several years, and inward cries to the Lord were raised in me that the fear of man might not prevent me from doing what He required of me, and, standing up, I spoke in substance



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

as follows:

"I have felt a tenderness in my mind towards persons in two circumstances mentioned in that report; namely, towards such active members as keep slaves and such as hold offices in civil government; and I have desired that Friends, in all their conduct, may be kindly affectioned one towards another. Many Friends who keep slaves are under some exercise on that account; and at times think about trying them with freedom, but find many things in their way. The way of living and the annual expenses of some of them are such that it seems impracticable for them to set their slaves free without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad; and I have observed in some places, at Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, and at some houses where travelling Friends and their horses are often entertained, that the yearly expense of individuals therein is very considerable. And Friends in some places crowding much on persons in these circumstances for entertainment hath rested as a burden on my mind for some years past. I now express it in the fear of the Lord, greatly desiring that Friends here present may duly consider it."

In the fall of this year, having hired a man to work, I perceived in conversation with him that he had been a soldier in the late war on this continent; and he informed me in the evening, in a narrative of his captivity among the Indians, that he saw two of his fellow-captives tortured to death in a very cruel manner. This relation affected me with sadness, under which I went to bed; and the next morning, soon after I awoke, a fresh and living sense of divine love overspread my mind, in which I had a renewed prospect of the nature of that wisdom from above which leads to a right use of all gifts, both spiritual and temporal, and gives content therein. Under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows: —

"Hath He who gave me a being attended with many wants unknown to brute creatures given me a capacity superior to theirs, and shown me that a moderate application to business is suitable to my present condition; and that this, attended with His blessing, may supply all my outward wants while they remain within the bounds He hath fixed, and while no imaginary wants proceeding from an evil spirit have any place in me? Attend then, O my soul! to this pure wisdom as thy sure conductor through the manifold dangers of this world.

"Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imaginary wants? Do these wants prompt men to exert their power in requiring more from others than they would be willing to perform themselves, were the same required of them? Do these proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice? Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful, and in the end inflict terrible pains on our fellow-creatures and spread desolations in the world?

"Do mankind, walking in uprightness, delight in each other's happiness? And do those who are capable of this attainment, by giving way to an evil spirit, employ their skill and strength to inflict and destroy one another? Remember then, O my soul, the quietude of those in whom Christ governs, and in all thy proceedings feel



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

after it.

"Doth He condescend to bless thee with His presence? To move and influence thee to action? To dwell and to walk in thee? Remember then thy station as being sacred to God. Accept of the strength freely offered to thee, and take heed that no weakness in conforming to unwise, expensive, and hard-hearted customs, gendering to discord and strife, be given way to. Doth He claim my body as His temple, and graciously require that I may be sacred to Him? Oh that I may prize this favour, and that my whole life may be conformable to this character! Remember, O my soul! that the Prince of Peace is thy Lord; that He communicates His unmixed wisdom to His family, that they, living in perfect simplicity, may give no just cause of offence to any creature, but that they may walk as He walked!"

Having felt an openness in my heart towards visiting families in our own meeting, and especially in the town of Mount Holly, the place of my abode, I mentioned it at our Monthly Meeting in the fore part of the winter of 1764, which being agreed to, and several Friends of our meeting being united in the exercise, we proceeded therein; and through divine favour we were helped in the work, so that it appeared to me as a fresh reviving of godly care among Friends. The latter part of the same winter I joined my friend William Jones in a visit to Friends' families in Mansfield, in which labour I had cause to admire the goodness of the Lord toward us.

My mind being drawn towards Friends along the seacoast from Cape May to near Squan, and also to visit some people in those parts, among whom there is no settled worship, I joined with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones in a visit to them, having Friends' unity therein. We set off the 24th of Tenth Month, 1765, and had a prosperous and very satisfactory journey, feeling at times, through the goodness of the Heavenly Shepherd, the gospel to flow freely towards a poor people scattered in these places. Soon after our return I joined my friends John Sleeper and Elizabeth Smith in a visit to Friends' families at Burlington, there being at this time about fifty families of our Society in that city; and we had cause humbly to adore our Heavenly Father, who baptized us into a feeling of the state of the people, and strengthened us to labour in true gospel love among them.

Having had a concern at times for several years to pay a religious visit to Friends on the eastern shore of Maryland, and to travel on foot among them, that by so travelling I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of their masters, and be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converse; and the time drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our Monthly Meeting, I perceived, in conversation with my beloved friend John Sleeper, that he also was under similar concern to travel on foot in the form of a servant among them, as he expressed it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exercise. Being thus drawn the same way, we laid our exercise and the nature of it before Friends; and, obtaining certificates, we set off the 6th of Fifth Month, 1766, and were at meetings with Friends at Wilmington, Duck Creek,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Little Creek, and Motherkill. My heart was often tendered under the divine influence, and enlarged in love towards the people among whom we travelled.

From Motherkill we crossed the country about thirty-five miles to Tuckahoe, in Maryland, and had a meeting there, and also at Marshy Creek. At the last three meetings there were a considerable number of the followers of one Joseph Nichols, a preacher, who, I understand, is not in outward fellowship with any religious society, but professeth nearly the same principles as those of our Society, and often travels up and down, appointing meetings which many people attend. I heard of some who had been irreligious people that were now his followers, and were become sober, well-behaved men and women. Some irregularities, I hear, have been among the people at several of his meetings; but from what I have perceived I believe the man and some of his followers are honestly disposed, but that skilful fathers are wanting among them.

We then went to Choptank and Third Haven, and thence to Queen Anne's. The weather for some days past having been hot and dry, and we having travelled pretty steadily and having hard labour in meetings, I grew weakly, at which I was for a time discouraged; but looking over our journey and considering how the Lord had supported our minds and bodies, so that we had gone forward much faster than I expected before we came out, I saw that I had been in danger of too strongly desiring to get quickly through the journey, and that the bodily weakness now attending me was a kindness; and then in contrition of spirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father for this manifestation of His love, and in humble submission to His will my trust in Him was renewed.

In this part of our journey I had many thoughts on the different circumstances of Friends who inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were settled by Friends who were convinced of our principles in England in times of suffering; these, coming over, bought lands of the natives, and applied to husbandry in a peaceable way, and many of their children were taught to labour for their living. Few of these, I believe, settled in any of the southern provinces; but by the faithful labours of travelling Friends in early times there was considerable conviction among the inhabitants of these parts. I also remembered having read of the warlike disposition of many of the first settlers in those provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives in which much blood was shed even in the infancy of the colonies. Some of the people inhabiting those places, being grounded in customs contrary to the pure truth, were affected with the powerful preaching of the Word of Life and joined in fellowship with our Society, and in so doing they had a great work to go through.

In the history of the reformation from Popery it is observable that the progress was gradual from age to age. The uprightness of the first reformers in attending to the light and understanding given to them opened the way for sincere-hearted people to proceed further afterwards; and thus each one truly fearing God and labouring in the works of righteousness appointed for him in his day findeth acceptance with Him. Through the darkness of the times and the corruption of manners



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

and customs, some upright men may have had little more for their day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds as it related to their own conduct in life without pointing out to others the whole extent of that into which the same principle would lead succeeding ages. Thus, for instance, among an imperious warlike people, supported by oppressed slaves, some of these masters, I suppose, are awakened to feel and to see their error, and through sincere repentance cease from oppression and become like fathers to their servants, showing by their example a pattern of humility in living, and moderation in governing, for the instruction and admonition of their oppressing neighbours; these, without carrying the reformation further, have, I believe, found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning; and those who succeeded them, and who faithfully attended to the nature and spirit of the reformation, have seen the necessity of proceeding forward, and have not only to instruct others by their own example in governing well, but have also to use means to prevent their successors from having so much power to oppress others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind that the Lord (whose tender mercies are over all His works, and whose ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppressed) is graciously moving in the hearts of people to draw them off from the desire of wealth and to bring them into such an humble lowly way of living that they may see their way clearly to repair to the standard of true righteousness, and may not only break the yoke of oppression, but may know Him to be their strength and support in times of outward affliction.

We crossed Chester River, had a meeting there, and also at Cecil and Sassafras. My bodily weakness, joined with a heavy exercise of mind, was to me an humbling dispensation, and I had a very lively feeling of the state of the oppressed; yet I often thought that what I suffered was little compared with the sufferings of the blessed Jesus and many of His faithful followers; and I may say with thankfulness that I was made content. From Sassafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well. For several weeks after our return I had often to look over our journey; and though to me it appeared as a small service, and that some faithful messengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink in those southern provinces for Christ's sake than we have had, yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in sincerity according to the understanding and strength given to me.

Thirteenth of Eleventh Month. – With the unity of Friends at our monthly meeting, and in company with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, I set out on a visit to Friends in the upper part of this province, having had drawings of love in my heart that way for a considerable time. We travelled as far as Hardwick, and I had inward peace in my labours of love among them. Through the humbling dispensations of divine Providence my mind hath been further brought into a feeling of the difficulties of Friends and their servants southwestward; and being often engaged in spirit on their account, I believed it my duty to walk into some parts of the western shore of Maryland on a religious visit. Having obtained a certificate from Friends of our Monthly Meeting, I took leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of truth, and on the 20th of Fourth Month, 1767, rode



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to the ferry opposite to Philadelphia, and thence walked to William Horne's, at Derby, the same evening. Next day I pursued my journey alone and reached Concord Week-Day Meeting.

Discouragements and a weight of distress had at times attended me in this lonesome walk, but through these afflictions I was mercifully preserved. Sitting down with Friends, my mind was turned towards the Lord to wait for his holy leadings; and in infinite love He was pleased to soften my heart into humble contrition, and renewedly to strengthen me to go forward, so that to me it was a time of heavenly refreshment in a silent meeting. The next day I came to New Garden Week-Day Meeting, in which I sat in bowedness of spirit, and being baptized into a feeling of the state of some present, the Lord gave us a heart-tendering season; to His name be the praise. Passing on, I was at Nottingham Monthly Meeting, and at a meeting at Little Britain on First-Day; in the afternoon several Friends came to the house where I lodged and we had a little afternoon meeting, and through the humbling power of truth I had to admire the loving-kindness of the Lord manifested to us.

Twenty-sixth of Fourth Month. — I crossed the Susquehanna, and coming among people in outward ease and greatness, supported chiefly on the labour of slaves, my heart was much affected, and in awful retiredness my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, humbly desiring that in true resignation I might receive instruction from him respecting my duty among this people. Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body, yet it was agreeable to the state of my mind. Being weakly, I was covered with sorrow and heaviness on account of the prevailing spirit of this world by which customs grievous and oppressive are introduced on the one hand, and pride and wantonness on the other.

In this lonely walk and state of abasement and humiliation, the condition of the Church in these parts was opened before me, and I may truly say with the Prophet, "I was bowed down with the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it." Under this exercise I attended the Quarterly Meeting at Gunpowder, and in bowedness of spirit I had to express with much plainness my feelings respecting Friends living in fulness on the labours of the poor oppressed negroes; and that promise of the Most High was now revived, "I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see My glory." Here the sufferings of Christ and His tasting death for every man, and the travels, sufferings, and martyrdom of the Apostles and primitive Christians in labouring for the conversion of the Gentiles, were livingly revived in me, and according to the measure of strength afforded I laboured in some tenderness of spirit, being deeply affected among them. The difference between the present treatment which these Gentiles, the negroes, receive at our hands, and the labours of the primitive Christians for the conversion of the Gentiles, were pressed home, and the power of truth came over us, under a feeling of which my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in these parts. The meeting concluded in a sense of God's goodness towards His humble, dependent children.

The next day was a general meeting for worship, much crowded, in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might stand wholly resigned, and move only as He



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

might be pleased to lead me. I was mercifully helped to labour honestly and fervently among them, in which I found inward peace, and the sincere were comforted. From this place I turned towards Pipe Creek and the Red Lands, and had several meetings among Friends in those parts. My heart was often tenderly affected under a sense of the Lord's goodness in sanctifying my troubles and exercises, turning them to my comfort, and I believe to the benefit of many others, for I may say with thankfulness that in this visit it appeared like a tendering visitation in most places.

I passed on to the Western Quarterly Meeting in Pennsylvania. During the several days of this meeting I was mercifully preserved in an inward feeling after the mind of truth, and my public labours tended to my humiliation, with which I was content. After the Quarterly Meeting for worship ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting for business, which was very full; here the humility of Jesus Christ as a pattern for us to walk by was livingly opened before me, and in treating on it my heart was enlarged, and it was a baptizing time. I was afterwards at meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence, and Haddonfield, whence I returned home and found my family well. A sense of the Lord's merciful preservation in this my journey excites reverent thankfulness to Him.

Second of Ninth Month, 1767. – With the unity of Friends, I set off on a visit to Friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties; was at eleven meetings in about two weeks, and have renewed cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of His humbling goodness, opened my way among Friends, and I trust made the meetings profitable to us. The following winter I joined some Friends in a family visit to some part of our meeting, in which exercise the pure influence of divine love made our visits reviving.

Fifth of Fifth Month, 1768. – I left home under the humbling hand of the Lord, with a certificate to visit some meetings in Maryland, and to proceed without a horse seemed clearest to me. I was at the Quarterly Meetings at Philadelphia and Concord, whence I proceeded to Chester River, and, crossing the bay, was at the Yearly Meeting at West River; I then returned to Chester River, and, taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home. It was a journey of much inward waiting, and as my eye was to the Lord, way was several times opened to my humbling admiration when things appeared very difficult. On my return I felt a very comfortable relief of mind, having through divine help laboured in much plainness, both with Friends selected and in the more public meetings, so that I trust the pure witness in many minds was reached.

Eleventh of Sixth Month, 1769. – There have been sundry cases of late years within the limits of our Monthly Meeting, respecting the exercising of pure righteousness towards the negroes, in which I have lived under a labour of heart that equity might be steadily preserved. On this account I have had some close exercises among Friends, in which, I may thankfully say, I find peace. And as my meditations have been on universal love, my own conduct in time past became of late very grievous to me. As persons setting negroes free in our province are bound by law to maintain them in case they have need of relief, some in the time of my youth who scrupled to keep slaves for term of



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

life were wont to detain their young negroes in their service without wages till they were thirty years of age. With this custom I so far agreed that being joined with another Friend in executing the will of a deceased Friend, I once sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the use of the estate.

With abasement of heart, I may now say that sometimes, as I have sat in a meeting with my heart exercised towards that awful Being who respecteth not persons nor colours, and have thought upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind respecting him; and as I have attended to this exercise and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me that I should make some restitution; but in what way I saw not till lately, when being under some concern that I might be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies, and under close engagement of spirit seeking to the Lord for counsel herein, the aforesaid transaction came heavily upon me, and my mind for a time was covered with darkness and sorrow. Under this sore affliction my heart was softened to receive instruction, and I now first perceived that, as I had been one of the two executors who had sold this lad for nine years longer than is common for our own children to serve, so I should now offer part of my substance to redeem the last half of the nine years; but as the time was not yet come, I executed a bond, binding myself and my executors to pay to the man to whom he was sold, what to candid men might appear equitable for the last four and a half years of his time, in case the said youth should be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

Ninth of Tenth Month. – My heart hath often been deeply afflicted under a feeling that the standard of pure righteousness is not lifted up to the people by us, as a Society, in that clearness which it might have been, had we been as faithful as we ought to be to the teachings of Christ. And as my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of Christ's government hath been made clear to my understanding, and I have believed, in the opening of universal love, that where a people who are convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Christ, are active in putting laws in execution which are not consistent with pure wisdom, it hath a necessary tendency to bring dimness over their minds. My heart having been thus exercised for several years with a tender sympathy towards my fellow-members, I have within a few months past expressed my concern on this subject in several meetings for discipline.

August 11: [William Bartram](#)'s patron in England, [Peter Collinson](#), died of a kidney problem at the age of 74. Bartram would need a new patron and, luckily, one would immediately show up: Friend John Fothergill, a well-connected [Quaker](#) physician in London.

BOTANIZING

1769

The [South Kingstown](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was the first group of [Quakers](#) in [Rhode Island](#) to take the issue of abolitionism in New England to the New England Quarterly Meeting of the Quakers, and then to the New England Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting for 1769 would appoint a committee that, in the following year, would report back a recommendation that Friends [manumit](#) all [slaves](#) owned by them, excepting only the very old and the very young — and the Yearly Meeting for 1770 would act positively upon this recommendation.

In Princeton, New Jersey, the [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was restored:



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

With the overgrazing of the common for sheep on [Nantucket Island](#) still ongoing, [Friend](#) Rachel Wilson arrived from England accompanied by Friend John Pemberton of Philadelphia, to attempt to achieve a final compromise and a reconciliation. It was discovered that some of the papers in dispute had clearly been forged, because “it appeared the opposite party’s papers were recorded by the same penman,” and this opened a path toward resolution. The charges against a Friend who had been accused of “surreptitiously getting a deed on record” were dismissed — and meanwhile the excess sheep were withdrawn.

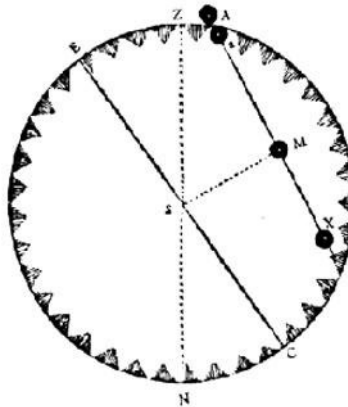
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

June 3: In Rhode Island, Joseph Wanton was in charge.⁸⁹ From the yard of [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#)'s home (erected



1701, altered 1743)⁹⁰ a group of notables such as [Benjamin West](#) the local “philomath” and Joseph Brown observed the transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun.⁹¹



[Benjamin West](#) would publish AN ACCOUNT OF THE OBSERVATION OF VENUS UPON THE SUN THE THIRD DAY OF JUNE 1769, and would soon be awarded honorary degrees by both Harvard College and the [College of Rhode Island](#).

In commemoration, Transit Street and Planet Street in [Providence](#) would receive their names. –On “Transit Street” between Benefit Street (Back Street) and Main Street (Town Street), an observatory of sorts for the event had been constructed.

ASTRONOMY

89. Wanton’s wig, which had been crafted in England in imitation of the wig of the Speaker of the House of Commons, was so immense that it would have seemed preposterous to perch a hat atop it. He therefore was in the habit of carrying his hat under his left arm while holding in his right hand an umbrella (he was the 1st gentleman in Rhode Island to use an umbrella).

90. This structure has been moved a couple of times and I do not presently have the dates of those removes. Initially it stood on South Main Street, then it was moved to 9 Hopkins Street (which may at that time still have been being called Bank Street), and then it was moved to the corner of Hopkins Street and Benefit Street.

91. Would [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#)’s [slave](#) Toney, whom he was refusing to [manumit](#), have been playing “barista,” and carrying drinks out from the house and respectfully serving these notable gentlemen?

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

THERE will be Five ECLIPSES this Year, 1769.

I. The first of the Sun, January 7th, 9 h. 45m. in the Evening, invisible.

II. The second of the Sun, June 4th, 3 h 43m. in the Morning invisible.

III. The third of the Moon, June 19th in the Morning visible and total as follows.

	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
Beginning	1	26
Beginning of total Darknefs	2	40
Middle	3	12
End of total Darknefs	3	42
End of Eclipse	4	58
Duration of total Darknefs	0	30
Duration of Eclipse	3	46
Digits Eclipsed	13	6

IV. The fourth of the Sun, November 28th, at 3h. 5 m in the Morning, invisible.

V. The fifth of the Moon December 13th, visible as follows

	<i>oh</i>	<i>m</i>
Beginning	1	29
Middle	2	51
End	2	44
Duration	8	33

On the third Day of June will happen a most rare Phenomenon, which it is probable not any now living will have another opportunity of beholding, for an accurate observation of which most Civilized Nations have ordered their Astronomers to prepare at the Expence of the Public, some important Principles in Astronomy being thereby to be settled, and which will not happen again till the 8th of December, 1874. This is the passage of Venus over the Disk or Face of the Sun in the Afternoon of said third Day of June 1769, as follows.

Venus will begin to touch the Sun	2h 31m 24sec
Middle of the Transit	5 48 40
Venus leaves the Sun	9 5 56
Duration of the Transit	6 34 32
Latitude of Venus at the Middle	90 47

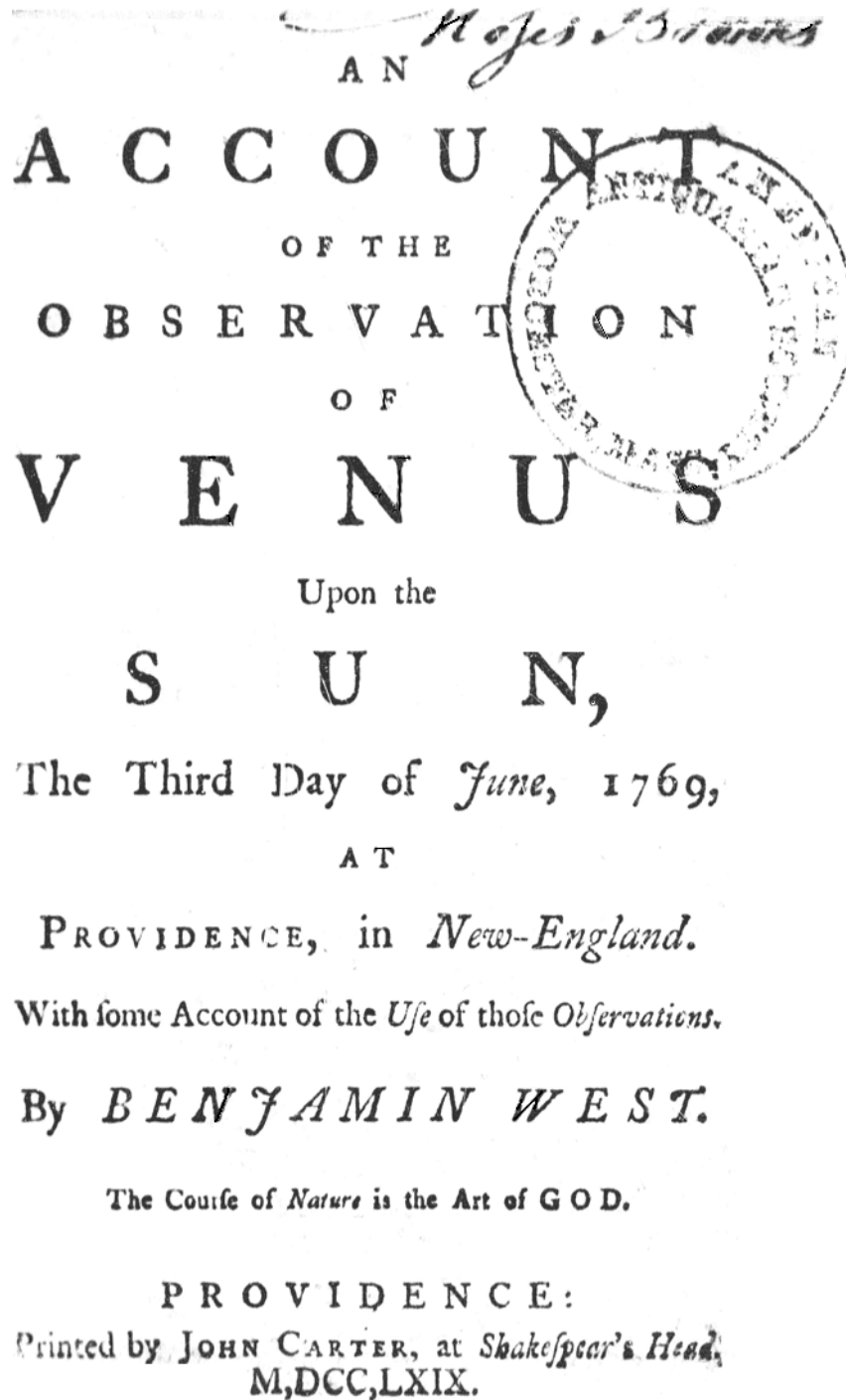
On the 9th of November the Planet Mercury will appear like a black Spot on the Sun's Disk.

Beginning	2 h 42 m 30 sec P.M.
Middle	5 12 30
End	7 42 30
Duration	5 0 0
Distance of cent. at Middle	7 18

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

June 3: [Moses Brown](#) would obtain his own copy of the observations made in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on this day (although I really do not know whether he himself took part in the observations):



ASTRONOMY

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1770

In 1750, [Friend Anthony Benezet](#) had set up in own home an evening class for slave children.



In this year was founded, with the support of the Religious Society of Friends, the Negro School at Philadelphia.

Initially, in their internal political debates, Americans seem to have referred more frequently to Mason's draft Virginia Declaration of Rights, which began by asserting "that all men are born equally free and independent," than to the [Declaration of Independence](#) which we now have come to emphasize as having a certain primacy in our national system. It would be Mason's formulations, in most cases by use of the verb "born," rather than [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s formulations, that would be incorporated into various state bills of rights and, by way of the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights, into the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. After [the Constitution](#) and Bill of Rights had included no statement of basic revolutionary principles, it would be later generations of Americans, not this initial generation, who would find those principles useful in national politics and would gradually be transforming the Declaration from a revolutionary or "external" manifesto into a standard for established "internal" governance akin to a bill of rights. In a sense the Declaration had to be rescued from an initial obscurity before the Americans of the Early Republic began to be able to made their internal political appeals on its basis.

During this period of revolutionary turmoil, in which there would be a whole lot of talk about human rights and a whole lot of taking of human life, a total of 34 Friends would need to be "dealt with" in Pennsylvania, and a total of 9 Friends would need to be "dealt with" in New Jersey, on account of their refusing to give up all involvement in public affairs. That is, a number of [Quakers](#) would refuse their society's demand that they "withdraw from being active in civil government" during a period so preoccupied with "the spirit of wars and fighting." They would either continue to hold public office, or would continue to attend town meeting, or would continue to cast votes for persons to hold public office, all of which activities were being proscribed by the Religious Society of Friends as morally unacceptable:

Friends being in any ways active in government [in the present commotions of public affairs] is inconsistent with our principles [against wars and fightings].

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

For the duration of the war, no Quaker would be allowed to even serve as an overseer of the poor, without being “dealt with” on account of this implicit involvement in violence by his meeting.

In Virginia, [Jefferson](#) was building [Monticello](#) on the backs of slave laborers.



“The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn’t that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK.”



– [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In the previous year the [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting had taken the issue of abolitionism in New England to the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), which had appointed a committee to study the matter and report back in the following year. At this year's meeting, the committee recommended that all New England [Quakers manumit](#) all [slaves](#) owned by them, excepting only the very old and the very young. The Yearly Meeting embraced this recommendation.⁹²

Up in the northern reaches of the [Rhode Island](#) colony, in [Cumberland](#), motherless [Friend Jemimah Wilkinson](#), age 18, was very happy that this was happening. She was decidedly opposed to human slavery. However, apparently without as much parental guidance as she needed, she was also being caught up emotionally in the religious re-awakening that was following the visits of the Reverend George Whitefield to New England. She would be becoming involved with the New Light [Baptists](#) of Ledyard, Connecticut, known also as "Rogerenes." Her attendance at such meetings would lead in August 1776 to her being [disowned](#) by her Quaker meeting, the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) — and then she would in effect transform herself into a New-Age "channeler" for a spirit from the Other World, and create her own religious climate centered around her own person and her own personal whims.⁹³



92. For the benefit of non-[Quakers](#), I need to point out what this means. It means that there was not one single Friend who was so troubled by this as to stand in its way!

93. Examples of this sort of religious misconduct have always abounded. There has been, for instance, in our own time, "Judge" J.F. Rutherford of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society who channeled bigtime by receiving the concealed true meanings of Scripture direct from God as the occasion arose, and there has been the bestselling Jane Roberts, a housewife from upstate New York who was channeling "Seth," and there has been the touring-circuit phenomenon J.Z. Knight who was channeling a Cro-Magnon warrior who identified himself as "Ramtha," and of course, there has been the indefatigable and terminally enthusiastic Shirley MacLaine. The spiritual entities channeled have been variously assigned inventive names such as Ashtar, Aurora, Bashar, Emmanuel, Jesus, K17, Kuthumi, Lazarus, Lily, Mafu, Mary, Mentor, Merlin, Monka, Phebious, Ra, Ramtha, St. Germaine, Zolar, Zoosh — and in this indicated early instance in a Quaker or Baptist context, "Divine Spirit." (You know the old one about how many legs a dog has, if you call its tail a leg, the answer being four and the reason being that calling a tale a leg doesn't make it a leg? Well, in this context, calling self-privileging by the name "Divine Spirit," in very much the same manner, doesn't evade the sin of self-privileging.)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In this year [Friend John Woolman](#) wrote CONSIDERATIONS ON THE TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND.⁹⁴



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1769, 1770

Bodily Indisposition — Exercise of his Mind for the Good of the People in the West Indies — Communicates to Friends his Concern to visit some of those Islands — Preparations to embark — Considerations on the Trade to the West Indies — Release from his Concern and return Home — Religious Engagements — Sickness, and Exercise of his Mind therein.

TWELFTH of Third Month, 1769. — Having for some years past dieted myself on account of illness and weakness of body, and not having ability to travel by land as heretofore, I was at times favoured to look with awfulness towards the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of life and death, and to feel thankfulness raised in me for this His fatherly chastisement, believing that if I was truly humbled under it all would work for good. While under this bodily weakness, my mind was at times exercised for my fellow-creatures in the West Indies, and I grew jealous over myself lest the disagreeableness of the prospect should hinder me from obediently attending thereto; for, though I knew not that the Lord required me to go there, yet I believed that resignation was now called for in that respect. Feeling a danger of not being wholly devoted to Him, I was frequently engaged to watch unto prayer that I might be preserved; and upwards of a year having passed, as I one day walked in a solitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulness, cries were raised in me to my merciful Father, that He would graciously keep me in faithfulness; and it then settled on my mind, as a duty, to open my condition to Friends at our Monthly Meeting, which I did soon after, as follows: —

"An exercise hath attended me for some time past, and of late hath been more weighty upon me, which is, that I believe it is required of me to be resigned to go on a visit to some parts of the West Indies."

In the Quarterly and General Spring Meetings I found no

94. JOURNAL, Chapter X 1769, 1770 Bodily Indisposition. Exercise of his Mind for the Good of the People in the West Indies. Communicates to Friends his Concern to visit some of those Islands. Preparations to embark. Considerations on the Trade to the West Indies. Release from his Concern and return Home. Religious Engagements. Sickness, and Exercise of his Mind therein.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

clearness to express anything further than that I believed resignation herein was required of me. Having obtained certificates from all the said meetings, I felt like a sojourner at my outward habitation, and kept free from worldly encumbrances, and I was often bowed in spirit before the Lord, with inward breathings to Him that I might be rightly directed. I may here note that the circumstance before related of my having, when young, joined with another executor in selling a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, was now the cause of much sorrow to me; and, after having settled matters relating to this youth, I provided a sea-store and bed, and things for the voyage. Hearing of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia for Barbadoes, I spake with one of the owners at Burlington, and soon after went to Philadelphia on purpose to speak to him again. He told me there was a Friend in town who was part owner of the said vessel. I felt no inclination to speak with the latter, but returned home. Awhile after I took leave of my family, and, going to Philadelphia, had some weighty conversation with the first-mentioned owner, and showed him a writing, as follows: –

“On the 25th of Eleventh Month, 1769, as an exercise with respect to a visit to Barbadoes hath been weighty on my mind, I may express some of the trials which have attended me, under which I have at times rejoiced that I have felt my own self-will subjected.

“Some years ago I retailed rum, sugar, and molasses, the fruits of the labour of slaves, but had not then much concern about them save only that the rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to as I now believe it ought to have been. Having of late years been further informed respecting the oppression too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the dangers there are in connections of interest and fellowship with the works of darkness (EPHESIANS 5:11), I have felt an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, and it hath seemed right that my small gain from this branch of trade should be applied in promoting righteousness on the earth. This was the first motion towards a visit to Barbadoes. I believed also that part of my outward substance should be applied in paying my passage, if I went, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence; but when the time drew near in which I believed it required of me to be in readiness, a difficulty arose which hath been a continual trial for some months past, under which I have, with abasement of mind from day to day, sought the Lord for instruction, having often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himself because the Lord hid His face from him. During these exercises my heart hath often been contrite, and I have had a tender feeling of the temptations of my fellow-creatures, labouring under expensive customs not agreeable to the simplicity that ‘there is in Christ’ (2 CORINTHIANS 2:3), and sometimes in the renewings of gospel love I have been helped to minister to others.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

"That which hath so closely engaged my mind, in seeking to the Lord for instruction, is, whether, after the full information I have had of the oppression which the slaves lie under who raise the West India produce, which I have gained by reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, written by [Anthony Benezet](#), it is right for me to take passage in a vessel employed in the West India trade.

"To trade freely with oppressors without labouring to dissuade them from such unkind treatment, and to seek for gain by such traffic, tends, I believe, to make them more easy respecting their conduct than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to by those in general with whom they have commerce; and that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, "They have strengthened the hands of the wicked," hath very often revived in my mind. I may here add some circumstances which occurred to me before I had any prospect of a visit there. David longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines who were at war with Israel, and some of his men, to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water.

"It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather that David gave way to delicacy of taste; and having reflected on the danger to which these men had been exposed, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but he poured it out to the Lord. The oppression of the slaves which I have seen in several journeys southward on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies, have deeply affected me, and a care to live in the spirit of peace and minister no just cause of offence to my fellow-creatures having from time to time livingly revived in my mind, I have for some years past declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

"I do not censure my brethren in these things, but I believe the Father of Mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of this oppressed people, and that He is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition. Trading in, or the frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labour of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may hereafter require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of Peace.

"After long and mournful exercise I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires that, if it may please the Lord further to open His will to any of His children in this matter, they may faithfully follow Him in such further manifestation.

"The number of those who decline the use of West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even among people truly pious; and the labours in Christian love on that subject of those who do, are not very extensive. Were the trade



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

from this continent to the West Indies to be stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread. Did we on this continent and the inhabitants of the West Indies generally dwell in pure righteousness, I believe a small trade between us might be right. Under these considerations, when the thoughts of wholly declining the use of trading-vessels and of trying to hire a vessel to go under ballast have arisen in my mind, I have believed that the labours in gospel love hitherto bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness have not reached that height. If the trade to the West Indies were no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage-money would, for good reasons, be higher than it is now; and therefore, under deep exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take advantage of this great trade and small passage-money, but, as a testimony in favour of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay if I go at this time."

The first-mentioned owner, having read the paper, went with me to the other owner, who also read over the paper, and we had some solid conversation, under which I felt my self bowed in reverence before the Most High. At length one of them asked me if I would go and see the vessel. But not having clearness in my mind to go, I went to my lodging and retired in private under great exercise of mind; and my tears were poured out before the Lord with inward cries that He would graciously help me under these trials. I believe my mind was resigned, but I did not feel clearness to proceed; and my own weakness and the necessity of divine instruction were impressed upon me.

I was for a time as one who knew not what to do, and was tossed as in a tempest; under which affliction the doctrine of Christ, "Take no thought for the morrow," arose livingly before me, and I was favoured to get into a good degree of stillness. Having been near two days in town, I believed my obedience to my Heavenly Father consisted in returning homeward; I therefore went over among Friends on the Jersey shore and tarried till the morning on which the vessel was appointed to sail. As I lay in bed the latter part of that night my mind was comforted, and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation that it was the Lord's will that I should pass through some further exercises near home; so I went thither, and still felt like a sojourner with my family. In the fresh spring of pure love, I had some labours in a private way among Friends on a subject relating to truth's testimony, under which I had frequently been exercised in heart for some years. I remember, as I walked on the road under this exercise, that passage in Ezekiel came fresh upon me, "Whithersoever their faces were turned, thither they went." And I was graciously helped to discharge my duty in the fear and dread of the Almighty.

In the course of a few weeks it pleased the Lord to visit me with a pleurisy; and after I had lain a few days and felt the disorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how might it end. I had of late, through various exercises, been much weaned from the pleasant things of this life; and I now thought, if it were the Lord's will to put an end to my labours and graciously to receive



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

me into the arms of His mercy, death would be acceptable to me; but if it were His will further to refine me under affliction, and to make me in any degree useful in His Church, I desired not to die. I may with thankfulness say that in this case, I felt resignedness wrought in me, and had no inclination to send for a doctor, believing, if it were the Lord's will through outward means to raise me up, some sympathizing Friends would be sent to minister to me; which accordingly was the case. But though I was carefully attended, yet the disorder was at times so heavy that I had no expectation of recovery. One night in particular my bodily distress was great; my feet grew cold, and the cold increased up my legs towards my body; at that time I had no inclination to ask my nurse to apply anything warm to my feet, expecting my end was near. After I had lain near ten hours in this condition, I closed my eyes, thinking whether I might now be delivered out of the body; but in these awful moments my mind was livingly opened to behold the Church; and strong engagements were begotten in me for the everlasting well-being of my fellow-creatures. I felt in the spring of pure love that I might remain some time longer in the body, to fill up according to my measure that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, and to labour for the good of the Church; after which I requested my nurse to apply warmth to my feet and I revived. The next night, feeling a weighty exercise of spirit and having a solid Friend sitting up with me, I requested him to write what I said, which he did as follows: –

Fourth day of the First Month, 1770, about five in the morning. – "I have seen in the Light of the Lord that the day is approaching when the man that is most wise in human policy shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice shall be broken to pieces; the enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed; and He commanded me to open the vision."

Near a week after this, feeling my mind livingly opened, I sent for a neighbour, who, at my request, wrote as follows: –

"The place of prayer is a precious habitation; for I now saw that the prayers of the saints were precious incense; and a trumpet was given to me that I might sound forth this language; that the children might hear it and be invited together to this precious habitation, where the prayers of the saints, as sweet incense, arise before the throne of God and the Lamb. I saw this habitation to be safe, – to be inwardly quiet when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world.

"Prayer, at this day, in pure resignation, is a precious place: the trumpet is sounded; the call goes forth to the Church that she gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is safe."

March 5: The town of Acton voted to join in the general colonial boycott of imported British goods.

As early as the 21st of December, 1767, the town [of Acton] voted




LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to “comply with the proposals, by the town of Boston, relating to the encouraging of manufactures among ourselves, and not purchasing of superfluities from abroad.” On the 5th of March, 1770, the town entered into a covenant not to purchase nor use foreign merchandise, nor tea.

The state of public affairs was again brought before the town on the 21st of December, 1772, and referred to a committee, consisting of Capt. Daniel Fletcher, Francis Faulkner, Deacon Jonathan Hosmer, Deacon John Brooks, Josiah Hayward, Ephraim Hapgood, Captain Samuel Hayward, Simon Tuttle, and Daniel Brooks. Their report was made on the 18th of the following month, and expresses the general sentiments of the people in this vicinity.

At this time the town had no representative in the General Court, and a vote was passed recommending to the representatives of the people, that they use every constitutional measure in their power to obtain a redress of all their grievances.⁹⁵

Although the Parliament was rescinding all of its Townshend Revenue Act’s imposts except for the one upon bulk tea, by this point things were getting very much out of hand in the American colonies. An incident occurred which has been recorded in part by an engraving by Paul Revere, in part by Boston court records, which closely resembles in its development the “*Arawak Massacre*” that had occurred in the Year of Our Lord 1503  on the island of Haiti. One of the first major clashes between army and citizenry came about as an intensification of a mistake made while some drunks were throwing snowballs at some annoyed soldiers outside a tavern. One of the deep-rooted causes of the incident in downtown Boston was that the army soldiers were being so poorly paid that they were forced to moonlight for American employers. The incident began as an American rope-maker named William Green pretended to be offering paid work to a British private named Walker. When Walker, sucked in, responded the affirmative, Green proceeded to make a rough joke out of it, and then Walker was tripped and his weapon taken away from him. He went and got eight or nine of his fellow soldiers, and it was then that the drunken mob of Americans began to pelt the soldiers with icy snowballs. This was in downtown Boston not far from the [Quaker](#) meetinghouse, and it intensified in a manner similar to that in which some playful Spaniard in Haiti had shouted “*Tomalo!*” causing an attack dog being held on leash nearby to lunge and disembowel a minor chief. It is possible that there was a minor fire nearby, but at any rate someone on that street in Boston shouted “Fire!” Seven of the frightened soldiers obeyed what they thought was an order to fire into the taunting crowd of drunken civilians throwing snowballs some of which were admittedly loaded with rocks and ice. After which some people were very sorry that this thing had happened, and that some people had been killed for no very good reason, while some other people were exceedingly elated because such stuff was going to be a prime ingredient in the manufacture of further such confused and frightful hostilities. Capitalizing on this incident to the maximum extent possible, a Boston [Huguenot](#) named [Paul Revere](#) very promptly rushed out an engraving of a “Boston Massacre,” which you will be able to view on a following screen.

WIKIPEDIA’S LIST OF HUGUENOTS

Evidently he had copied this design being worked up by a colleague, his brother-in-law Pelham, and beaten

95. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



Unhappy Boston! see thy Sons deplore,
Thy hallow'd Walks besmear'd with guileless Gore.
While faithless P—n and his savage Bands,
With murderous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands;
Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey,
Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.

If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wring,
If speechless Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue,
Or if a weeping World can ought appease
The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these:
Thy Patriot's copious Ears for each are shed,
A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.

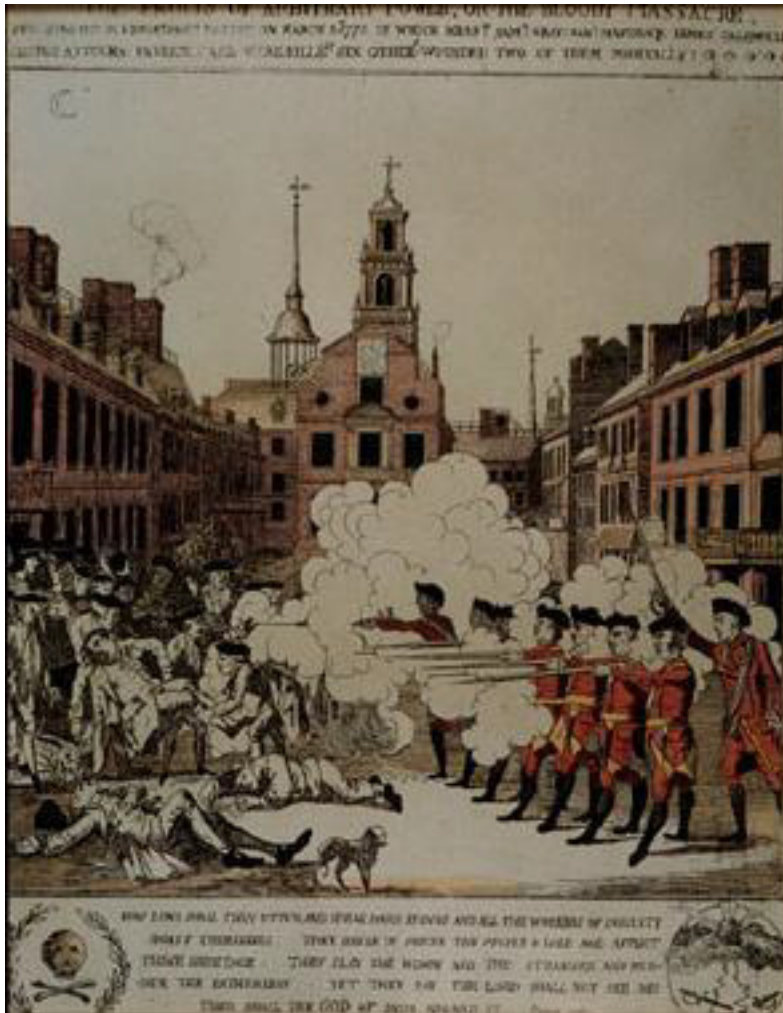
But know Err summons to that awful Goal,
Where JUSTICE strips the Murderer of his Soul,
Should venal C—ts the scandal of the Land,
Snatch the relentless Villain from her Hand,
Keen Executions on this Plate inscrib'd,
Shall reach a JUDGE who never can be brib'd.

*The unhappy Sufferers were Messrs SAM^l GRAY SAM^l MAVERICK, JAM^s CALDWELL, CRISPUS ATTUCKS & PAT^r CARE
Killed Six wounded; two of them (CHRIST^l MONK & JOHN CLARK). Mortally*

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

him to publication:



[Thomas Hutchinson](#) was acting royal governor of the colony at the time of the Boston Massacre, and was virtually forced by the citizens of Boston, under the leadership of Samuel Adams, to order the removal of the British troops from the town. Throughout the pre-Revolutionary disturbances in Massachusetts he would be the representative of the British ministry, and though he would disapprove of some of the ministerial measures he would feel impelled by his role to enforce them and would necessarily incur the hostility of the Whig or Patriot element.

The attorneys for the defense, Josiah Quincy and John Adams, would be able to win acquittals for most of the accused soldiers despite the fact that their response had created five corpses, among them most notably the lengthy corpse of Crispus Attucks. The jury, which, one must consider, was made up of Boston citizens, would find a couple of these soldiers guilty of an offense, but the offense would be not be murder. As their penalty the court would require of them that they read aloud a verse of Scripture and then –to ensure that they could in the future be identified if they were again tempted to this sort of conduct– submit to having a thumb branded with the letter “M” standing for “manslaughter.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



The Reverend Doctor Mather Byles, Sr. of Boston, a Congregationalist who was being forced from the pulpit on account of his Loyalist views, was said to have remarked during the long funeral procession for the people killed in the Boston Massacre: “They call me a brainless Tory; but tell me, my young friend, which is better, to be ruled by one tyrant three thousand miles away, or by three thousand tyrants not a mile away?”⁹⁶

June 20: Jonathan Nichols paid the [Quakers](#) £12 “for a lot in ye meeting house field” and Ruth Goddard paid them £58 for “her half of part of ye meeting house field.” Clearly, they renting out the grounds of their [Great Meetinghouse](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

96. Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *THE FAMOUS MATHER BYLES: THE NOTED BOSTON TORY PREACHER, POET, AND WIT, 1707-1788* (Boston MA: W.A. Butterfield, 1914), 146-7



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Summer: Ann Lee was arrested for disturbing the peace of Manchester, England. I'm not quite sure what it was that this [Quaker](#) lady did, that the authorities had been able to notice, but what she had been able to notice was interesting: she had a waking vision in which she saw Adam and Eve together, fucking, for the first time ever in the history of this universe. She had suddenly become most intensely aware that it wasn't eating apples, that was Original Sin, not at all — but something else, something rather more “carnal” than “vegetable.” This appreciation of the inherent sinfulness of all sensuality made her “Mother” Ann Lee. The appreciation that the male principle needed to be balanced by the female principle, and thus that the first coming of Jesus Christ as a boy-type would need to be balanced by a [Second Coming](#) as a girl-type, combined with the fact that she was herself a girl-type, also produced in her the awareness that she was “the female Christ.”⁹⁷ Thus the “Shaker” faith.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

November 19: Benjamin James paid the [Quakers](#) £8 for rental of “a house lot by ye meeting house,” the [Great Meetinghouse](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

1771

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Towne Street was renamed, becoming Water Street up to Weybosset Bridge, King Street from there to North Court Street, William Street from there to the foot of Constitution Hill, and Prince Street, named to honor the Prince of Wales, from there up to the North Burying Grounds. (At this point the paving of the streets of Providence came to an end and the routes of travel became nothing more than muddy carriage tracks just to the north of the new meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) and the old town fort, on this “Prince Street” at the foot of Olney Lane.)

[Friend Anthony Benezet](#) published, at his own expense, SOME HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF GUINEA, ITS SITUATION, PRODUCE, AND THE GENERAL DISPOSITION OF ITS INHABITANTS: AN INQUIRY INTO THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE SLAVE TRADE, ITS NATURE AND LAMENTABLE EFFECTS. ALSO A REPUBLICATION OF THE SENTIMENTS OF SEVERAL AUTHORS OF NOTE ON THIS INTERESTING SUBJECT; PARTICULARLY AN EXTRACT OF A TREATISE BY GRANVILLE SHARP (Philadelphia: Joseph Cruikshank, 1771). Both Granville Sharp and the Reverend John Wesley would correspond with him about his opposition to slavery, and would distribute his tracts in England. Friend Benezet's agitation would be instrumental in persuading Thomas Clarkson to embark on an abolitionist career.

READ THE FULL TEXT

97. Notice carefully that a member of the Quaker meeting in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), the monthly meeting that included at that time [Cumberland](#) and the city of [Providence](#), would soon be wandering down this same path of “channeling” or “religious identity politics.” (I refer of course to the upcoming case of “Universal Friend” and “Spirit of Truth” [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), who would be carrying her followers off into the wilds of the Finger Lakes region of upstate New York.)

WILKINSON FAMILY

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 17: Charles Brockden Brown was born into a [Quaker](#) family of Philadelphia.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

30th day of 7th month: The meeting for business of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) issued a query:

Are friends clear of Importing, Buying or any way purchasing disposing or holding of Mankind as Slaves, And are all those who have been held in a State of Slavery discharged therefrom.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

MANUMISSION

1772

In this year the American Friend [John Woolman](#) wrote A EPISTLE TO THE QUARTERLY AND MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS.⁹⁸

SLAVERY



No image of Friend John ever was made

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."

– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

98. JOURNAL, Chapter XI 1772 Embarks at Chester, with Samuel Emlen, in a Ship bound for London. Exercise of Mind respecting the Hardships of the Sailors. Considerations on the Dangers of training Youth to a Seafaring Life. Thoughts during a Storm at Sea. Arrival in London.

JOURNAL, Chapter XII 1772 Attends the Yearly Meeting in London. Then proceeds towards Yorkshire. Visits Quarterly and other Meetings in the Counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Westmoreland. Returns to Yorkshire. Instructive Observations and Letters. Hears of the Decease of William Hunt. Some Account of him. The Author's last Illness and Death at York.

JOURNAL, Appendix I. Testimony of Friends in Yorkshire concerning John Woolman

JOURNAL, Appendix II. Testimony of Friends in Burlington concerning John Woolman



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

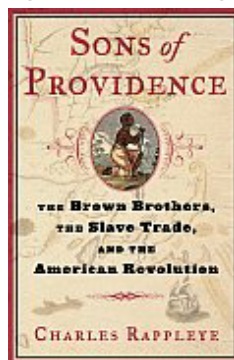
September: The [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), of which former [Rhode Island](#) Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) was at least nominally a member (as, for instance, President Richard Milhouse Nixon was at least nominally a birthright member of the Friends Church in Whittier, California –since his mother had been a member at the time of his birth– despite the fact that he had nothing whatever to do with Quakers and in fact refused to visit with committees coming to Washington DC to plead with him about such topics as the bombing of Cambodia), took [Friend](#) Stephen under dealing for his refusal to [manumit](#) his black personal manservant and slave Toney.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

September: One afternoon, while [Moses Brown](#) and his wife [Anna Brown](#) were visiting friends in Boston, Anna collapsed. The doctors were mystified. The remainder of her short life would be spent in a sickbed.

Charles Rappleye, in *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 129), has recently alleged that the involvement with Quakerism at the 2d Friends meetinghouse inside [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (the structure at North Main Street between South Court Street and Meeting Street, a structure that would be sold and relocated in 1844 and then rebuilt on that site), an involvement with Quakerism that had begun in about this timeframe, was not limited to Moses Brown and Anna Brown, but extended to Anna's sister [Mary Brown](#) and to [John Brown](#)'s wife Sarah Smith Brown:

Late in her life, Anna had begun to attend Quaker services, along with her sister Mary and John Brown's wife, Sarah. The meetinghouse was in Providence, though the services were conducted under the auspices of [Smithfield](#), a small town to the east⁹⁹ that was home to the Monthly Meeting. With Anna bedridden and declining, Moses began attending there as well.



Adequate sources are not sited, and the only source I have been able to imagine for the above conceptualization of the situation by Rappleye, is that he has perhaps incautiously extrapolated from Mack Thompson's *MOSES BROWN: RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962), adding to Thompson's description his own entirely unfounded presumption that Mrs. John Brown had before her wedding been a Quaker girl — for on page 74 of Thompson we find the following:

After Moses moved her from Boston to Providence, he sat throughout the fall and winter by his wife's bedside and watched her die. Anna knew that she was dying and as her time approached she turned more and more to God for comfort; Moses turned with her. In search for some explanation for his wife's affliction, and no doubt in an attempt to find some comfort for his grief, he began to attend religious services at the Quaker meetinghouse in Providence. Anna could not, of course, accompany him, but he

99. Yet another incautious error: the two [Smithfield](#) meetinghouses are to the north and northwest of Providence, definitely not to the east of Providence.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

brought Friends to visit her and silent meetings were held by her bedside; together they moved away from the Baptist Church and toward acceptance of Friends' doctrines.

Thompson added on page 77 that:

Why Moses turned to Quakerism for spiritual comfort rather than to the family church is difficult to determine. Undoubtedly he was influenced by his wife who became a spiritual Quaker before she died, and by her sisters, Mary and Phebe, and John's wife, Sarah, who were attending Friends' meetings as early as the winter of 1773, and perhaps earlier. Even that old rascal Uncle Elisha had "got religion," and was attending Friends' meetings. Perhaps Moses followed their lead.

October 7: [Friend John Woolman](#), who had been warning his coreligionists to display their trust in the providence of God by declining to inoculate their children against the small pox, while attending a Quaker meeting in York, England, died of the small pox (we see that he had just made an entry in his journal about the recent death of his kinsman of [North Carolina](#), William Hunt, of the small pox, while on a similar missionary visit with the Friends of Newcastle):

Embarks at Chester, with Samuel Emlen, in a Ship bound for London — Exercise of Mind respecting the Hardships of the Sailors — Considerations on the Dangers of training Youth to a Seafaring Life — Thoughts during a Storm at Sea — Arrival in London.

HAVING been some time under a religious concern to prepare for crossing the seas, in order to visit Friends in the northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkshire, after consideration I thought it expedient to inform Friends of it at our Monthly Meeting at Burlington, who, having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate. I afterwards communicated the same to our Quarterly Meeting, and they likewise certified their concurrence. Some time after, at the General Spring Meeting of ministers and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them with the religious exercise which attended my mind; and they likewise signified their unity therewith by a certificate, dated the 24th of Third Month, 1772, directed to Friends in Great Britain.

In the Fourth Month following, I thought the time was come for me to make some inquiry for a suitable conveyance; and as my concern was principally towards the northern parts of England, it seemed most proper to go in a vessel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven. While I was at Philadelphia deliberating on this subject I was informed that my beloved friend Samuel Emlen, junior, intended to go to London, and had taken a passage for himself in the cabin of the ship called the Mary and Elizabeth, of which James Sparks was master, and John Head, of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners; and feeling a draught in my mind towards the steerage of the same ship, I went first and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I spake to him, and appeared glad that I had thoughts of going in the vessel with him, though my prospect was toward the steerage: and he offering to go with me, we went on board, first into the cabin — a commodious room — and



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

then into the steerage, where we sat down on a chest, the sailors being busy about us. The owner of the ship also came and sat down with us. My mind was turned towards Christ, the heavenly Counsellor, and feeling at this time my own will subjected, my heart was contrite before Him. A motion was made by the owner to go and sit in the cabin, as a place more retired; but I felt easy to leave the ship, and, making no agreement as to a passage in her, told the owner if I took a passage in the ship I believed it would be in the steerage; but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings, and the case was a little known in town, a Friend laid before me the great inconvenience attending a passage in the steerage, which for a time appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord, whose helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and His love strengthened my heart. In the morning I went with two Friends on board the vessel again, and after a short time spent therein, I went with Samuel Emlen to the house of the owner, to whom, in the hearing of Samuel only, I opened my exercise in relation to a scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the cabin, in substance as follows: -

"That on the outside of that part of the ship where the cabin was, I observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery; that in the cabin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts; and that according to the ways of men's reckoning, the sum of money to be paid for a passage in that apartment has some relation to the expense of furnishing it to please the minds of such as give way to a conformity to this world; and that in this, as in other cases, the moneys received from the passengers are calculated to defray the cost of these superfluities, as well as the other expenses of their passage. I therefore felt a scruple with regard to paying my money to be applied to such purposes."

As my mind was now opened, I told the owner that I had, at several times, in my travels, seen great oppressions on this continent, at which my heart had been much affected and brought into a feeling of the state of the sufferers; and having many times been engaged in the fear and love of God, to labour with those under whom the oppressed have been borne down and afflicted, I have often perceived that with a view to get riches and to provide estates for children, that they may live conformably to the customs and honours of this world, many are entangled in the spirit of oppression, and the exercise of my soul has been such, that I could not find peace in joining in anything which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this I agreed for a passage in the steerage; and hearing that Joseph White had desired to see me, I went to his house, and the next day home, where I tarried two nights. Early the next morning, I parted with my family under a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me, and, going to Philadelphia, had an opportunity with several of my beloved friends, who appeared to be concerned for me on account of the unpleasant situation of that part of the vessel in which I was likely to lodge. In these opportunities my mind, through the mercies of the Lord,



was kept low in an inward waiting for His help; and Friends having expressed their desire that I might have a more convenient place than the steerage, did not urge it, but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having stayed two nights at Philadelphia, I went the next day to Derby Monthly Meeting, where through the strength of divine love my heart was enlarged towards the youth there present, under which I was helped to labour in some tenderness of spirit. I lodged at William Horn's and afterwards went to Chester, where I met with Samuel Emlen, and we went on board 1st of Fifth Month, 1772. As I sat alone on the deck, I felt a satisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the cross of Christ.

Seventh of Fifth Month. – We have had rough weather mostly since I came on board, and the passengers, James Reynolds, John Till Adams, Sarah Logan with her hired maid, and John Bispham, all sea-sick at times; from which sickness, through the tender mercies of my Heavenly Father, I have been preserved, my afflictions now being of another kind. There appeared an openness in the minds of the master of the ship and in the cabin passengers towards me. We are often together on the deck, and sometimes in the cabin. My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, hath been preserved in a good degree watchful and quiet, for which I have great cause to be thankful.

As my lodging in the steerage, now near a week, hath afforded me sundry opportunities of seeing, hearing, and feeling with respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors, an exercise of soul hath attended me in regard to placing our children and youth where they may be likely to be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord.

Being much among the seamen I have, from a motion of love, taken sundry opportunities with one of them at a time, and have in free conversation laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord. This day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrite under a feeling of divine love.

I believe a communication with different parts of the world by sea is at times consistent with the will of our Heavenly Father, and to educate some youth in the practice of sailing, I believe, may be right; but how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! How impure are the channels through which trade is conducted! How great is the danger to which poor lads are exposed when placed on shipboard to learn the art of sailing! Five lads training up for the seas were on board this ship. Two of them were brought up in our Society, and the other, by name James Naylor, is a member, to whose father James Naylor, mentioned in Sewel's history, appears to have been uncle. I often feel a tenderness of heart towards these poor lads, and at times look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh. Oh that all may take heed and beware of covetousness! Oh that all may learn of Christ, who was meek and lowly of heart. Then, in faithfully following Him, He will teach us to be content with food and raiment without respect to the customs or honours of this world. Men thus redeemed will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a desire that those in the lowest stations may be assisted and encouraged, and where owners of ships attain to the perfect law of liberty and are doers of the Word, these will be blessed in their deeds.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

A ship at sea commonly sails all night, and the seamen take their watches four hours at a time. Rising to work in the night, it is not commonly pleasant in any case, but in dark rainy nights it is very disagreeable, even though each man were furnished with all conveniences. If, after having been on deck several hours in the night, they come down into the steerage soaking wet, and are so closely stowed that proper convenience for change of garments is not easily come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments are thrown in heaps, and sometimes, through much crowding, are trodden under foot in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and it is difficult at times for each to find his own. Here are trials for the poor sailors. Now, as I have been with them in my lodge, my heart hath often yearned for them, and tender desires have been raised in me that all owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the love of God and therein act uprightly, and by seeking less for gain and looking carefully to their ways they may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from the poor seamen, so that they may neither fret nor use excess of strong drink; for, indeed, the poor creatures, in the wet and cold, seem to apply at times to strong drink to supply the want of other convenience. Great reformation is wanting in the world, and the necessity of it among those who do business on great waters hath at this time been abundantly opened before me.

Eighth of Fifth Month. — This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew strong from the south-east, and before noon so increased that sailing appeared dangerous. The seamen then bound up some of their sails and took down others, and the storm increasing, they put the dead-lights, so called, into the cabin windows and lighted a lamp as at night. The wind now blew vehemently, and the sea wrought to that degree that an awful seriousness prevailed in the cabin, in which I spent, I believe, about seventeen hours, for the cabin passengers had given me frequent invitations, and I thought the poor wet toiling seamen had need of all the room in the crowded steerage. They now ceased from sailing and put the vessel in the posture called "lying to." My mind during this tempest, through the gracious assistance of the Lord, was preserved in a good degree of resignation; and at times I expressed a few words in His love to my shipmates in regard to the all-sufficiency of Him who formed the great deep, and whose care is so extensive that a sparrow falls not without His notice; and thus in a tender frame of mind I spoke to them of the necessity of our yielding in true obedience to the instructions of our Heavenly Father, who sometimes through adversities intendeth our refinement.

About eleven at night I went out on the deck. The sea wrought exceedingly, and the high, foaming waves round about had in some sort the appearance of fire, but did not give much if any light. The sailor at the helm said he lately saw a corposant at the head of the mast. I observed that the master of the ship ordered the carpenter to keep on the deck; and, though he said little, I apprehended his care was that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness in case of any emergency. Soon after this the vehemency of the wind abated, and before morning they again put the ship under sail.

Tenth of Fifth Month. — It being the first day of the week and fine weather, we had a meeting in the cabin, at which most of



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the seamen were present; this meeting was to me a strengthening time. 13th. — As I continue to lodge in the steerage I feel an openness this morning to express something further of the state of my mind in respect to poor lads bound apprentice to learn the art of sailing. As I believe sailing is of use in the world, a labour of soul attends me that the pure counsel of truth may be humbly waited for in this case by all concerned in the business of the seas. A pious father whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his child, may not with a peaceable mind place him out to an employment among a people whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt and profane. Great is the present defect among seafaring men in regard to virtue and piety; and, by reason of an abundant traffic, and many ships being used for war, so many people are employed on the sea, that the subject of placing lads to this employment appears very weighty.

When I remember the saying of the Most High through His prophet, "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth My praise," and think of placing children among such to learn the practice of sailing, the consistency of it with a pious education seems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, "There is no answer from God."

Profane examples are very corrupting and very forcible. And as my mind day after day and night after night hath been affected with a sympathizing tenderness towards poor children who are put to the employment of sailors, I have sometimes had weighty conversation with the sailors in the steerage, who were mostly respectful to me, and became more so the longer I was with them. They mostly appeared to take kindly what I said to them; but their minds were so deeply impressed with the almost universal depravity among sailors, that the poor creatures in their answers to me have revived in my remembrance that of the degenerate Jews a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Now under this exercise a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing among us felt grievous; and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ was raised in me that all may take heed lest, through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty with respect to a faithful labour for reformation.

To silence every motion proceeding from the love of money, and humbly to wait upon God to know His will concerning us have appeared necessary. He alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation, and so to direct us in our outward employment that pure universal love may shine forth in our proceedings. Desires arising from the spirit of truth are pure desires; and when a mind divinely opened towards a young generation is made sensible of corrupting examples powerfully working and extensively spreading among them, how moving is the prospect! In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a desolate, thorny wilderness, how precious, how comfortable, how safe, are the leadings of Christ the good Shepherd, who said, "I know my sheep, and am known of mine!"

Sixteenth of Fifth Month. — Wind for several days past often high, what the sailors call squally, with a rough sea and frequent rains. This last night has been a very trying one to the poor seamen, the water the most part of the night running



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

over the main-deck, and sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter-deck. The latter part of the night, as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of divine love; and resignedness to the great Creator of the earth and the seas was renewedly wrought in me, and His fatherly care over His children felt precious to my soul. I was now desirous to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardships and difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labour in His love for the spreading of pure righteousness on the earth. Opportunities were frequent of hearing conversation among the sailors respecting the voyages to Africa, and the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our islands. They are frequently brought on board the vessels in chains and fetters, with hearts loaded with grief under the apprehension of miserable slavery; so that my mind was frequently engaged to meditate on these things.

Seventeenth of Fifth Month and first of the week. – We had a meeting in the cabin, to which the seamen generally came. My spirit was contrite before the Lord, whose love at this time affected my heart. In the afternoon I felt a tender sympathy of soul with my poor wife and family left behind, in which state my heart was enlarged in desires that they may walk in that humble obedience wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and support through all their difficulties in this world; and a sense of that gracious assistance, through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them to travel in the love of truth, hath begotten thankfulness in my heart to our great Helper.

Twenty-fourth of Fifth Month. – A clear, pleasant morning. As I sat on deck I felt a reviving in my nature, which had been weakened through much rainy weather and high winds and being shut up in a close, unhealthy air. Several nights of late I have felt my breathing difficult; and a little after the rising of the second watch, which is about midnight, I have got up and stood near an hour with my face near the hatchway, to get the fresh air at the small vacancy under the hatch door, which is commonly shut down, partly to keep out rain and sometimes to keep the breaking waves from dashing into the steerage. I may with thankfulness to the Father of Mercies acknowledge that in my present weak state, my mind hath been supported to bear this affliction with patience; and I have looked at the present dispensation as a kindness from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my floating pilgrimage, is in some degree bringing me to feel what many thousands of my fellow-creatures often suffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the trial hath been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God, the Fountain of comfort, whose inward help hath supplied at times the want of outward convenience; and strong desires have attended me that His family, who are acquainted with the movings of His Holy Spirit, may be so redeemed from the love of money and from that spirit in which men seek honour one of another, that in all business, by sea or land, they may constantly keep in view the coming of His kingdom on earth as it is in Heaven, and, by faithfully following this safe guide, may show forth examples tending to lead out of that under which the creation groans. This day we had a meeting in the cabin, in which I was favoured



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in some degree to experience the fulfilling of that saying of the prophet, "The Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress"; for which my heart is bowed in thankfulness before Him.

Twenty-eighth of Fifth Month. – Wet weather of late, and small winds, inclining to calms. Our seamen cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathoms, and found no bottom. Foggy weather this morning. Through the kindness of the great Preserver of men my mind remains quiet; and a degree of exercise from day to day attends me, that the pure peaceable government of Christ may spread and prevail among mankind.

The leading of a young generation in that pure way in which the wisdom of this world hath no place, where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly Counsellor, may example them in the truth as it is in Jesus, hath for several days been the exercise of my mind. Oh, how safe, how quiet, is that state where the soul stands in pure obedience to the voice of Christ, and a watchful care is maintained not to follow the voice of the stranger! Here Christ is felt to be our Shepherd, and under His leading people are brought to a stability; and where He doth not lead forward, we are bound in the bonds of pure love to stand still and wait upon Him.

In the love of money and in the wisdom of this world, business is proposed, then the urgency of affairs pushes forward, and the mind cannot in this state discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us. The love of God is manifested in graciously calling us to come out of that which stands in confusion; but if we bow not in the name of Jesus, if we give not up those prospects of gain which in the wisdom of this world are open before us, but say in our hearts, "I must needs go on; and in going on I hope to keep as near the purity of truth as the business before me will admit of," the mind remains entangled and the shining of the light of life into the soul is obstructed. Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in His fear we may be instructed and led safely through the great difficulties and perplexities in this present age. In an entire subjection of our wills, the Lord graciously opens a way for His people, where all their wants are bounded by His wisdom; and here we experience the substance of what Moses the prophet figured out in the water of separation as a purification from sin.

Esau is mentioned as a child red all over like a hairy garment. In Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of separation a red heifer without blemish, on which there had been no yoke, was to be slain and her blood sprinkled by the priest seven times towards the tabernacle of the congregation; then her skin, her flesh, and all pertaining to her, was to be burnt without the camp, and of her ashes the water was prepared. Thus, the crucifying of the old man, or natural will, is represented; and hence comes a separation from that carnal mind which is death. "He who toucheth the dead body of a man and purifieth not himself with the water of separation, defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; he is unclean" (NUMBERS 19:13).

If any, who through the love of gain engage in business wherein they dwell as among the tombs and touch the bodies of those who are dead, should through the infinite love of God feel the power of the cross of Christ to crucify them to the world, and therein



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

learn humbly to follow the divine Leader, here is the judgment of this world, here the prince of this world is cast out. The water of separation is felt; and though we have been among the slain, and through the desire of gain have touched the dead body of a man, yet in the purifying love of Christ we are washed in the water of separation; we are brought off from that business, from that gain, and from that fellowship which is not agreeable to His holy will. I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in His infinite love, is calling to His visited children so to give up all outward possessions and means of getting treasures, that His Holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts and direct them in all their proceedings. To feel the substance pointed at in this figure, man must know death as to his own will.

"No man can see God and live." This was spoken by the Almighty to Moses the prophet and opened by our blessed Redeemer. As death comes on our own wills, and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified and prepared to understand clearly, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." In purity of heart the mind is divinely opened to behold the nature of universal righteousness, or the righteousness of the kingdom of God. "No man hath seen the Father save he that is of God, he hath seen the Father."

The natural mind is active about the things of this life, and in this natural activity business is proposed and a will is formed in us to go forward in it. And so long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there remains an obstruction to the clearness of divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart and with all our strength, in this love we love our neighbour as ourselves; and a tenderness of heart is felt towards all people for whom Christ died, even those who, as to outward circumstances, may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. "Who is my neighbour?" See this question answered by our Saviour, Luke x. 30. In this love we can say that Jesus is the Lord; and in this reformation in our souls, manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God (2 CORINTHIANS 5:18), the desire of gain is subjected.

When employment is honestly followed in the light of truth, and people become diligent in business, "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord" (ROMANS 12:11), the meaning of the name is opened to us: "This is the name by which He shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS" (JEREMIAH 23:6). Oh, how precious is the name! it is like ointment poured out. The chaste virgins are in love with the Redeemer; and for promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world are content to endure hardness like good soldiers; and are so separated in spirit from the desire of riches, that in their employments they become extensively careful to give no offence, either to Jew or Heathen or to the Church of Christ.

Thirty-first of Fifth Month and first of the week. — We had a meeting in the cabin, with nearly all the ship's company, the whole being near thirty. In this meeting the Lord in mercy favoured us with the extending of His love.

Second of Sixth Month. — Last evening the seamen found bottom at about seventy fathoms. This morning, a fair wind and pleasant. I sat on deck; my heart was overcome with the love of Christ, and melted into contrition before Him. In this state the



prospect of that work to which I found my mind drawn when in my native land being, in some degree, opened before me, I felt like a little child; and my cries were put up to my Heavenly Father for preservation, that in an humble dependence on Him my soul might be strengthened in His love and kept inwardly waiting for His counsel. This afternoon we saw that part of England called the Lizard.

Some fowls yet remained of those the passengers took for their sea-store. I believe about fourteen perished in the storms at sea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck, and a considerable number with sickness at different times. I observed the cocks crew as we came down the Delaware, and while we were near the land, but afterwards I think I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the English coast, when they again crowed a few times. In observing their dull appearance at sea, and the pining sickness of some of them, I often remembered the Fountain of goodness, who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends to caring for the sparrows. I believe where the love of God is verily perfected, and the true spirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderness towards all creatures made subject to us will be experienced, and a care felt in us that we do not lessen that sweetness of life in the animal creation which the great Creator intends for them under our government.

Fourth of Sixth Month. – Wet weather, high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of the danger of missing the channel, which I understood was narrow. In a while it grew lighter, and they saw the land and knew where we were. Thus the Father of Mercies was pleased to try us with the sight of dangers, and then graciously, from time to time, deliver us from them; thus sparing our lives, that in humility and reverence we might walk before Him and put our trust in Him. About noon a pilot came off from Dover, where my beloved friend Samuel Emlen went on shore and thence to London, about seventy-two miles by land; but I felt easy in staying in the ship.

Seventh of Sixth Month and first of the week. – A clear morning: we lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the ship's company, in which my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them, that they may come to experience salvation through Christ. Had a head-wind up the Thames; lay sometimes at anchor; saw many ships passing, and some at anchor near; and I had large opportunity of feeling the spirit in which the poor bewildered sailors too generally live. That lamentable degeneracy which so much prevails in the people employed on the sea, so affected my heart that I cannot easily convey the feeling I had to another.

The present state of the seafaring life in general appears so opposite to that of a pious education, so full of corruption and extreme alienation from God, so full of the most dangerous examples to young people, that in looking towards a young generation I feel a care for them, that they may have an education different from the present one of lads at sea, and that all of us who are acquainted with the pure gospel spirit may lay this case to heart, may remember the lamentable corruptions which attend the conveyance of merchandise across the seas, and so abide in the love of Christ that, being delivered from the entangling expenses of a curious, delicate,

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

and luxurious life, we may learn contentment with a little, and promote the seafaring life no further than that spirit which leads into all truth attends us in our proceedings.



1772

Attends the Yearly Meeting in London — Then proceeds towards Yorkshire — Visits Quarterly and other Meetings in the Counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Westmoreland — Returns to Yorkshire — Instructive Observations and Letters — Hears of the Decease of William Hunt — Some Account of him — The Author's Last Illness and Death at York.

ON the 8th of Sixth Month, 1772, we landed at London, and I went straightway to the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, which had been gathered, I suppose, about half an hour.¹⁰⁰ In this meeting my mind was humbly contrite. In the afternoon the meeting for business was opened, which by adjournments held near a week. In these meetings I often felt a living concern for the establishment of Friends in the pure life of truth. My heart was enlarged in the meetings of ministers, that for business,

100. Note by Whittier: There is a story told of his first appearance in England which is well authenticated. The vessel reached London on the morning of the second day of the week, and [John Woolman](#), knowing that the meeting was then in session, lost no time in reaching it. Coming in late and unannounced, his peculiar dress and manner excited attention and apprehension that he was an itinerant enthusiast. He presented his certificate from Friends in America, but the dissatisfaction still remained, and some one remarked that perhaps the stranger Friend might feel that his dedication of himself to this apprehended service was accepted, without further labour, and that he might now feel free to return to his home. John Woolman sat silent for a space, seeking the unerring counsel of divine wisdom. He was profoundly affected by the unfavourable reception he met with, and his tears flowed freely. In the love of Christ and his fellow-men he had, at a painful sacrifice, taken his life in his hands, and left behind the peace and endearments of home. That love still flowed out toward the people of England; must it henceforth be pent up in his own heart? He rose at last, and stated that he could not feel himself released from his prospect of labour in England. Yet he could not travel in the ministry without the unity of Friends; and while that was withheld he could not feel easy to be of any cost to them. He could not go back as had been suggested; but he was acquainted with a mechanical trade, and while the impediment to his services continued, he hoped Friends would be kindly willing to employ him in such business as he was capable of, that he might not be chargeable to any. A deep silence prevailed over the assembly, many of whom were touched by the wise simplicity of the stranger's words and manner. After a season of waiting, John Woolman felt that words were given him to utter as a minister of Christ. The spirit of his Master bore witness to them in the hearts of his hearers. When he closed, the Friend who had advised against his further services rose up and humbly confessed his error, and avowed his full unity with the stranger. All doubt was removed; there was a general expression of unity and sympathy, and John Woolman, owned by his brethren, passed on to his work.

There is no portrait of John Woolman; and had photography been known in his day it is not at all probable that the sun-artist would have been permitted to delineate his features. That, while eschewing all superfluity and expensive luxury, he was scrupulously neat in his dress and person may be inferred from his general character, and from the fact that one of his serious objections to dyed clothing was that it served to conceal uncleanness, and was, therefore, detrimental to real purity. It is, however, quite probable that his outer man, on the occasion referred to, was suggestive of a hasty toilet in the crowded steerage.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

and in several meetings for public worship, and I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers now gathered at this Yearly Meeting. On the 15th I went to a Quarterly Meeting at Hertford.

First of Seventh Month. — I have been at Quarterly Meetings at Sherrington, Northampton, Banbury, and Shipton, and have had sundry meetings between. My mind hath been bowed under a sense of divine goodness manifested among us; my heart hath been often enlarged in true love, both among ministers and elders and in public meetings, and through the Lord's goodness I believe it hath been a fresh visitation to many, in particular to the youth. Seventeenth. — I was this day at Birmingham: I have been at meetings at Coventry, Warwick, in Oxfordshire, and sundry other places, and have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me; but through His tender mercies I find peace in the labours I have gone through.

Twenty-sixth. — I have continued travelling northward, visiting meetings. Was this day at Nottingham; the forenoon meeting was especially, through divine love, a heart-tendering season. Next day I had a meeting in a Friend's family, which, through the strengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

Second of Eighth Month and first of the week. — I was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town. I was at sundry meetings last week, and feel inward thankfulness for that divine support which hath been graciously extended to me. On the 9th I was at Rushworth. I have lately passed through some painful labour, but have been comforted under a sense of that divine visitation which I feel extended towards many young people.

Sixteenth of Eighth Month and the first of the week, I was at Settle. It hath of late been a time of inward poverty, under which my mind hath been preserved in a watchful, tender state, feeling for the mind of the Holy Leader, and I find peace in the labours I have passed through.

On inquiry in many places I find the price of rye about five shillings; wheat, eight shillings per bushel; oatmeal, twelve shillings for a hundred and twenty pounds; mutton from threepence to fivepence per pound; bacon from sevenpence to ninepence; cheese from fourpence to sixpence; butter from eightpence to tenpence; house-rent for a poor man from twenty-five shillings to forty shillings per year, to be paid weekly; wood for fire very scarce and dear; coal in some places two shillings and sixpence per hundredweight; but near the pits not a quarter so much. Oh, may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in several counties toward London at tenpence per day in common business, the employer finds small beer and the labourer finds his own food; but in harvest and hay time wages are about one shilling per day, and the labourer hath all his diet. In some parts of the north of England, poor labouring men have their food where they work, and appear in common to do rather better than nearer London. Industrious women who spin in the factories get some fourpence, some fivepence, and so on to six, seven, eight, nine, or tenpence per day, and find their own house-room and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly on bread and water in the southern parts of England, as well as in the northern parts; and there are many poor children not even taught to read. May those who have abundance



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

lay these things to heart!

Stage-coaches frequently go upwards of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and I have heard Friends say in several places that it is common for horses to be killed with hard driving, and that many others are driven till they grow blind. Post-boys pursue their business, each one to his stage, all night through the winter. Some boys who ride long stages suffer greatly in winter nights, and at several places I have heard of their being frozen to death. So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world, that in aiming to do business quickly and to gain wealth, the creation at this day doth loudly groan.

As my journey hath been without a horse, I have had several offers of being assisted on my way in these stage-coaches, but have not been in them; nor have I had freedom to send letters by these posts in the present way of riding, the stages being so fixed, and one boy dependent on another as to time, and going at great speed, that in long cold winter nights the poor boys suffer much. I heard in America of the way of these posts, and cautioned Friends in the General Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, and in the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in London, not to send letters to me on any common occasion by post. And though on this account I may be likely not to hear so often from my family left behind, yet for righteousness' sake I am, through divine favour, made content. I have felt great distress of mind since I came on this island, on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various sorts of traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves; and for the loading of these ships a great number of people are employed in their factories, among whom are many of our Society. Friends in early times refused on a religious principle to make or trade in superfluities, of which we have many testimonies on record; but for want of faithfulness, some, whose examples were of note in our Society, gave way, from which others took more liberty. Members of our Society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold them, and thus dimness of sight came over many; at length Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress and in the furniture of their houses, which hath spread from less to more, till superfluity of some kinds is common among us.

In this declining state many look at the example of others and too much neglect the pure feeling of truth. Of late years a deep exercise hath attended my mind, that Friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter and get down to the rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound; and I have felt in that which doth not receive, that, if Friends who have known the truth, keep in that tenderness of heart where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only in the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and others who have plenty of the treasures of this world will be examples of a plain frugal life, and pay wages to such as they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.

Twenty-third of Eighth Month. — I was this day at Preston Patrick, and had a comfortable meeting. I have several times been entertained at the houses of Friends who had sundry things about them that had the appearance of outward greatness, and as



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

I have kept inward, way hath opened for conversation with such in private, in which divine goodness hath favoured us together with heart-tendering times.

Twenty-sixth of Eighth Month. – Being now at George Crosfield's, in the county of Westmoreland, I feel a concern to commit to writing the following uncommon circumstance: –

In a time of sickness, a little more than two years and a half ago, I was brought so near the gates of death that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy colour between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be and live, and that I was mixed with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard with my ears before; I believed it was the voice of an angel who spake to the other angels; the words were, "John Woolman is dead." I soon remembered that I was once John Woolman, and being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean. I believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy angel, but as yet it was a mystery to me.

I was then carried in spirit to the mines where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians, and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved, for His name to me was precious. I was then informed that these heathens were told that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ, and they said among themselves, "If Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant."

All this time the song of the angel remained a mystery; and in the morning, my dear wife and some others coming to my bedside, I asked them if they knew who I was, and they telling me I was John Woolman, thought I was light-headed, for I told them not what the angel said, nor was I disposed to talk much to any one, but was very desirous to get so deep that I might understand this mystery.

My tongue was often so dry that I could not speak till I had moved it about and gathered some moisture, and as I lay still for a time I at length felt a divine power prepare my mouth that I could speak, and I then said, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. And the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me." Then the mystery was opened and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented, and that the language "John Woolman is dead," meant no more than the death of my own will.

My natural understanding now returned as before, and I saw that people setting off their tables with silver vessels at entertainments was often stained with



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

worldly glory, and that in the present state of things I should take heed how I fed myself out of such vessels. Going to our Monthly Meeting soon after my recovery, I dined at a Friend's house where drink was brought in silver vessels, and not in any other. Wanting something to drink, I told him my case with weeping, and he ordered some drink for me in another vessel. I afterwards went through the same exercise in several Friends' houses in America, as well as in England, and I have cause to acknowledge with humble reverence the loving-kindness of my Heavenly Father, who hath preserved me in such a tender frame of mind, that none, I believe, have ever been offended at what I have said on that subject.

After this sickness I spake not in public meetings for worship for nearly one year, but my mind was very often in company with the oppressed slaves as I sat in meetings; and though under his dispensation I was shut up from speaking, yet the spring of the gospel ministry was many times livingly opened in me, and the divine gift operated by abundance of weeping, in feeling the oppression of this people. It being so long since I passed through this dispensation, and the matter remaining fresh and lively in my mind, I believe it safest for me to commit it to writing.

Thirtieth of Eighth Month. — This morning I wrote a letter in substance as follows: —

BELOVED FRIEND, — My mind is often affected as I pass along under a sense of the state of many poor people who sit under that sort of ministry which requires much outward labour to support it; and the loving-kindness of our Heavenly Father in opening a pure gospel ministry in this nation hath often raised thankfulness in my heart to Him. I often remember the conflicts of the faithful under persecution, and now look at the free exercise of the pure gift uninterrupted by outward laws as a trust committed to us, which requires our deepest gratitude and most careful attention. I feel a tender concern that the work of reformation so prosperously carried on in this land within a few ages past may go forward and spread among the nations, and may not go backward through dust gathering on our garments, who have been called to a work so great and so precious. Last evening during thy absence I had a little opportunity with some of thy family, in which I rejoiced, and feeling a sweetness on my mind towards thee, I now endeavour to open a little of the feeling I had there.

I have heard that you in these parts have at certain seasons Meetings of Conference in relation to Friends living up to our principles, in which several meetings unite in one. With this I feel unity, having in some measure felt truth lead that way among Friends in America, and I have found, my dear friend, that in these labours all superfluities in our own living are against us. I feel that pure love towards thee in which there



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

is freedom.

I look at that precious gift bestowed on thee with awfulness before Him who gave it, and feel a desire that we may be so separated to the gospel of Christ, that those things which proceed from the spirit of this world may have no place among us.

Thy friend, JOHN WOOLMAN.

I rested a few days in body and mind with our friend, Jane Crosfield, who was once in America. On the sixth day of the week I was at Kendal, in Westmoreland, and at Greyrig Meeting the 30th day of the month, and first of the week. I have known poverty of late, and have been graciously supported to keep in the patience, and am thankful under a sense of the goodness of the Lord towards those who are of a contrite spirit.

Sixth of Ninth Month and first of the week. – I was this day at Counterside, a large meeting-house, and very full. Through the opening of pure love, it was a strengthening time to me, and I believe to many more.

Thirteenth of Ninth Month. – This day I was at Leyburn, a small meeting; but, the towns-people coming in, the house was crowded. It was a time of heavy labour, and I believe was a profitable meeting. At this place I heard that my kinsman, William Hunt, from [North Carolina](#), who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the ninth of this month, of the smallpox, at Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry when a youth, and his labours therein were of good savour. He travelled much in that work in America. I once heard him say in public testimony, that his concern in that visit was to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself, which words, joined with his example, was a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.

Having of late often travelled in wet weather through narrow streets in towns and villages, where dirtiness under foot and the scent arising from that filth which more or less infects the air of all thickly-settled towns were disagreeable; and, being but weakly, I have felt distress both in body and mind with that which is impure. In these journeys I have been where much cloth hath been dyed, and have, at sundry times, walked over ground where much of their dye-stuffs has drained away. This hath produced a longing in my mind that people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, and cleanness about their houses and garments.

Some of the great carry delicacy to a great height themselves, and yet real cleanliness is not generally promoted. Dyes being invented partly to please the eye and partly to hide dirt, I have felt in this weak state, when travelling in dirtiness, and affected with unwholesome scents, a strong desire that the nature of dyeing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully considered. Washing our garments to keep them sweet is cleanly, but it is the opposite to real cleanliness to hide dirt in them. Through giving way to hiding dirt in our garments a spirit which would conceal that which is disagreeable is strengthened. Real cleanliness becometh a holy people; but hiding that which is not clean by colouring our garments seems contrary to the sweetness of sincerity. Through some sorts of dyes cloth is rendered less useful. And if the value of dye-stuffs, and expense of dyeing,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

and the damage done to cloth, were all added together, and that cost applied to keeping all sweet and clean, how much more would real cleanliness prevail.

On this visit to England I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing for the use of such as are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of Peace, and we being no more than ministers, it is necessary for us not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof in the appointment of meetings. I felt a concern in America to prepare for this voyage, and being through the mercy of God brought safe hither, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent. For several weeks after my arrival, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it was like the raising of a gate in a water-course when a weight of water lay upon it. In these labours there was a fresh visitation to many, especially to the youth; but sometimes I felt poor and empty, and yet there appeared a necessity to appoint meetings. In this I was exercised to abide in the pure life of truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently found a necessity to stand up when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours. As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the divine Leader, under these dispensations, enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of truth hath risen higher in some meetings than I ever knew it before through me. Thus I have been more and more instructed as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America to come on a visit to England, but upon the daily instructions of Christ, the Prince of Peace.

Of late I have sometimes felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly but in part: and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quickly, one after another, as I have done heretofore. The work of the ministry being a work of divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for in all our appointments. Oh, how deep is divine wisdom! Christ puts forth His ministers and goeth before them; and oh, how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth safely! Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in the pure feeling of the gospel ministry their states are opened to His servants. Christ knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themselves have need of purging. Oh that these lessons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings may proceed in the pure feeling of duty!

I have sometimes felt a necessity to stand up, but that spirit which is of the world hath so much prevailed in many, and the pure life of truth hath been so pressed down, that I have gone forward, not as one travelling in a road cast up and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place in which are stones here and there safe to step on, but so situated that, one step being taken, time is necessary to see where to step next. Now I find that in a state of pure obedience the mind learns contentment in appearing weak and foolish to that wisdom which is of the world; and in these lowly labours, they who stand in a low place and are rightly exercised under the cross will find



nourishment. The gift is pure; and while the eye is single in attending thereto the understanding is preserved clear; self is kept out. We rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ for His body's sake, which is the Church. The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations, and if there be not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once laboured in the pure gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering, and ashamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks, and walk in the light, not of Christ, who is under suffering, but of that fire which they in departing from the gift have kindled, in order that those hearers who have left the meek, suffering state for worldly wisdom may be warmed with this fire and speak highly of their labours. That which is of God gathers to God, and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind, that the ministers among us may be preserved in the meek, feeling life of truth, where we may have no desire but to follow Christ and to be with Him, that when He is under suffering, we may suffer with Him, and never desire to rise up in dominion, but as He, by the virtue of His own spirit, may raise us.

A few days after writing these considerations, our dear friend in the course of his religious visits came to the city of York,¹⁰¹ and attended most of the sittings of the Quarterly Meeting there, but before it was over he was taken ill of the smallpox. Our friend Thomas Priestman, and others who attended him, preserved the following minutes of his expressions in the time of his sickness:—

First day the 27th of the Ninth Month, 1772. — His disorder appeared to be the smallpox. Being asked to have a doctor's advice, he signified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind so to do, standing wholly resigned to His will who gave him life, and whose power he had witnessed to raise and heal him in sickness before, when he seemed nigh unto death; and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die, and did not choose any should be sent for to him; but a young man, an apothecary, coming of his own accord the next day and desiring to do something for him, he said he found a freedom to confer with him and the other Friends about him, and if anything should be proposed as to medicine that did not come through defiled channels or oppressive hands, he should

101. Note by Whittier: During the four months of his labours in England he visited the Quarterly and subordinate meetings of Friends in seven counties, and found time to write essays upon "Loving our Neighbours," "A Sailor's Life," and "Silent Worship." His mind seems to have been greatly exercised by a sense of the intimate connection of luxury and oppression; the burden of the labouring poor rested heavily upon him. In his lonely wanderings on foot through the rural districts (for he did not feel free to use the post on account of the hard treatment of the horses), or in his temporary sojourn in crowded manufacturing towns, the eager competitions and earnest pursuit of gain of one class, and the poverty and physical and moral degradation of another, so oppressed him that his health suffered and his strength failed. It is observable that, in his frequent mention throughout his journal of inward trials and afflictions, he nowhere betrays any personal solicitude, and merely selfish anxiety, for his own soul. His singular conscientious scruples, his close self-questionings, are prompted by a tender concern for universal well-being; an earnest desire that no act or omission of his own should add to the evil and misery under which the creation groans. He offered no prayers for special personal favours. He was, to use his own words, mixed with his fellow-creatures in their misery, and could not consider himself a distinct and separate being. He left all that concerns self to the will of his Father in Heaven, trusting to find a place among the "many mansions," but never asking to see the title-deeds of his inheritance. His last public labour was a testimony in the York Meeting in behalf of the poor and enslaved. [John Woolman](#)'s last prayer on his deathbed was a commendation of his "fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony" to the Omnipotent Power whom he had learned to call his Father.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

be willing to consider and take it, so far as he found freedom. Second day. — He said he felt the disorder to affect his head, so that he could think little and but as a child, and desired, if his understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about him knew he had a testimony against. Third day. — He uttered the following prayer: — "'O Lord, my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me, and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth; I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it; I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed. In the depth of misery, O Lord! I remembered that Thou art omnipotent; that I had called Thee Father; and I felt that I loved Thee, and I was made quiet in my will, and I waited for deliverance from Thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of Thy Son, and Thou taught me to follow Him, and I said, 'Thy will, O Father, be done.'"

Fourth day morning. — Being asked how he felt himself he meekly answered, "I don't know that I have slept this night; I feel the disorder making its progress, but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace." Some time after, he said he was sensible that the pains of death must be hard to bear, and if he escaped them now, he must sometime pass through them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind, had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return, leaving them to the divine protection, adding, "Though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I have freely given them up, having a hope that they will be provided for." And a little after said, "This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder; but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm."

In the night, a young woman having given him something to drink, he said, "My child, thou seemest very kind to me, a poor creature; the Lord will reward thee for it." Awhile after he cried out with great earnestness of spirit, "O my Father! my Father! how comfortable art Thou to my soul in this trying season!" Being asked if he could take a little nourishment, after some pause he replied, "My child, I cannot tell what to say to it; I seem nearly arrived where my soul shall have rest from all its troubles." After giving in something to be inserted in his journal, he said, "I believe the Lord will now excuse me from exercises of this kind; and I see no work but one, which is to be the last wrought by me in this world; the messenger will come that will release me from all these troubles, but it must be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for." He said he had laboured to do whatever was required according to the ability received, in the remembrance of which he had peace; and though the disorder was strong at times, and would like a whirlwind come over his mind, yet it had hitherto been kept steady and centred in everlasting love; adding, "And if that be mercifully continued, I ask and desire no more." Another time he said he had long had a view of visiting this nation, and some



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

time before he came, had a dream, in which he saw himself in the northern parts of it, and that the spring of the Gospel was opened in Him much as it was in the beginning of Friends, such as George Fox and William Dewsbury, and he saw the different states of the people as clear as he had ever seen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was suddenly stopped, though he could not see for what end; but, looking toward home, fell into a flood of tears, which waked him.

At another time he said, "My draught seemed strongest towards the north, and I mentioned in my own Monthly Meeting, that attending the Quarterly Meeting at York, and being there, looked like home to me."

Fifth day night. — Having repeated consented to take medicine, but without effect, the Friend then waiting on him said through distress, "What shall I do now?" He answered with great composure, "Rejoice evermore, and in everything give thanks"; but added a little after, "This is something hard to come at."

On sixth day morning he broke forth early in supplication on this wise: "O Lord, it was Thy power that enabled me to forsake sin in my youth, and I have felt Thy bruises for disobedience, but as I bowed under them Thou healedst me, continuing a father and a friend; I feel Thy power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment Thou wilt keep my heart steadfast unto Thee." On his giving directions to a Friend concerning some little things, she said, "I will take care, but hope thou wilt live to order them thyself." He replied, "My hope is in Christ, and though I may seem a little better, a change in the disorder may soon happen, and my little strength be dissolved, and if it so happen I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time, he said, "All good cometh from the Lord, whose power is the same, and He can work as He sees best." The same day he had directions given about wrapping his corpse; perceiving a Friend to weep, he said, "I would rather thou wouldst guard against weeping for me, my sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful conflicts, but now they seem over, and matters well settled; and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer, for sweet is His voice, and His countenance is comely."

First day, 4th of Tenth Month. — Being very weak and in general difficult to be understood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodness, and added, "How tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction, in which I may say in Job's words, tedious days and 'wearisome nights are appointed to me'; and how many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessities of life, who might be relieved by them, and their distress at such a time as this in some degree softened by the administering of suitable things."

Second day morning. — The apothecary, who appeared very anxious to help him, being present, he queried about the probability of such a load of matter being thrown off his weak body; and the apothecary making some remarks implying he thought it might, he spoke with an audible voice on this wise: "My dependence is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for; and if it be His will to raise up this body again, I am content; and if to die, I am resigned; but if thou canst

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

not be easy without trying to assist nature, I submit." After this, his throat was so much affected that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, and he frequently wrote when he wanted anything. About the second hour on fourth day morning he asked for pen and ink, and at several times, with much difficulty, wrote thus: "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ; I know not as to life or death." About a quarter before six the same morning he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an hour, when, seeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without sigh, groan, or struggle.



1773

Flushing Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on Paumanok Long Island urged its members not to purchase [slaves](#). Just say no to your friendly neighborhood pusher. Don't go there.

"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."

– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

The Testimony of Friends in Yorkshire at their Quarterly Meeting, held at York, England the 24th and 25th of the Third Month, 1773, in regard to American Friend [John Woolman](#), recently deceased:

The TESTIMONY of Friends in Yorkshire at their Quarterly Meeting, held at York the 24th and 25th of the Third Month, 1773,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

concerning John Woolman, of Mount Holly, in the Province of New Jersey, North America, who departed this life at the house of our Friend Thomas Priestman, in the suburbs of this city, the 7th of Tenth Month, 1772, and was interred in the burial-ground of Friends the 9th of the same, aged about fifty-two years.

THIS our valuable friend having been under a religious engagement for some time to visit Friends in this nation, and more especially us in the northern parts, undertook the same in full concurrence and near sympathy with his friends and brethren at home, as appeared by certificates from the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to which he belonged, and from the Spring Meeting of ministers and elders held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He arrived in the city of London the beginning of the last Yearly Meeting, and, after attending that meeting, traveled northward, visiting the Quarterly Meetings of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Worcestershire, and divers particular meetings in his way.

He visited many meetings on the west side of this country, also some in Lancashire and Westmoreland, from whence he came to our Quarterly Meeting in the last Ninth Month, and, though much out of health, yet was enabled to attend all the sittings of that meeting except the last.

His disorder, which proved the smallpox, increased speedily upon him, and was very afflicting, under which he was supported in much meekness, patience, and Christian fortitude. To those who attended him in his illness, his mind appeared to be centred in divine love, under the precious influence whereof we believe he finished his course, and entered into the mansions of everlasting rest.

He was a man endued with a large natural capacity, and, being obedient to the manifestations of divine grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's work, and was truly serviceable in His Church. Dwelling in awful feel and watchfulness, he was careful in his public appearances to feel the putting forth of the divine hand, so that the spring of the gospel ministry often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God. Skilful in dividing the Word, he was furnished by Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to communicate freely to the several states of the people where his lot was cast. His conduct at other times was seasoned with like watchful circumspection and attention to the guidance of divine wisdom, which rendered his whole conversation uniformly edifying.

He was fully persuaded that, as the life of Christ comes to reign in the earth, all abuse and unnecessary oppression, both of the human and brute creation, will come to an end; but under the sense of a deep revolt and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, his life has often been a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making slaves of the people of Africa, or holding them in that state, and on that account we understand he hath not only written some books, but travelled much on the continent of America, in order to make the negro masters (especially those in profession with us) sensible of the evil



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

of such a practice; and though in this journey to England he was far removed from the outward sight of their sufferings, yet his deep exercise of mind and frequent concern to open the miserable state of this deeply injured people remained, as appears by a short treatise he wrote in this journey. His testimony in the last meeting he attended was on this subject, wherein he remarked that we as a Society, when under outward sufferings, had often found it our concern to lay them before those in authority, and thereby, in the Lord's time, had obtained relief, so he to our notice, that we may, as way may open, represent their sufferings in an individual if not in a Society capacity to those in authority.

Deeply sensible that the desire to gratify people's inclinations in luxuries and superfluities is the principal ground of oppression, and the occasion of many unnecessary wants, he believed it to be his duty to be a pater of great self-denial with respect to the things of this life, and earnestly to labour with Friends in the meekness of wisdom, to impress on their minds the great importance of our testimony in these things, recommending to the guidance of the blessed truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning such as are experienced therein against contenting themselves with acting by the standard of others, but to be careful to make the standard of truth manifested to them the measure of their obedience. For, said he, "that purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the spirit of truth, that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by His wisdom; this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where they may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and where we have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us."

We conclude with fervent desires that we as a people may thus by our example promote the Lord's work in the earth, and, our hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the harvest, that as in His infinite wisdom He hath greatly stripped the Church by removing of late divers faithful ministers and elders, He may be pleased to send forth many more

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

faithful labourers into His harvest.

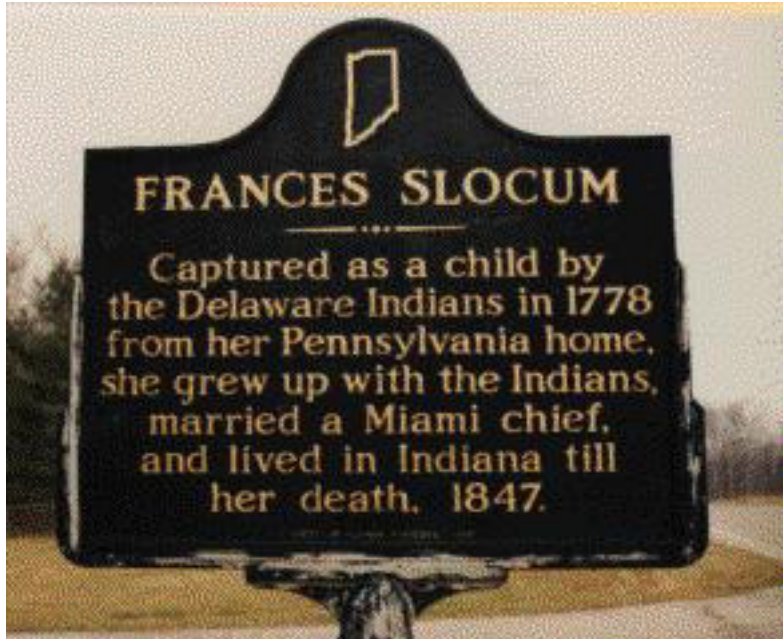


LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

A white infant christened [Frances Slocum](#), to be known for most of her life as Little Bear Woman or *Maconaquah*, was born during this year to a [Quaker](#) family from [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) that had relocated to the Wyoming district near the Wilkes-Barre fort in Pennsylvania.

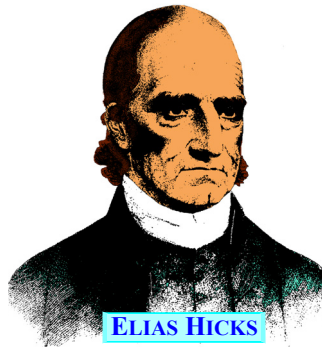
[FRANCES MACONAQUAH SLOCUM](#)



[SLOCUM FAMILY](#)
[TRIPP FAMILY](#)

The mother, Friend Ruth Tripp Slocum, had been born on March 21, 1736, daughter of Isaac Tripp and Susanna Spencer(?) Tripp of [Portsmouth](#), Rhode Island. The father, Friend Jonathan Slocum, was in the 5th generation after Giles Slocum, 1st of the Slocum line of [Rhode Island](#). According to the [Warwick RI](#) record: "These lines may certify all persons that Jonathan Slocum and Ruth Tripp both of the town of Portsmouth [perhaps residents on Patience, or Prudence, Island in Narragansett Bay], in the County of Newport were lawfully married in Warwick on the 23rd day of Febry in the year 1757."

Three years after his marriage, Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was going through a period of spiritual turmoil that would be followed by "deep openings in the vision of light." Gradually he would begin to speak within the local meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).



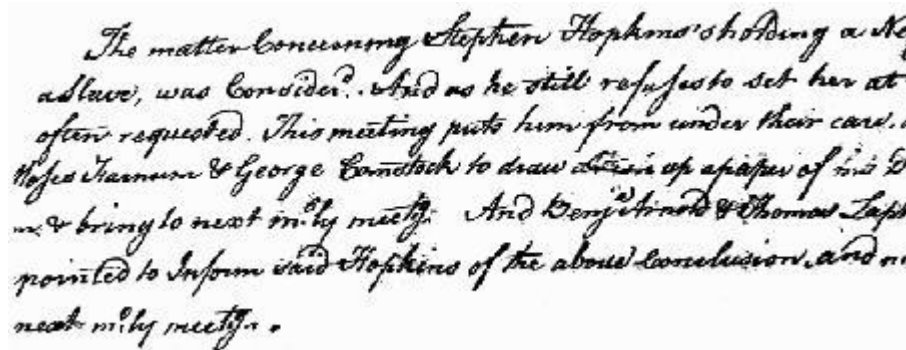
*"The true Quaker
is a trembler
before
God."*

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 28: A couple of Quaker men who had been delegated to visit Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#), and elder him about his not as yet having [manumitted](#) his black servant in accordance with the Quaker Query as to Noninvolvement in Slavery, reported back to the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) that the governor “desires Friends not to act hastily.” (Does that mean “Can’t you wait until the polls close”?)

QUAKER DISOWNMENT



The matter concerning Stephen Hopkins's holding a Negro as slave, was considered. And as he still refuses to set her at liberty as requested. This meeting puts him from under their care. & hopes Farnum & George Barnstable to draw down up a paper of this Denial & bring to next m^oly meetg. And Benjamin & Thomas Lapham pointed to Inform said Hopkins of the above conclusions, and so next m^oly meetg.

March: [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#), a former governor of [Rhode Island](#), instead of [manumitting](#) his [slave](#) Toney, was still pleading special circumstances after six months of being dealt with. On account of this impasse, in this month the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) decided that they needed at this point to take action. If he continued to resist, then the clerk, Friend Moses Farnum, and an associate, were to draw up a “Paper of Denial” that would notify Rhode Islanders that the governor was no longer in unity with his Quaker associates.



QUAKER DISOWNMENT

This all seems strange to us now. What was going on back then? The Smithfield, Rhode Island Quakers had not disowned Hopkins when time after time he had compromised their testimony against swearing by taking an oath of office as Governor. The Smithfield Friends had not disowned Hopkins when he had compromised the Quaker Peace Testimony by directing the Rhode Island war effort in the Great War for the Empire, nor for seeking a defensive union of the English North American colonies. At this late date all of a sudden they are acting against him but they are taking their own sweet time about it, taking him under dealing in September



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1772 and taking half a year to reach a decision to disown him — and they wouldn't get around to making it public knowledge that he was being disowned for another five months, in October 1773!

Now, Quakers are notoriously slow to be sure, but this is ridiculous — what was going on? Perhaps we may take some sort of clue from the fact that a published work of Quaker history (real trees killed to make real paper) has alleged that he was being disciplined “for refusing to free a slave woman who had small children. Hopkins insisted on retaining ownership until her children no longer needed her care.”¹⁰² **Can you smell whitewash? Who was this slave woman and who were her small children? —They appear exactly nowhere in our historical record. Hopkins's black manservant, whom he would not free, was named Toney Hopkins. When Stephen Hopkins died more than a decade later on July 13, 1785, this Toney was not yet in possession of his manumission document!**

8th day of 4th month: During this year the Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#) of the 1st Congregational Church in [Newport](#) and President [Ezra Stiles](#) of Yale College were urging that freed Africans be resettled in West Africa. The [Rhode Island](#) Quarterly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) issued a query:

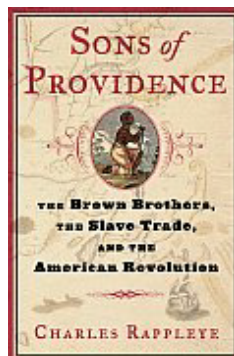
Are friends clear of Importing, Buying or any way purchasing disposing or holding of Mankind as Slaves, And are all those who have been held in a State of Slavery discharged therefrom.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

SLAVERY

EMANCIPATION

102. Charles Rappleye, in his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 142), quotes the phrase “still refuses to set her at liberty tho often requested.” I wonder if he has actually looked at these holographic minutes at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island, for I am unable myself in them to make out this word he has alleged, “her.” I find there to be nothing whatever in the record to suggest that the slave in question was female.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

April 29: The “Paper of Denial” constructed by clerk Moses Farnum and an associate (Friend George Comstock) was presented to the business meeting of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and the group put off for a month its decision on the matter of the disownment of the governor of the colony of [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#), until its meeting in June.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

*The matter concerning Stephen Hopkins's holding a Negro
a slave, was considered. And as he still refused to set her at
free as requested. This meeting puts him from under their care. &
tho' James & George Comstock to draw up a paper of his D
& bring to next m^oly meetg. And Benjamin & Thomas Laph
pointed to Inform said Hopkins of the above conclusion, and re
next m^oly meetg.*

May: The [Rhode Island](#) Quarterly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) proposed to the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) that slaveholding be forbidden to any Quaker — and the same pointed query was issued by that larger group:

Are friends clear of Importing, Buying or any way purchasing
disposing or holding of Mankind as Slaves, And are all those who
have been held in a State of Slavery discharged therefrom.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

EMANCIPATION

SLAVERY

June 24: At the previous business meeting of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), approval of the “Paper of Denial” disowning Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) for his failure to manumit his black slave¹⁰³ had been deferred. At this meeting “the matter concerning the Testimony of Stephen Hopkins’ Denial was considered, and said Testimony was approved of.” Hopkins finally had been disowned.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

However, the sole purpose of such a disownment is as a notification to the general surrounding [Rhode Island](#) community that such and such a person was no longer a [Friend](#) — and in this sensitive case the community was not notified. The community would not be informed of this action until October.

103. We note that this Quaker document falsely uses the singular feminine, “her,” when in fact according to the census of 1774 Hopkins owned not one but six slaves, and when in fact according to the manumission document created at the Town Hall by his step-daughter after Hopkins’s death, one of those six had been “Toney,” a male. Clearly the Quakers had not only been improperly delaying their announcement of the disownment of this public figure, but also had been putting the best possible face on this by a not overcareful attention to the truth. (Subsequent Quaker literature has made much of the “historical facts” that since Hopkins was refusing to manumit only one person, and since that one person was female, then obviously there were special considerations to which we are no longer privy — he must have been attempting, by not freeing “her,” to tenderly protect “her” from the cold cruel world!)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:


18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

June 29: The monthly preparatory meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) recorded that it was continuing to labor with the consciences of members “who still have slaves.” No progress would be recorded in this during the remainder of the year. However, a committee was collecting the “names of those who still hold slaves” in order to “report same to each Monthly Meeting in New England,” and “Visitors” were delegated to make official visits of remonstrance to each such household.

SLAVERY

EMANCIPATION

27th day 9th month, 13th year of the Reign over England of King George the Third: Friend Jeremiah Browning of Charleston, [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) unconditionally [manumitted](#) his black [slave](#) “Richard.”



Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
Job	Hannah Knowles	
	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

October: The [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), that had in March decided to disown a famous former governor of [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#), at this point revealed that he had been disowned.¹⁰⁴

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

104. Between 1775 and 1784 we would disown 147 Quakers who would become in one way or another involved with this civil disruption — in fact we would be less tolerant of this error of patriotic violence than we had been of Quaker slaveholding.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1st day 11th month, 14th year of the Reign over England of King George the Third: Friend John Knowles of the [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) manumitted his Negrow Woman named Phillis and her two children the One named [Ceafar? Casper?] the other Judith. The enslaved mother became immediately and unconditionally free while the two children were to be bound to be apprenticed until they reached proper age.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children Casper and Judith	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
	Hannah Knowles	
Job	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

November 2: [Stephen Grellet](#) was born as Etienne de Grellet du Mabilier in Limoges. His father was a counsellor to King Louis XVI. Stephen would be raised Roman Catholic and educated at the military College of Lyons but would transform himself, after the French Revolution, into a [Quaker](#).

In Lincoln in the Massachusetts Bay Colony the first Committee of Correspondence consisted of Deacon Samuel Farrar, Captain Eleazer Brooks, and Captain Abijah Pierce.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

November 4: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Mary Brown](#), sister-in-law of prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#) who had also converted from the [Baptist](#) Church, convinced that “the holding of Negros in slavery however kindly used by their masters and mistresses has a tendency to incourage the iniquitous practice of importing them from their native country, and is contrary to that justice, mercy and humanity required of every christian,” made out for her [slave](#) Eve, with Eve’s child also bearing the name Eve, “being all I am possessed off of that Nation and Colour,” a [manumission](#) document:

*Whereas I am sensible the Holding of Negroes in Slavery However Kindly
Used by their Masters and Mistresses has a Tendency to Incourage the Iniquitous
Practice of Importing them from their Native Country and Is contrary to that -
Justice Mercy and Humanity Required of Every Christian I do by these -
Manumit and Set free from my self my Heirs Eve an Negro Woman -
With her Child Eve being all I am Possessed off of that Nation and Colour and
[“ordain” has been written between the lines, in pencil]
from a Sense of duty for her Long and faithful Service I hereby Oran Direct
and Injoin Upon My Heirs to treat her Kindly and on all Occasions Assist and
Support her with the Needful Comforts of this Life Trusting in her Continued
Endeavours for Her Support in Honnest Labour as far as [“Labour” marked out] age and Circumstan^{ces}
Will admit And in Respect to the young Child born in My family I desire and
Direct she may be bro^t up and Educated Suitably for her future Maintainance
and due Improvement of the dvantage [sic] of a sober and Religious Education In
Witness Whereof Therunto Subscribe my Name and Affix my Seal this
[“This” marked out] forth [sic] day of the Eleventh Month A^D 1773
In prefence of W^m Barker
Moses Brown
Mary Brown [LL]
Recorded Nov^r. 16. 1773 By J. Angell Clerk*

(Refer to Moses Brown Papers, Msc. MSS, B-814, Box 2.)

November 12: Prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#), on his way to becoming a [Quaker](#), placed the [manumission](#) deed he had made out on all his [slaves](#), and on all slaves in whom he held a part interest, on file on page 73 in volume 6 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) probate records.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

27d day 12th month, 14th year of the Reign of King George the Third: Friend Stephen Richmond of Exeter, [Rhode Island](#), a [Quaker](#), [manumitted](#) his Negrow Woman commonly called, or known by the name of Pegg. The formerly enslaved mother became immediately and unconditionally free while her two children were bound to be apprenticed until they had reached a proper age.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
	Hannah Knowles	
Job	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

1774

William Mentz published “The Visions of a certain [Thomas Say](#), of the City of Philadelphia, which he saw in a Trance.” (This was not a recent trance, but something that had happened to [Friend Thomas](#) while he was yet a young man, in perhaps the 1730s or 1740s. This publication was unauthorized.)

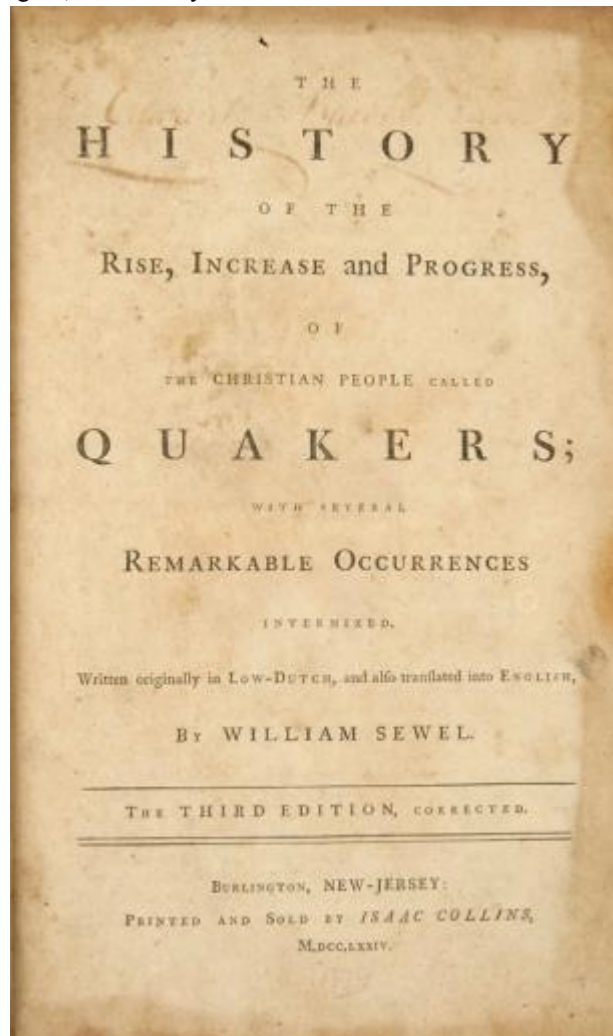
In about the 23d year of his age, while acting as a schoolteacher, [Friend Job Scott](#) began to minister among the Friends in public meeting in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Afterward, he would minister in various meetings on this continent, in both northern and southern regions.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

William Sewell. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS; WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW-DUTCH, AND ALSO TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, BY WILLIAM SEWEL. THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED. The title varies slightly from edition to edition (1722, 1725, 1728, 1774, 1776, 1811, 1844), for instance ...WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, COMPILED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, and WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH, AND TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH, Baker & Crane, No. 158 Pearl-Street, New-York. The author's name was, according to Alexander Chalmers's GENERAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY of 1812-1817, Volume 27, page 361, a recognized variant of "Sewell": there was a Henry Sewall who spelled his name also as Sewell and Seawell, and there was a loyalist "Sewall" who changed the family name to "Sewell" in London in order to confuse the American authorities and better protect his children in America –and his American properties– after being proscribed. Among recorded immigrants, the "United States Index to Records of Aliens' Declarations" show a proportion of 1 Sewel, 11 Sewalls, and 30 Sewells. Henry Thoreau first encountered this book in this 1774 third edition prepared and sold by Isaac Collins of Burlington, New-Jersey:



HISTORY OF THE ... PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In about this timeframe Hugh Finlay described the condition of the post in and around [Rhode Island](#).

FINLAY'S DESCRIPTION

The geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Thomas Jefferys, created this map:



CAPE COD

BOSTON HARBOR

On [Nantucket Island](#), Dr. Samuel Gelston was administering inoculations against the small pox. The [Religious Society of Friends](#) there was searching out any [Quakers](#) who were receiving such inoculations, and disowning them for their display of lack of trust in the provenance of God. For instance, [Friend](#) Silvanus Macy, and [Friend](#) Benjamin Coffin's son Micajah, were disowned. There were so many disownments during this year that, at the suggestion of [Friend](#) William Rotch, a prominent businessman, there was a streamlining of the process of disownment. It would no longer be necessary to achieve a public reading of the charges prior to such an action.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

[Friend John Woolman](#)'s JOURNAL was published. Warner Mifflin of Delaware, convinced by [Friend John](#), became the first of our slavemasters to voluntarily [manumit](#) all his [slaves](#).

Walter Mifflin of Delaware was a true son of liberty. He fired a shot heard round the world.

(The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#), not born yet, would say of [Friend John](#)'s journal that "The secret of Woolman's purity of style is that his eye was single, and that conscience dictated his words." The Reverend might have said this precise thing of his contemporary Henry Thoreau's JOURNAL –had he been privileged to see it– for it is a remark quite as true of our friend Henry as it is of this [Quaker](#) saint. Henry would be faulted in his own day for saying, in effect, that he had no more time for making pencils once he had made some of

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the best, but of course Friend John had made precisely the same decision in the previous century when his success in the merchandising business had begun to threaten him with what he termed “outward cumbers.” When [Waldo Emerson](#) got on Thoreau’s case for feeling that no one person had any greater right to the earth’s richness than any other, and that therefore really there was no such thing as trespass, Waldo might as well have



Notice the barriers

been criticizing the John Woolman whom he was professing so much to admire, saying of Friend John’s JOURNAL that “I find more wisdom in these pages than in any other book written since the days of the Apostles.” In Friend John’s writings we see that he had been consumed by two great causes, [slavery](#) and poverty — and Thoreau in the following century of course the same. Friend John had said that the solution lay in recognizing the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal values, and the need to shun luxury — and in the following century Thoreau likewise.)

A TESTIMONY of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, NJ; Read and approved at our Quarterly Meeting, held the 29th of Eighth Month, 1774

A TESTIMONY of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the First day of the Eighth Month, in the year of our Lord 1774, concerning our esteemed friend, John Woolman, deceased.

HE was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington and province of West New Jersey, in the Eighth Month, 1720, of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the Christian religion as professed by the people called Quakers, which he esteemed a blessing to him even in his younger years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children. But, through the workings of the enemy and the levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts, by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance that was finally succeeded by a “godly sorrow not to be repented of”; and so he became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age; and by a faithful use of the talents committed to him he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the state of a father, capable of dividing the word aright to the different states he ministered unto, dispensing milk to babes and meat to those of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to arise, which, in his own expressions, “prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to His people.” He was a loving husband, a tender father, and was very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and those in affliction was evident by his visits to them, whom he frequently relieved by his assistance and charity. He was for many years deeply exercised on account of the poor enslaved Africans, whose cause, as he mentioned, lay almost continually upon him; and he laboured to



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

obtain liberty for those captives both in public and in private, and was favoured to see his endeavours crowned with considerable success. He was particularly desirous that Friends should not be instrumental to lay burdens on this oppressed people, but should remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered, that, if times of trouble should return, no injustice dealt to those in slavery might rise in judgment against us, but, being clear, we might on such occasions address the Almighty with a degree of confidence for His interposition and relief, being particularly careful as to himself not to countenance slavery even by the use of those conveniences of life which were furnished by their labour.

He was desirous to have his own mind and the minds of others redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world, and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also which, appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well-disposed people. In the latter part of his life, he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible avoided the use of plate, costly furniture, and feasting, thereby endeavouring to become an example of temperance and self-denial which he believed himself called unto; and he was favoured with peace therein, although it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and though a man of industry, he avoided and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour and anxiety after perishable things, being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means to abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed for.

He several times opened a school at Mount Holly, for the instruction of poor Friend' children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein. His love and care for the rising youths among us was truly great, recommending to parents and those who have the charge of them to choose conscientious and pious tutors, saying, "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children"; and that to "labour for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds is a debt we owe them."

His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating, sometimes pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom led into, frequently exhorting others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but to press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that pure wisdom should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind and resignation to the divine will, in which state small possessions here would be sufficient.

In transacting the affairs of the discipline, his judgment was sound and clear, and he was very useful in treating with those who had done amiss; he visited such in a private way in that plainness which truth dictates, showing great tenderness and Christian forbearance. He was a constant attender of our Yearly



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Meeting, in which he was a good example and particularly useful, assisting in the business thereof with great weight and attention. He several times visited most of the meetings of Friends in this and the neighbouring provinces, with the concurrence of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, and we have reason to believe he did good service therein, generally or always expressing at his return how it had fared with him and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned with other Friends in the important service of visiting families, which he was enabled to go through to satisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a list of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his handwriting the following observation and reflections:

"As looking over the minutes made by persons who have put off this body hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away, so this list may probably revive a like thought in some, when I and the rest of the persons above named are centered in another state of being. The Lord who was the guide of my youth hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; He hath healed my wounds; He hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; He remains to be the strength of my life, to whom I desire to devote myself in time and in eternity.

"John Woolman"

In the Twelfth Month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he felt his mind drawn towards a religious visit to Friends in some parts of England, particularly in Yorkshire. In the First Month, 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and indorsed by our Quarterly Meeting, and by the Half-Year's Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the Fifth Month, and arrived in London in the Sixth Month following, at the time of their Annual Meeting in that city. During his short visit to Friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his services were acceptable and edifying. In his last illness he uttered many lively and comfortable expressions, being "resigned, having no will either to live or die," as appears by the testimony of Friends at York in Great Britain, in the suburbs whereof, at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, he died of the smallpox, on the 7th of the Tenth Month, 1772, and was buried in Friends' burial-ground in that city, on the 9th of the same, after a solid meeting held on the occasion at their great meeting-house. He was aged near fifty-two, having been a minister upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount Holly particular meeting, which he diligently attended when at home and in health of body, and his labours of love and pious care for the prosperity of Friends in the blessed truth, we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in and by order of the said meeting, by
SAMUEL ALLISON, Clerk.

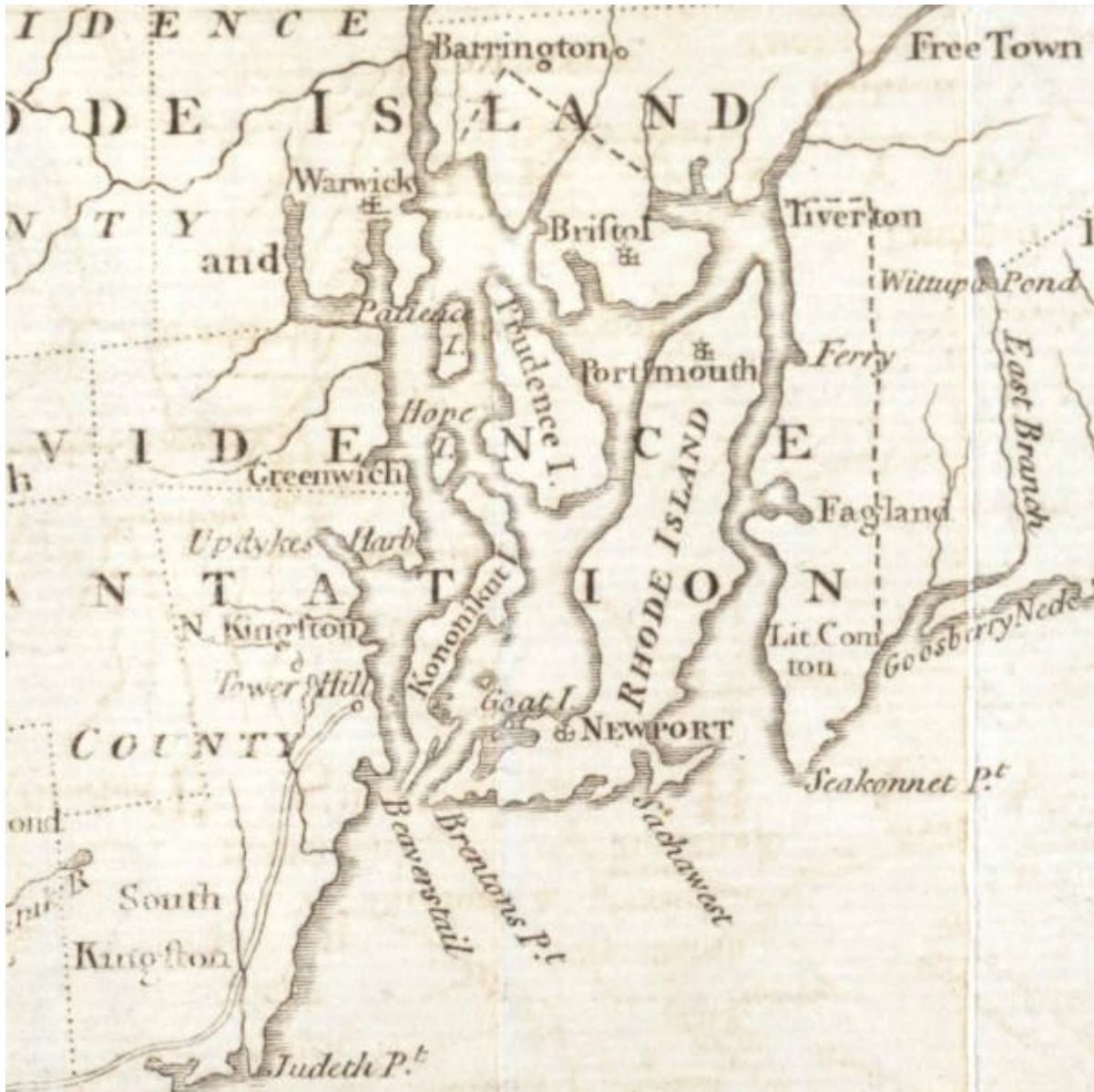
Read and approved at our Quarterly Meeting, held in Burlington the 29th of the Eighth Month, 1774.

Signed by order of the said meeting,
DANIEL SMITH, Clerk.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The colony of [Rhode Island](#) at this point had 59,707 (57,707?) residents residing in 29 incorporated municipalities. Sixteen of the native Americans still alive were in [Bristol](#) (by 1785, this group would have dwindled to two survivors).



The census showed that, in [Providence](#), there were 4,321 persons divided into 655 families living in 421 dwellings.

Of the Brown brothers, only [Friend Moses Brown](#) had divested himself of his slaves. [John Brown](#) owned two, [Nicholas Brown](#) owned two, and Joseph Brown owned four. In their circle of friends and associates, [Stephen Hopkins](#) owned six (the present Quaker conceit that we had been forced to disown Governor Hopkins for merely refusing to free but one slave, who was perhaps a woman in a special situation, clearly per this census

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

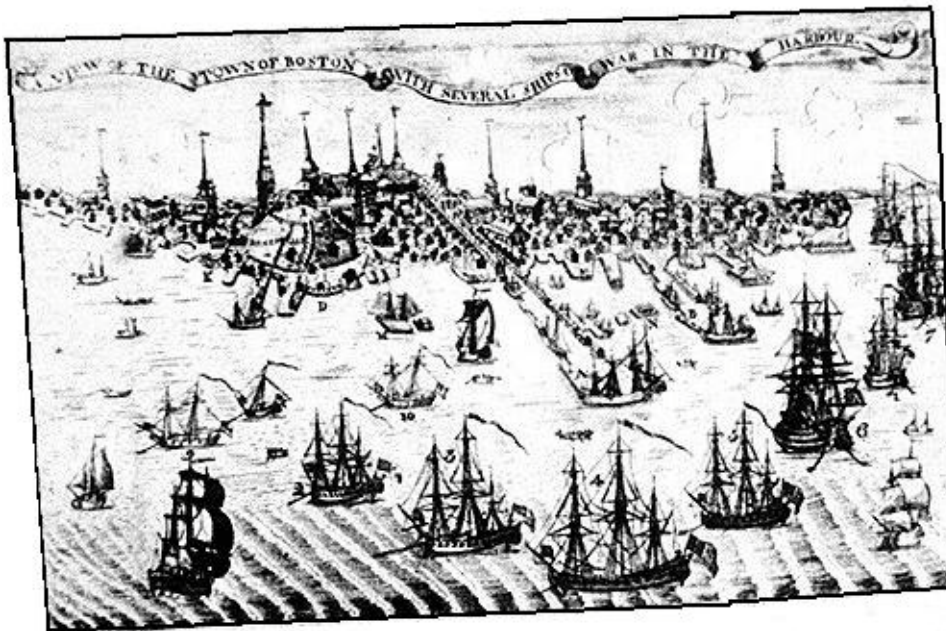
data amounts to no more than that, a present Quaker conceit), [Esek Hopkins](#) owned four, Daniel Jenckes owned four, Jabez Bowen owned one (Prince, who would in 1784 cut a deal for his achieving his freedom as of 1787), and the editor of the Providence Gazette, John Carter, owned one or more.

THE BROWN BROTHERS

During this year Mrs. Ann Smith Hopkins, the Quaker wife of the [Rhode Island](#) Governor Stephen Hopkins who had in the previous year been disowned by the Religious Society of Friends, herself a “birthright Friend,” applied to her Quaker fellows for a routine letter of introduction to be used during her travels in Pennsylvania—a letter stating her to be in good standing in her home worship group—and the Quaker monthly meeting in [Smithfield](#), after duly considering her request, declined to provide this First Lady of Rhode Island with any such routine endorsement.

January: “A View of the Town of Boston with several Ships of War in the Harbour” was prepared by Paul Revere as the frontispiece for The Royal American Magazine, a Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement. Revere based this engraving on his earlier engraving depicting the landing of British troops in October 1768. This should be available as a 13” × 20 1/2” reproduction in black and white on cover stock paper in a heavy mailing tube, from Historic Urban Plans, Inc., Box 276, Ithaca NY 14851 (607 272-MAPS), for roughly \$14.⁰⁰ inclusive of postage.

This was Revere’s Boston Harbor:



Colonel Elisha Jones, maternal grandmother Mary Jones’s wealthy father, a landowner and slaveholder in Newton, Massachusetts and an active Tory with 14 Tory sons, persuaded the town of Weston, Massachusetts to refrain from the Committees of Correspondence, and the Continental Congress, which were the precursor

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

bodies of revolution.

DUNBAR FAMILY

**Thoreau was
"clear Jones"
in one respect
at least ...**

It wasn't all that unusual for Americans of this period to be in favor of peace and of the seeking of mutual accommodation with the mother country. For instance, the construction of the [Quaker](#) school at Nine Partners northeast of Poughkeepsie, New York was being delayed for five years, between 1775 and 1780, merely because the Quakers sensed this Revolutionary War a-coming and were resolved that they were not about to place themselves under any obligation by soliciting funds from persons who might not be able to maintain, in the face of such a popular cause, an attitude of Quaker pacifism.

I'll task you to find these American pacifists in this fresco by Brumidi on a wall in our federal capitol:



Don't think of these continental congresses as innocuous. For instance, the 1st Continental Congress would not merely deal with weighty issues of freedom, but also would ban horseracing, the theater, and gaudy attire.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

March: [Moses Brown](#) had married with his first cousin Anna Brown, daughter of Obadiah Brown, and had assisted in the creation of the [College of Rhode Island](#) in [Rhode Island](#).

BROWN UNIVERSITY

The death of this first wife in the previous year had caused him to reconsider his priorities, and at this point he requested membership in the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

There is preserved an interesting receipt from a former slave, Bonno, dating to this month. On one side it bears the inscription:

*Rec^d of
Bonno
1774*



18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Providence 21st of 3 Mo 1774
Received of Bonno Forty Dollars Cash, which
I am to put to Interest and Account therefor with
the Principal, Agreeable to My proposal and
Advice at his Freedom. as Witnefs My hand

40 dollars Mofes Brown
gave ?act urth?

March: [Friend Thomas Say](#) had it printed in the [Pennsylvania Journal](#), that “Whereas a certain [William Mentz](#) has printed for sale, without my knowledge or consent, ‘The Vision of [Thomas Say](#),’ which is but an incorrect and imperfect part of what I propose to make public. And as I never intended what I had wrote on that head to be published during my life, all persons are desired not to encourage the said [Mentz](#) in such wrong proceeding.”

BROWN UNIVERSITY

105. Imagine how good they must have felt about acquiring a new celebrity Friend, a richy-rich one — after having been driven so recently to shun their previous celebrity Friend, the most politically powerful person of the colony!

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

May 19-August 6: Mother Ann Lee –the female Christ– and a celibate group of eight of her United Society of Believers in Christ’s [Second Coming](#), aka “Shakers,” sailed from their old world to their new:

Those departing Liverpool with Mother Ann Lee on May 19, 1774, in the ship *Mariah*, commanded by Captain Smith of New York, are:

1. Husband Abraham Stanley, a blacksmith, later to defect.
2. Brother William Lee, a blacksmith, later to die of a cracked skull sustained at the hands of a mob at Harvard, Massachusetts.
3. Niece Nancy Lee.
4. James Whittaker, a weaver, who had fed Mother Ann through a pipe when she was in prison, and who led the Shakers after her death.
5. John Hocknell, who supplied money for the group’s passage and eventually bought land in Niskeyuna, New York, seven miles from Albany, for the first Shaker settlement.
6. Richard Hocknell, son of John.
7. James Shepherd.
8. Mary Parrington.



The *Mariah* was a Snow, an old type of sailing ship with a foremast, mainmast, and trisailmast, about the size of the *Mayflower*. After a terrible storm—the miraculous calming of which was credited to Mother Ann, the *Mariah* docked in New York harbor on August 6, 1774, some 78 days after it set out from Liverpool.*

*Robert Peters. THE GIFT TO BE SIMPLE: A GARLAND FOR ANN LEE. New York: Liveright, 1975, page 91.

Along the way they seem to have come up from the hold and attempted to hold a worship service on deck, where normally females were not tolerated in view of the superstition of sailors that women aboard a sailing

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

vessel would bring ill fortune:



The passengers on board the *Mariah*
will henceforth
confine
their religious observances
entirely
to the hold
and
under no circumstances shall they
worship
on deck and in the open air in view
of the ship's crew.

/S/ CAPTAIN SMITH*

*Robert Peters. THE GIFT TO BE SIMPLE: A GARLAND
FOR ANN LEE.

June: [Friend Moses Brown](#) and the recently disowned Quaker governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) took the language of their proposed slave-trade bill to the assembly in [Newport, Rhode Island](#): "Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties ... as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no Negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free."¹⁰⁶

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY

FREE PAPERS

SLAVERY

"An Act prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony."

"Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; –

"Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free, so far as respects personal freedom, and the enjoyment of private property, in the same manner as the native Indians."

"Provided that the slaves of settlers and travellers be excepted.

"Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony.

106. The bill would, of course, be gutted. Its practical import would be nil.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

"Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond to the general treasurer of the said colony, within ten days after such arrival in the sum of £100, lawful money, for each and every such negro or mulatto slave so brought in, that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."

"Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave that may be on board any vessel belonging to this colony, now at sea, in her present voyage." Heavy penalties are laid for bringing in Negroes in order to free them. COLONIAL RECORDS, VII. 251-3.

[1784, February: "It is voted and resolved, that the whole of the clause contained in an act of this Assembly, passed at June session, A.D. 1774, permitting slaves brought from the coast of Africa into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this (then colony, now) state, and who could not be disposed of in the West Indies, &c., be, and the same is, hereby repealed." COLONIAL RECORDS, X. 8.]

Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#)'s biographer William Eaton Foster would in 1883 totally misconstrue this, perpetrating any number of blunders. In his "Appendix U" to STEPHEN HOPKINS, A RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN, entitled "Stephen Hopkins's Connection with the Society of Friends," on page 247, he would misrepresent Hopkins as the sole author of this legislation, misrepresent the enactment of the legislation as effective when in actuality it changed nothing, misrepresent the Religious Society of Friends as a group that had "membership" when in fact in this century there was never any such a thing as a membership list, misrepresent the Quaker process of disownment as a cancellation of membership (which it most decidedly never was), pretend there to be an equivalence between societal policymaking (freeing other white people's black slaves at these other people's expense) and personal estate planning (freeing one's own black slaves at one's own expense) when in fact there was never any such equivalence, and pretend that simply because the governor continued to call himself a Friend after his disownment, he could not have been struggling to free himself from religious influence in the sphere of political decisionmaking.

Stephen Hopkins was in 1774 the author of the humane act of legislation by which the enslaving of negroes for the future was prohibited in Rhode Island. In 1772, however, a strong pressure had been brought to bear on him to set at liberty one of his own slaves. He did not accede to this demand. Subsequent efforts, continued from month to month, appear to have been equally unavailing. Final action was taken by the Society of Friends, March 25, 1773, when his membership was cancelled. What may have been the ground for Stephen Hopkins's refusal is not easy to determine. It was apparently not a disapproval of emancipation, as is seen by his action elsewhere. Nor can it be set down to a desire to break with the Friends, for he still continued to call himself a Friend.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

This is almost, but not quite, as egregious as a lecture I went to in April 2007 at the Moses Brown School, offered by a Quaker genealogist who suggested that Hopkins's heart had been in the right place because 1.) allegedly at one time in his earlier life he had manumitted one of his slaves (providing no evidence whatever that this assertion was accurate, over and above offering no argument whatever that this actually demonstrated Hopkins's good-guy status), because 2.) allegedly Hopkins was refusing to manumit only one slave, who was a woman named Hannah (according to the census of 1774, he owned six), and refused freedom to her only because this would not have served the needs of her two small children (offering no evidence whatever that the number was singular rather than plural, or that the person was female, or that the name this genealogist assigned was accurate, or that said children actually existed), and because 3.) in Hopkins's will his slaves were to be set free upon his death (offering no evidence whatever that this will mentioning the liberation of an indefinite but plural number of slaves was effectively implemented, when we know very well that in the process known as probate no mere statement of intention could have manumitted a slave unless and until all creditors to the estate had previously been paid off, and paid off in full).

June 28: Evidently there had been some problems in the friendly persuasion of those [Rhode Island Quakers](#) who still held slaves and had been refusing to [manumit](#) them, because the official visits that appointed "Visitors" had been making to the households of these Quakers were at this point indefinitely "suspended."

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

July 17: [John Wilbur](#) was born in Hopkinton, [Rhode Island](#) (a small town at the state line with Connecticut) as a birthright Friend. As a minuted speaker of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), Friend John would hold with whatever he chose to consider to be the original and therefore righteous religious views of the group, and stand forthrightly in opposition to the introduction of any novelty at variance with his chosen tradition. The hard decisions of life—what to believe and how to behave—he thus simplified into "traditionalist" decisions as to which aspects of the Quaker tradition were to be considered essential and definitive and were therefore to be attended to and honored and endlessly imitated, versus which aspects he might simply ignore as incidental historical detail. Such decisions as to which elements of tradition to honor would come to us as new light, and probably would be but need not be fully in accord with previously accepted interpretations of Scripture. (Well, what can I tell you—while such an approach might seem pitiful to some, apparently this would be good enough for him, and would gain him "Wilburites.")

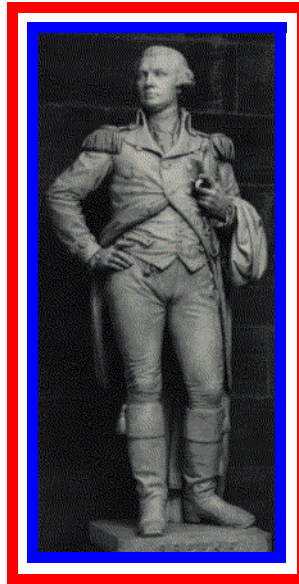
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

August: In [Rhode Island](#), [Nathanael Greene](#) helped to organize a militia company that would acquire the name “Kentish Guards,” and at some point due to this he would request of his East Greenwich Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) that he be “put from under the care of Friends.” Because of his limp, his fellow militiamen would deny him a lieutenantancy, with some holding that even as a mere private his limp would make him more of a liability to their outfit than an asset to it.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Hmmm. His statue doesn’t look much like it is of a guy who limps along — or does it?



August: [Friend Moses Brown](#) petitioned that the town meeting of [Providence](#) direct the delegates that town would send to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#), to support the bill he had authored in suppression of the participation of local citizens in the [international slave trade](#), and local abolition of slavery, and [manumission](#) of existing local slaves. The town meeting rejected his abolitionist petition, instancing that such a proposal contained “matters of great importance” that might well “materially affect the property of individuals” — and that therefore “the freemen of the town” deserved to have more time to organize themselves in opposition to it, and protect their property rights and their American freedoms.

September 12: The town meeting of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) repudiated [Friend Moses Brown](#)’s petition that the town’s delegates to the General Assembly be instructed to support the bill he had authored in suppression of the slave trade, and abolition of [slavery](#), and freeing of slaves. The town meeting rejected this by voting “that no instructions be given to the representatives of this town regarding the slave import bill.” Of course, no on the [manumission](#) of local slaves. Of course, no on the local abolition of the institution of human enslavement. But also, no on the suppression of local participation in the [international slave trade](#). No, no, and no. There was something very fundamental about the concern that the white citizens of Providence had about liberty, that Moses simply had not grasped. What he had not grasped was that their concern about liberty was entirely a concern about their own liberty, and not at all a concern about somebody else’s liberty.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

November 23: Still-extant records of the Dover, New Hampshire monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) include the wedding of Caesar Sankey and Sarah Sharp. This notation has been taken by some incautious historians to indicate that this African American couple had been recognized as Quakers — but in fact it indicates no such thing. (In addition, a notation dating to February 1777, of the disownment of Caesar Sankey for his “going into the war,” has been taken by some incautious historians to indicate that he had been recognized as a Friend — but in fact such a record likewise indicates no such positive thing, indicating merely that the general public needed to be alerted, for he might have been in some manner considered by them to have been marginally associated with this monthly meeting. The general rule, that Quakerism was for the white folks only, governed during this entire timeframe. Had Caesar Sankey or Sarah Sharp ever been considered by any of their contemporaries to have been Quakers, we most assuredly would now be able to discover in the record an abundance of commentary pro and con about that peculiarity.)

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

December 15: On page 315 of Volume 19 of the property transactions of the city of [Providence](#), Caleb Greene, Merchant of [Rhode Island](#), under a Sense of the Oppression and Injustice of Buying and Selling of Men as Slaves and a Desire to remove as far as may be the evil Practice hereof by complying with the Manifestations of that divine Light which has shined and is shining in the Minds of Men, to bring them out of Darknefs, and if adheard to, will lead them into all Truth, did in the presence of [Friend Moses Brown](#) and of Friend Job Scott (1751-1793), give up his partial rights in the person of a certain Indian or Mulattoe, Peter, and give up his partial rights in the person of a Negro Man, Venter, thus [manumitting](#) the said Peter and Venter and confirming their Freedom to the fullest (admittedly only partial) extent within the said Caleb Greene's power:

To all People to whom these Presents shall come. Know Ye that I Caleb Greene of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island, Merchant, under a Sense of the Oppression and Injustice of Buying and Selling of Men as Slaves and a Desire to remove as far as may be the evil Practice hereof by complying with the Manifestations of that divine Light which has shined and is shining in the Minds of Men, to bring them out of Darknefs, and if adheard to, will lead them into all Truth — Do hereby absolutely release, manumit and discharge forever One Quarter Part of the Time and Service of a certain Indian or Mulattoe of what Nation he may be called and known by the Name of Peter of whom Robert Livingston and James Lovet claims the other three Quarters — And also one half Part of Negro Man named Venter the other Half being claimed by James Lovet, hereby fully confirming to them the said Peter and Venter their Freedom so far as the Parts aforesaid from the Claim and Demand of all Persons by, from or under the; Defining their Health and Prosperity I the said Caleb Greene have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this fifteenth Day of the twelfth Month 1774.

*Signed Sealed & Delivered
in Presence of
Moses Brown
Job Scott
(interconnecting script)*

Caleb Greene (L.S.)

*The foregoing is a true Copy. Recorded 13th May 1778
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

December 27: The [Quakers](#) dissolved their old, inactive committee to visit the homes of slaveholding [Friends](#) and remonstrate with them, appealing to their consciences, and a new such committee was appointed. Although members would be granted plenty of time, if they did not eventually [manumit](#) their black slaves they would be [disowned](#).

RHODE ISLAND



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1775

In order to be able to deny funds for the education of the offspring of disowned former members, the Men's Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#) began a "Book of Disownments." They searched out all the records of all the disownments that had taken place during the previous decade, to enter into this book.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

In New-York, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) build a meeting house on Pearl Street.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In [Rhode Island](#), the 1755 "ell" that had been added to the 1719 [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was removed in the process of adding an additional 32 square feet.

John Hall's engraving of [William Penn](#) supposed negotiating session with the headman Tamanend and the elders of the Lenape tribe, based upon the 1771 painting by [Benjamin West](#) now in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, was published by John Boydell in London. As a result of the engraving process, of course, West's composition is reversed. This would become the basis for Friend Edward Hicks's multiple renderings of the scene in the PEACEABLE KINGDOM series. We note that the rowboat full of standing Quakers typically in the background to the right of the Hicks versions is not in the engraving; it is from another engraving, made in 1830 by T.H. Mumford, entitled "Penn Landing at the Blue Anchor Inn."¹⁰⁷

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The Deputy-Governor of [Rhode Island](#) ordered a census of all hunting guns. The [Providence](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) refused to cooperate, alleging that since this census was obviously a war measure, it was in conflict with their Peace Testimony.¹⁰⁸ No steps would be taken against the local Quakers and their consciences.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

107. We should bear in mind that in all likelihood there never was a single event anything like what has been portrayed in this art. Had there been any actual purchases, there would obviously be written documents. Nothing like this appears in biographies of [William Penn](#), nor is there any contemporary written documentation. The story presented by [Benjamin West](#) is uncharacteristic of treaty proceedings of the 17th century. Three of the personages depicted in this group, James Logan, Thomas Lloyd, and Thomas Story, were not on this continent during the period of this alleged negotiation process. Penn was still holding various "friendship conferences" such as had occurred in 1681, in 1682, and even into 1683. The story told by Voltaire, published in English in 1773, that "The first step he took was to enter into an alliance with his *American* neighbors; and this is the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath and was never infring'd," is evidently a concoction, and it would appear that the reason why this is the only white treaty **never infringed upon** is, actually, that it is the only white treaty **never entered into**. We simply needed to invent at least one context of fidelity, in order to better be able by contrast to depict all our other contexts of infidelity!

108. One notices instantly that Quakers had guns and that guns are multi-purpose devices, useful not only for killing animals but also for threatening and/or killing other humans — and one notices instantly that the Quaker response to this census involved their noncooperation rather than their immediate destruction of these multi-purpose devices (taking them out to the woodshed and whacking at them with the kindling hatchet would also have been an effective response to the problems posed by weaponry).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

During the American Revolution there were some Americans who considered it necessary to guard the shoreline of the mainland, and [Nantucket Island](#), against seizure of property by British foraging parties based on [Aquidneck Island](#) in [Narragansett Bay](#). We don't know how effective this fighting was in protecting American property from the British, but Quakers of course refused to contribute to the cost of such protection, and therefore there were 496 cases of seizure of the goods of peace-testimony Quakers in [Rhode Island](#) by local revolutionary authorities. In 1778 the property thus distrained from members of New England [Yearly Meeting](#) by local American authorities amounted to £2,473, while in 1779 the total distraint rose to £3,453. For instance, here are some of the revolutionary seizures made of property of ancestors of [Quaker](#) families of [Providence](#) monthly meeting:

- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized a dictionary belonging to Friend Thomas Lapham, Jr. of [Smithfield](#).
- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized 5 pairs of women's shoes belonging to Friend Paul Green of [East Greenwich RI](#).
- In 1776, local revolutionary authorities would seize the fire tongs of Friend Stephen Hoxsie of [South Kingstown](#), as he was the guardian of John Foster but John had not mustered during an alarm.
- Between 1777 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 7 cows, 5 heifers, and 2 table cloths belonging to Friend Simeon Perry of South Kingstown.
- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize a mare worth £30 belonging to Friend John Foster of South Kingstown.
- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize 3 felt hats belonging to Friend John Carey of [East Greenwich RI](#).
- In 1780, local revolutionary authorities would seize a silver porringer belonging to Friend Isaac Lawton of [Portsmouth](#).
- Between 1780 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 29 boxes of spermaceti candles, 20 yards of white linen sheeting, 14 yards of kersey, 16 sides of sole leather, a 3-year-old heifer, and 2 stacks of hay belonging to Friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#).
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 9 sheep and 2 steers belonging to Friend Amos Collins of South Kingstown.
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 2 ox chains and an ax belonging to Friend George Kinyan of Rhode Island, because he had not been appearing at militia trainings.

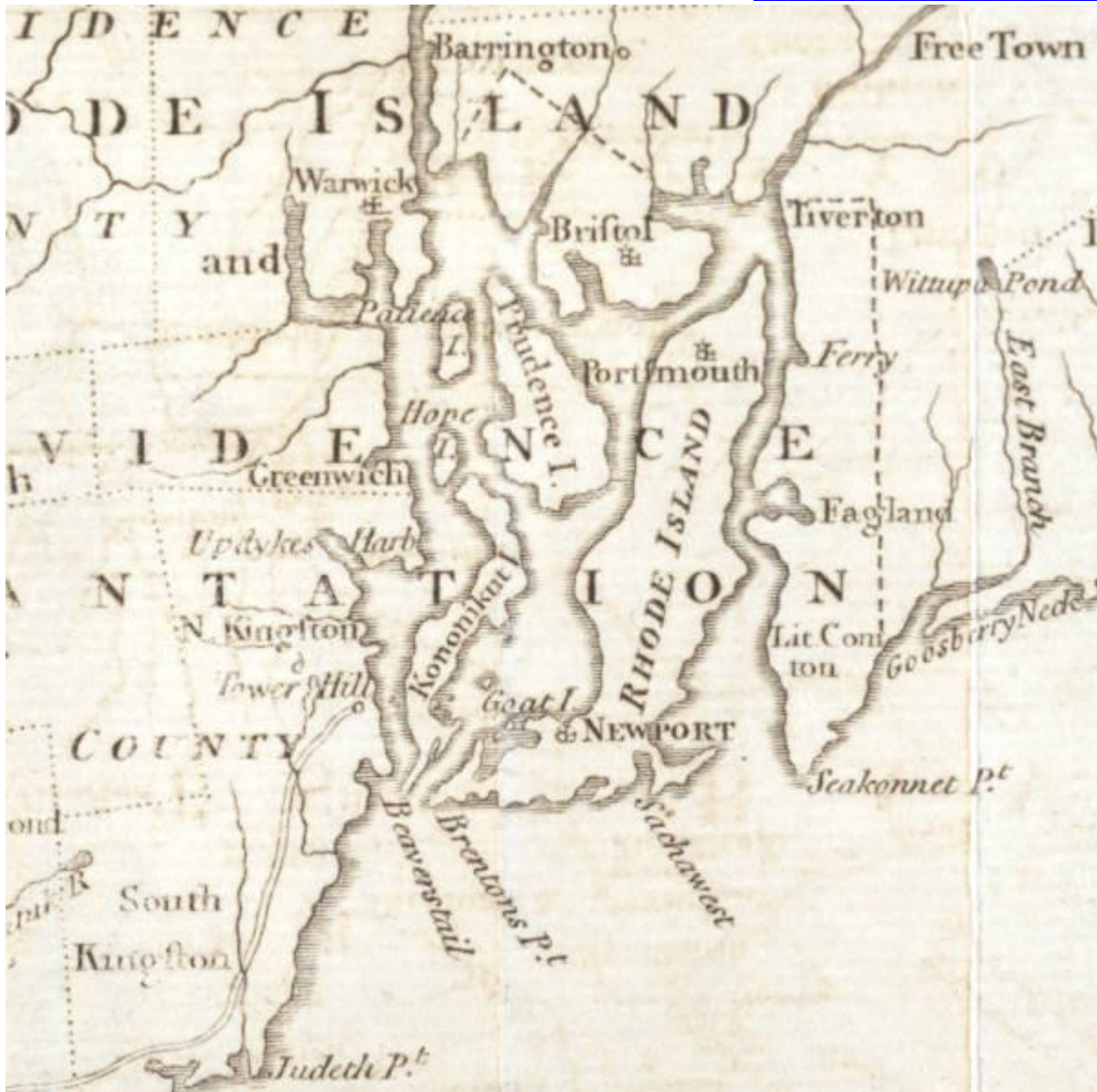
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In addition to property seizures, in three cases a Quaker man who refused to participate in militia activities would be jailed. One of these men was Friend David Anthony of [East Greenwich RI](#). In each case the Friends would conduct an investigation to determine whether the person had acted in the spirit and manner of Friends, and if he had, would go to the General Assembly at [Providence](#) to petition the “tender consciences” of the lawgivers for his freedom.

Not all [Rhode Island](#) Quakers refused to participate in the civil unrest of the period, but those who did participate in any way were always rigorously and promptly [disowned](#). Between 1775 and 1784, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would disown a total of 147 Quakers who had become involved in one way or another with the civil disruption. Among those [disowned](#) was, upon his own request, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#). (Less tolerance, in fact, was shown for those who deviated from the Peace Testimony than for those Friends who continued to hold slaves.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

20th, 3d Month: “The Committee appointed to treat with those [Friends](#) who hold their **fellow creatures as slaves** made return that they had treated further with Latham Thurston as desired by the last Monthly Meeting and that he still refused to comply with the advice of the [Yearly Meeting](#) respecting holding mankind as [slaves](#). Wherefore we, apprehending our selves clear of any further labour with him in that respect do **disown** him to be any longer a member of our Society.”

“By a minutes of our last monthly meeting the Clerk was directed to procure a Book to record [manumissions](#), but upon further consideration we do direct that said manumissions be recorded in one end of our book for recording condemnations.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

April 14: [Friend Anthony Benezet](#) called together a group of seven [Quakers](#), Thomas Paine, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and, one source alleges, [Benjamin Franklin](#) (Franklin would indeed, in 1787 after the death of Benezet, become the president of a successor organization), at the Rising Sun tavern in Philadelphia, to form the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. This would grow into a group of 24 of whom 17 were Quakers, before being disbanded in the following year.

[SLAVERY](#)

25th, 4th Month: “The women [Friends](#) inform that Damaris Fowler of [Jamestown](#) being left in possession of a Negro, but is informed that as her husband left no will the property is not hers but her childrens and desires the advice of Friends, on consideration of which we appoint John Hadwen and Gould Marsh to enquire into said matter and make return to our next Monthly Meeting.”

[SLAVERY](#)
[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[MANUMISSION](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

30th, 5th Month: At the previous monthly meeting of the [Jamestown Friends](#), a committee had been appointed to make a recommendation as to the standing of a [slave](#) belonging to the estate of a deceased man. Could the widow, Friend Damaris Fowler, [manumit](#) this slave? The committee had established that in accordance with “widow’s thirds” dower rights, “She hath no right to but one third of said Negro, for which (she) presented a bill of [manumission](#) to this Meeting which is ordered to be recorded on Friends Records.” The other 2/3ds of this person were (was?) the property of the widow Fowler’s children (who presumably were not treated of because they were not [Quakers](#)?).

Also, “The Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#) informs this Meeting [the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting held in [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#)] that P. Jonothan [*sic*] Brownell hath taken the place of a Captain in the Military and enlisted in for that service. And it appearing to this Meeting that he hath been laboured with on that account but still persists therein, wherefore for the Clearing of Truth and our Christian Testimony we do disown him to be any longer a member of our Society and order that a copy of this Minute be read at the close of a First Day Meeting at Portsmouth between this and our next monthly meeting. Jacob Mott, Jr. is directed to read said Minute and to report back to our next Monthly Meeting.”

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

25th, 7th Month: “Jeremiah Thomas hath listed as a soldier, which being directly opposite to the peaceable principle we profess, we do disown him to be any longer under our care as a member of our Society, and order a copy of this Minute to be read by our Clerk at the close of a First Day Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) between this and our next Monthly Meeting and make return to the Meeting.”

RHODE ISLAND
QUAKER DISOWNMENT
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



FIERCE FEATHERS¹⁰⁹

'We who were once slayers of one another do not now fight against our enemies.'—JUSTIN MARTYR. A.D. 140.

'Victory that is gotten by the sword is a victory slaves get one over the other; but victory contained by love is a victory for a king.'—GERRARD WINSTANLEY. 1649.

'Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbours as yourselves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain.'—G. FOX.

'My friends that are gone or are going over to plant and make outward plantations in America, keep your own plantations in your hearts with the spirit and power of God, that your own vines and lilies be not hurt.'—G. FOX.

'Take heed of many words, what reaches to the life settles in the life. That which cometh from the life and is received from God, reaches to the life and settles others in the life.'—G. FOX.

'An old Indian named Papunehang appreciated the spirit and atmosphere of a Friends' meeting, even if he did not comprehend the words, telling the interpreter afterwards, "I love to feel where words come from."'—A.M. GUMMERE (from John Woolman's Journal).

109. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



XXIX. FIERCE FEATHERS

The sunlight lay in patches on the steep roof of the Meeting-house of Easton Township, in the County of Saratoga, in the State of New York. It was a bright summer morning in the year 1775. The children of Easton Township liked their wooden house, although it was made only of rough-hewn logs, nailed hastily together in order to provide some sort of shelter for the worshipping Friends. They would not, if they could, have exchanged it for one of the more stately Meeting-houses at home in England, on the other side of the Atlantic. There, the windows were generally high up in the walls. English children could see nothing through the panes but a peep of sky, or the topmost branches of a tall tree. When they grew tired of looking in the branches of the tree for an invisible nest that was not there, there was nothing more to be hoped for, out of those windows. The children's eyes came back inside the room again, as they watched the slow shadows creep along the white-washed walls, or tried to count the flies upon the ceiling. But out here in America there was no need for that. The new Meeting-house of Easton had nearly as many possibilities as the new world outside. To begin with, its logs did not fit quite close together. If a boy or girl happened to be sitting in the corner seat, he or she could often see, through a chink, right out into the woods. For the untamed wilderness still stretched away on all sides round the newly-cleared settlement of Easton.

Moreover, there were no glass windows in the log house as yet, only open spaces provided with wooden shutters that could be closed, if necessary, during a summer storm. Another larger, open space at one end of the building would be closed by a door when the next cold weather came. At present the summer air met no hindrance as it blew in softly, laden with the fragrant scents of the flowers and pine-trees, stirring the children's hair as it lightly passed. Every now and then a drowsy bee would come blundering in by mistake, and after buzzing about for some time among the assembled Friends, he would make his perilous way out again through one of the chinks between the logs. The children, as they sat in Meeting, always hoped that a butterfly might also find its way in, some fine day – before the winter came, and before the window spaces of the new Meeting-house had to be filled with glass, and a door fastened at the end of the room to keep out the cold. Especially on a mid-week Meeting like to-day, they often found it difficult to 'think Meeting thoughts' in the silence, or even to attend to what was being said, so busy were they, watching for the entrance of that long desired butterfly.

For children thought about very much the same kind of things, and had very much the same kind of difficulties in Meeting, then as now; even though the place was far away, and it is more than a hundred years since that sunny morning in Easton Township, when the sunlight lay in patches on the roof.

It was not only the children who found silent worship difficult that still summer morning. There were traces of anxiety on the faces of many Friends and even on the placid countenances of the Elders in their raised seats in the gallery. There, at the head



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

of the Meeting, sat Friend Zebulon Hoxie, the grandfather of most of the children who were present. Below him sat his two sons. Opposite them, their wives and families, and a sprinkling of other Friends. The children had never seen before one of the stranger Friends who sat in the gallery that day, by their grandfather's side. They had heard that his name was Robert Nisbet, and that he had just arrived, after having walked for two days, thirty miles through the wilderness country to sit with Friends at New Easton at their mid-week Meeting. The children had no idea why he had come, so they fixed their eyes intently on the stranger and stirred gently in their seats with relief when at last he rose to speak. They had liked his kind, open face as soon as they saw it. They liked still better the sound of the rich, clear voice that made it easy for even children to listen. But they liked the words of his text best of all: 'The Belovéd of the Lord shall dwell in safety by Him. He shall cover them all the day long.'

Robert Nisbet lingered over the first words of his message as if they were dear to him. His voice was full and mellow, and the words seemed as if they were part of the rich tide of summer life that flowed around. He paused a moment, and then went on, 'And now, how shall the Belovéd of the Lord be thus in safety covered? Even as saith the Psalmist, "He shall cover thee with His feathers and under His wings shalt thou trust."' Then, changing his tones a little and speaking more lightly, though gravely still, he continued: 'You have done well, dear Friends, to stay on valiantly in your homes, when all your neighbours have fled; and therefore are these messages sent to you by me. These promises of covering and of shelter are truly meant for you. Make them your own and you shall not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day.'

Here the boys and girls on the low benches under the gallery looked at one another. Now they knew what had brought the stranger! He had come because he had heard of the danger that threatened the little clearing of settlers in the woods. For though New Easton and East Hoosack lay thirty miles apart they were both links in the long chain of Quaker Settlements that had been formed to separate the territory belonging to the Dutch Traders (who dwelt near the Hudson River) from the English Settlements along the valley of the Connecticut. In former days disputes between the Dutch and English Colonists had been both frequent and fierce, until at length the Government had conceived the brilliant idea of establishing a belt of neutral ground between the disputants, and peopling it with unwarlike Quakers. The plan worked well. The Friends, in their settlements strung out over a long, narrow strip of territory, were on friendly terms with their Dutch and English neighbours on either side. Raids went out of fashion. Peace reigned, and for a time the authorities were well content.

A fiercer contest was now brewing, no longer between two handfuls of Colonists but between the inhabitants of two great Continents. For it was just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War of 1775. The part of the country in which Easton Township was situated was already distressed by visits of scouting parties from both British and American armies, and the American Government, unable to protect the inhabitants, had issued a proclamation directing them to leave the country. This



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

was the reason that all the scattered houses in the neighbourhood were deserted, save only the few tenanted by the handful of Friends.

'You did well, Friends,' the speaker continued, 'well to ask to be permitted to exercise your own judgment without blame to the authorities, well to say to them in all courtesy and charity, "You are clear of us in that you have warned us" – and to stay on in your dwellings and to carry out your accustomed work. The report of this your courage and faith hath reached us in our abiding place at East Hoosack, and the Lord hath charged me to come on foot through the wilderness country these thirty miles, to meet with you to-day, and to bear to you these two messages from Him, "The Belovéd of the Lord shall dwell in safety by Him," and "He shall cover thee with His feathers all the day long."' The visitor sat down again in his seat. The furrowed line of anxiety in old Zebulon Hoxie's high forehead smoothed itself away; the eyes of one or two of the younger women Friends filled with tears. As the speaker's voice ceased, little Susannah Hoxie's head, which had been drooping lower and lower, finally found a resting-place, and was encircled by her mother's arm. Young Mrs. Hoxie drew off her small daughter's shady hat, and put it on the seat beside her, while she very gently stroked back the golden curls from the child's high forehead. In doing this she caught a rebuking glance from her elder daughter, Dinah.

'Naughty, naughty Susie, to go to sleep in Meeting,' Dinah was thinking; 'it is very hot, and I am sleepy too, but I don't go to sleep. I do wish a butterfly would come in at the window just for once – or a bird, a little bird with blue, and red, and pink, and yellow feathers. I liked what that stranger Friend said about being 'covered with feathers all the day long.' I wish I was all covered with feathers like a little bird. I wish there were feathers in Meeting, or anywhere close outside.' She turned in her corner seat and looked through the slit in the wall – why there were feathers close outside the wall of the house, red, and yellow, and blue, and pink! What could they be? Very gently Dinah moved her head, so that her eye came closer to the slit. But, when she looked again, the feathers had mysteriously disappeared – nothing was to be seen now but a slight trembling of the tree branches in the wilderness woods at a little distance.

In the mean while her brother, Benjamin Hoxie, on the other low seat opposite the window, was also thinking of the stranger's sermon. 'He said it was a valiant thing to do, to stop on here when all the neighbours have left. I didn't know Friends could do valiant things. I thought only soldiers were valiant. But if a scouting party really did come – if those English scouts suddenly appeared, then even a Quaker boy might have a chance to show that he is not necessarily a coward because he does not fight.' Benjamin's eyes strayed also out of the open window. It was very hot and still in the Meeting-house. Yet the bushes certainly were trembling. How strange that there should be a breeze there and not here! 'Thou shall not be afraid for the arrow that flieth by day,' he thought to himself. 'Well, there are no arrows in this part of the country any longer, now that they say all the Indians have left. I wonder, if I saw an English gun pointing at me out of those bushes, should I be afraid?'



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

But it was gentle Mrs. Hoxie, with her arm still round her baby daughter, who kept the stranger's words longest in her heart. 'Shall dwell in safety by Him, – the Belovéd of the Lord,' she repeated to herself over and over again, 'yet my husband hath feared for me, and we have both been very fearful for the children. Truly, we have known the terror by night these last weeks in these unsettled times, even though our duty was plainly to stay here. Why were we so fearful? we of little faith. "The Belovéd of the Lord shall dwell in safety by Him. He shall cover him with His feathers all the day long."'

And then, in her turn, Mrs. Hoxie looked up, as her little daughter had done, and saw the same three tall feathers creeping above the sill of the open Meeting-house window frame. For just one moment her heart, that usually beat so calmly under her grey Quaker robe, seemed to stand absolutely still. She went white to the lips. Then 'shall dwell in safety by Him,' the words flashed back to her mind. She looked across to where her husband sat – an urgent look. He met her eyes, read them, and followed the direction in which she gazed. Then he, too, saw the feathers – three, five, seven, nine, sticking up in a row. Another instant, and a dark-skinned face, an evil face, appeared beneath them, looking over the sill. The moment most to be dreaded in the lives of all American settlers – more terrible than any visit from civilised soldiers – had come suddenly upon the little company of Friends alone here in the wilderness. An Indian Chief was staring in at their Meeting-house window, showing his teeth in a cruel grin. In his hand he held a sheaf of arrows, poisoned arrows, only too ready to fly, and kill, by day.

All the assembled Friends were aware of his presence by this time, and were watching the window now, though not one of them moved. Mrs. Hoxie glanced towards her other little daughter, and saw to her great relief that Dinah too had fallen asleep, her head against the wooden wall. Dinah and Susie were the two youngest children in Meeting that morning. The others were mostly older even than Benjamin, who was twelve. They were, therefore, far too well-trained in Quaker stillness to move, for any Indians, until the Friends at the head of the Meeting should have shaken hands and given the signal to disperse. Nevertheless, the hearts of even the elder girls were beating very fast. Benjamin's lips were tightly shut, and with eyes that were unusually bright he followed every movement of the Indian Chief, who, as it seemed in one bound and without making the slightest noise, had moved round to the open doorway.

There he stood, the naked brown figure, in full war-paint and feathers, looking with piercing eyes at each man Friend in turn, as if one of them must have the weapons that he sought. But the Friends were entirely unarmed. There was not a gun, or a rifle, or a sword to be found in any of their dwelling-houses, so there could not be any in their peaceful Meeting.

A minute later, a dozen other Redskins, equally terrible, stood beside the Chief, and the bushes in the distance were quite still. The bushes trembled no longer. It was Benjamin who found it hard not to tremble now, as he saw thirteen sharp arrows taken from their quivers by thirteen skinny brown hands, and their notches held taut to thirteen bow-strings, all ready to shoot. Yet still the Friends sat on, without stirring, in complete silence.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

**FIERCE FEATHERS**

Only Benjamin, turning his head to look at his grandfather, saw Zebulon Hoxie, the patriarch of the Meeting, gazing full at the Chief, who had first approached. The Indian's flashing eyes, under the matted black eyebrows, gazed back fiercely beneath his narrow red forehead into the Quaker's calm blue eyes beneath the high white brow and snowy hair. No word was spoken, but in silence two powers were measured against one another – the power of hate, and the power of love. For steady friendliness to his strange visitors was written in every line of Zebulon Hoxie's face.

The children never knew how long that steadfast gaze lasted. But at length, to Benjamin's utter astonishment, for some unknown reason the Indian's eyes fell. His head, that he had carried high and haughtily, sank towards his breast. He glanced round the Meeting-house three times with a scrutiny that nothing could escape. Then, signing to his followers, the thirteen arrows were noiselessly replaced in thirteen quivers, the thirteen bows were laid down and rested against the wall; many footsteps, lighter than falling snow, crossed the floor; the Indian Chief, unarmed, sat himself down in the nearest seat, with his followers in all their war-paint, but also unarmed, close round him.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The Meeting did not stop. The Meeting continued – one of the strangest Friends' Meetings, surely, that ever was held. The Meeting not only continued, it increased in solemnity and in power.

Never, while they lived, did any of those present that day forget that silent Meeting, or the brooding Presence, that, closer, clearer than the sunlight, filled the bright room.

'Cover thee with His feathers all the day long.'

The Friends sat in their accustomed stillness. But the Indians sat more still than any of them. They seemed strangely at home in the silence, these wild men of the woods. Motionless they sat, as a group of trees on a windless day, or as a tranquil pool unstirred by the smallest breeze; silent, as if they were themselves a part of Nature's own silence rather than of the family of her unquiet, human children.

The slow minutes slipped past. The peace brooded, and grew, and deepened. 'Am I dreaming?' Mrs. Hoxie thought to herself more than once, and then, raising her eyes, she saw the Indians still in the same place, and knew it was no dream. She saw, too, that Benjamin's eyes were riveted to some objects hanging from the strangers' waists, that none of the other Friends appeared to see.

At last, when the accustomed hour of worship was ended, the two Friends at the head of the Meeting shook hands solemnly. Then, and not till then, did old Zebulon Hoxie advance to the Indian Chief, and with signs he invited him and his followers to come to his house close at hand. With signs they accepted. The strange procession crossed the sunlit path. Susie and Dinah, wide awake now, but kept silent in obedience to their mother's whispers, were watching the feathers with clear, untroubled eyes that knew no fear. Only Benjamin shivered as if he were cold.

When the company had arrived at the house, Zebulon put bread and cheese on the table, and invited his unwonted guests to help themselves. They did so, thanking him with signs, as they knew little or no English. Robert Nisbet, the visiting Friend, who could speak and understand French, had a conversation with one of the Indians in that language, and this was what he said: 'We surrounded your house, meaning to destroy every living person within it. But when we saw you sitting with your door open, and without weapons of defence, we had no wish any longer to hurt you. Now, we would fight for you, and defend you ourselves from all who wish you ill.' Meanwhile the Chief who had entered first was speaking in broken English to old Zebulon Hoxie, gesticulating to make his meaning clear.

'Indian come White Man House,' he said, pointing with his finger towards the Settlement, 'Indian want kill white man, one, two, three, six, all!' and he clutched the tomahawk at his belt with a gruesome gesture. 'Indian come, see White Man sit in house; no gun, no arrow, no knife; all quiet, all still, worshipping Great Spirit. Great Spirit inside Indian too;' he pointed to his breast; 'then Great Spirit say: "Indian! No kill them!"' With these words, the Chief took a white feather from one of his arrows, and stuck it firmly over the centre of the roof in a peculiar way. 'With that white feather above your house,' the French-speaking Indian said to Robert Nisbet, 'your settlement is safe. We Indians are your friends henceforward, and you are ours.'



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

A moment later and the strange guests had all disappeared as noiselessly as they had come. But, when the bushes had ceased to tremble, Benjamin stole to his mother's side. 'Mother, did you see, did you see?' he whispered. 'They were not friendly Indians. They were the very most savage kind. Did you,' he shuddered, 'did you, and father, and grandfather, and the others not notice what those things were, hanging from their waists? They were scalps – scalps of men and women that those Indians had killed,' and again he shuddered.

His mother stooped and kissed him. 'Yea, my son,' she answered, 'I did see. In truth we all saw, too well, save only the tender maids, thy sisters, who know naught of terror or wrong. But thou, my son, when thou dost remember those human scalps, pray for the slayers and for the slain. Only for thyself and for us, have no fear. Remember, rather, the blessing of that other Benjamin, for whom I named thee. "The Belovéd of the Lord shall dwell in safety by Him. He shall cover him all the day long."'



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

‘FIERCE FEATHERS.’

A historical incident, with some imaginary actors. The outlines of this story are given in 'HISTORICAL ANECDOTES' by Pike. Several additional particulars and the copy of a painting of the Indians at Meeting are to be found in the Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House. For some helpful notes about the locality I am indebted to H.P. Morris of Philadelphia, U.S.A.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

30th, 9th Month: “The Committee appointed to treat with those that claim [slaves](#) as their property inform that Elisabeth Thurston (widow of Edward Thurston) was possessed of some and refused to liberate them, which after being considered is directed to be sent to the Meeting of Women [Friends](#).”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[MANUMISSION](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

People were trying to kill each other at Stonington, Connecticut.

10th Month: In order to travel from island to island in [Narragansett Bay](#), permission was needed from the military, permission which it was exceedingly difficult to obtain. The various [Quaker](#) meetings were almost totally isolated from one another. In this month the [Friends](#) of [Jamestown](#) on Conanicut Island left that island. Only later would the Friends on [Aquidneck Island](#) learn of this departure, and learn also that since their departure the meetinghouse on that island had “suffered considerably from them [the British soldiers], in which condition it still remains.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

20th, 11th Month: The [Quaker](#) women’s meeting at the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting [held in [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#)] collected £4 1/2 because “The Overseers of the Poor have acquainted us that as the usual supplys [*sic*] of the Treasury are stopped by the general distress, it is necessary that some others should be provided, as the wants of the poor of the Society are great.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

December 13: The portrait painter Ralph Earl and the silversmith Amos Doolittle advertised for sale copies of a series of four engraved prints, in the New Haven newspaper at a price of six shillings the set, uncolored, “or eight shillings colored.” The engravings were of successive stages of the fighting in Lexington and [Concord](#) on April 19th, and were offered as “from original paintings taken on the spot.”

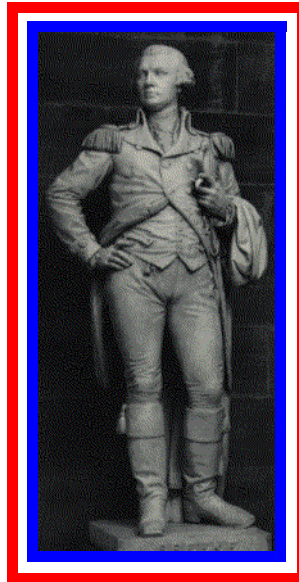


Note that these works of art bore no resemblance to what Brumidi would place on a wall of our nation's capitol, Washington DC:



[Friends Moses Brown](#) and David Buffum rode from [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) to Roxbury, where they met three other Quakers of their Smithfield monthly meeting and spent the night. Among them they were carrying gold coins and other currencies amounting to what today would be more than \$4,000, money intended for poor relief. The next morning they would ride on into Cambridge to seek the permission of the siege commander, General George Washington, to cross military lines and enter the besieged city of Boston.

December 14: [Friends Moses Brown](#), David Buffum, and others of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends rode from Roxbury to Cambridge, carrying with them poor relief for Quakers inside the besieged city of Boston in the form of gold coins and other currencies amounting to what today would be more than \$4,000. In Cambridge they sought out the headquarters of the American siege commander, General George Washington, for a pass to cross the military lines and visit British General William Howe. The American commander indicated that first they would need to pitch their scheme to his logistics aide, Brigadier General [Nathanael Greene](#) (a birthright Quaker with a club foot who had renounced the faith and asked to be [disowned](#), having become fascinated by the efficacy and necessity of warfare, who had been directly promoted from private to brigadier general by Washington during the previous June).



Brigadier General Greene invited the Quakers to have supper with him, and listened to their plan. He wound up giving their plan the green light, telling them that so long as they “meddled not in the dispute,” they would be able to expect “protection from both sides.”

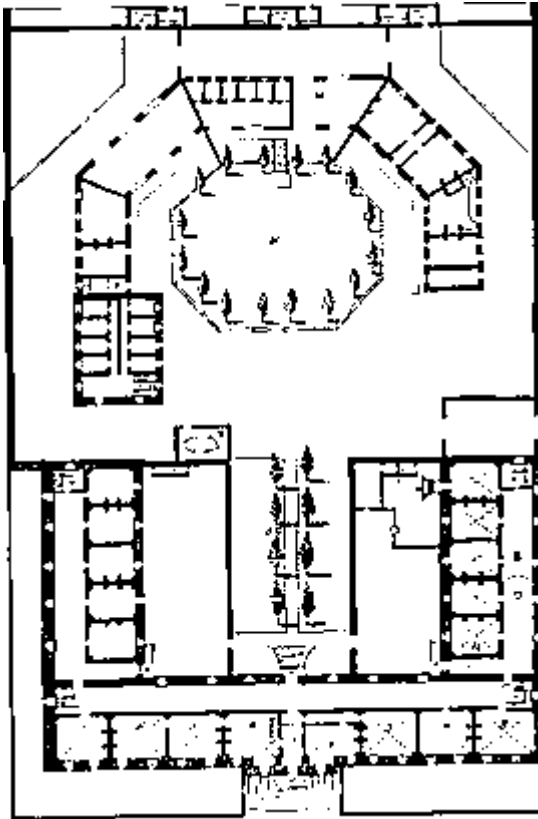
December 15: [Friends Moses Brown](#), David Buffum, and others of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends were escorted by the besieging Americans up to the British lines of defense around the city. There, British General William Howe refused to allow them permission to enter. The sheriff of Boston came to the fortifications to meet with them, and accepted a promissory note in the amount of £100, agreeing to deliver the relief funds to various needy Quakers inside the city.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1776

In this year the new jail on Walnut Street in Philadelphia, built to relieve the overcrowding and scandalous conditions at that city's Old Stone Jail, was beginning to close its doors for business.



Members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and others, organized the Philadelphia Society for Relieving Distressed Prisoners. After the Revolution, this [Quaker](#) group would manage this Walnut Street Prison as a place where malefactors might meditate and repent. They termed this facility a “penitentiary.” Instead of throwing all malefactors together regardless of the varieties of offense of which they had been found guilty, and regardless of their mental condition, and sometimes even without segregation of the sexes or age groups, as was at that point in time the rule in American incarceration, in that novel institution each inmate was to be given his or her private cell with a little garden, and would be expected to work. The idea was that solitude would help the prisoners repent of their misdeeds. That such total isolation would prove to be as cruel as or even more cruel than some of the more usual punishments was not as yet apparent to these well-meaning

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

reformers of the PSRDP persuasion.



It would be, perhaps, on the basis of this Walnut Street Prison of the late 18th Century, with all its good intentions and all its problematic theory, that, in 1991, → [Kurt Vonnegut](#) would ascribe the invention of the penitentiary system to American Quakers. —If we did this thing, as for instance in the now obsoleted [Eastern State Penitentiary](#) atop Cherry Hill near downtown Philadelphia, then, as Vonnegut suggests,

We might pray to be rescued from our inventiveness, just as the dinosaurs may have prayed to be rescued from their massiveness.

So, **did** Quakers in fact, as Vonnegut asserts, invent the penitentiary system? Is this sort of experiment in the mental torture of solitary confinement indeed to be laid directly and solely at our door?

Nathan Comstock was born in Burrillville near [Providence](#), as a birthright [Quaker](#) (the [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting was nearby, in what is now [Woonsocket, Rhode Island](#)).

SAMUEL B. COMSTOCK

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

During the Revolutionary War, Flushing, Paumanok Long Island was occupied by the British. Local [Quakers](#) would not participate in the war effort and a number of them suffered the confiscation of property as punishment. Flushing Meeting spoke out against members who aided the British or accepted military service. Consequently, the Friends meetinghouse was seized by the army and used for various purposes including a hospital, stable, and storage. It is believed that the army burned the original benches and picket fence as their



firewood, since this was in short supply. With this meetinghouse unavailable, New York [Yearly Meeting](#) moved its gatherings to Westbury, never to return. Monthly meetings in New York and other areas were

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

formed, and Flushing Meeting became merely a local monthly meeting (which it remains today).



The American colonies were in revolt, and loyalties were divided. With all the pressures, divided loyalties were to be found even within the [Religious Society of Friends](#). As an example of how [Quaker disownment](#) was used as a tool in this incendiary situation, here is a disownment that was announced in this year at the Fairfax, Maryland monthly meeting:

"W.R. who by birth had a right of membership in our Religious Society but through levity and a disregard to that principle which would preserve if adhered to, he hath been seduced and drawn away with the Spirit of the Times so far as to enlist and join in the active part of war, leaving his place of abode to that end, and having given us no opportunity to treat with him on this sorrowful occasion, we, agreeable to our antient practice, think it requisite to deny him the right of membership among us, which is hereby confirmed by our monthly meeting and he so to stand until by due contrition he condemns his conduct which we can but desire on his behalf."

As an example of an acknowledgement of disownment due to warlike activity, here is a statement that was duly received and placed on file in this year by that same meeting:

"Whereas I the subscriber have several times stood Centry in a military manner and having considered the same, I see it to be wrong, for which misconduct I am sorry, and hope to be more careful for the future, desiring that Friends would accept this my acknowledgment and continue me under their care as my future conduct shall render me worthy. J.L."¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰These are per Morse, BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING, page 59.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

On Paumanok Long Island, Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was standing steadfast and refusing to participate in the American Revolution or

*“use any coercive force
or compulsion
by any means whatever;
not being overcome
by evil,
but overcoming
evil
with the good.”*

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

He well knew that any suggestion that we attempt to kill the Devil with a gun or a sword could have been a suggestion sponsored only by the Devil himself. Instead he chose to make his contribution to the cause of American liberty by paying visits to [Quaker](#) slavemasters on *Paumanok* “Long Island,” entreating them to strike a direct blow for human freedom by [manumitting](#) their black [slaves](#).

As you can see, even [Quakers](#) have such cannon:



This cries out for explanation but first you need to think about it because there are several levels at which explanation must be attempted.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Late in the year, the conscription practices of the Massachusetts General Court were amended to exclude [Quaker](#) conscientious objectors who had been members before April 19, 1775.



Some Quakers, however, terming themselves “Free Quakers,” affiliated themselves with the conflict, and there are some records of [Friends](#) in the Boston Meeting being accused of an unspecified “misconduct” which was probably the bearing of arms on one side or the other of the insurrection. The sympathies of some Friends lay with the revolutionaries, and the sympathies of others lay with the authorities. During the hostilities, for

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:**18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM**

instance, one Boston merchant, Friend Daniel Silsbe or Silsbury, emigrated to London.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

During the Revolutionary War, Friend [Benjamin Say](#) of Philadelphia would disregard the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) and serve in uniform in the Continental Army:



Friend Jane,—I have brought thee a
Staff and a Hat, which I hope will prove
servicicable in these times.

10th, 1st Month: When the [Yearly Meeting](#) for Sufferings met in [Portsmouth](#), the [Quakers](#) had scruples about the use of paper currency that had been issued in the colonies, because these bills had been issued “for the purpose of carrying on war.”

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

It was considered that it was “a Duty required of them to guard carefully about contributing thereto in any manner.”

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

RHODE ISLAND

On the following screen is a sample piece of colonial currency prepared for Massachusetts by Paul Revere, that gives us a good idea of what the Quakers were finding so troubling. The figure holding a cutlass is accompanied by a motto from Publilius Syrus, *Ense petit placidam, sub Libertate Quietem* “By the sword we seek peace, but peace only under liberty.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

30th, 1st Month: “The Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#) informs that Joseph Brownell son of Thomas hath been acting in warlike matters as assisting in building a fortification, etc., whereupon we appoint Job Shearman and Daniel Fish, 2nd to labour with said Brownell and endeavour to bring him to a sense of his outgoings and make report to our next Monthly Meeting.”

RHODE ISLAND

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

January 20: A pamphlet, entitled “THE ANCIENT TESTIMONY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS RENEWED, WITH RESPECT TO THE KING AND GOVERNMENT, AND TOUCHING THE COMMOTIONS NOW PREVAILING IN THESE AND OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL,” in response to Thomas Paine’s COMMON SENSE, was issued by a general meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey [Quakers](#) held in Philadelphia.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

February: At the women’s meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), “Lower house Preparative Meeting [[Saylesville](#)] informing that Patience Wilkinson hath had an illegitimate child¹¹¹ and also that [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) but seldom attends Friends Meetings nor makes use of the plain Scripture Language, This Meeting appoints Lydia Wilkinson and Mary Olney to Labor with them for said offenses and Report to this meeting in the 4th month next.”¹¹²

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

111. Eventually Patience Wilkinson would marry, in upstate New York, with a son of Judge William Potter of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#).

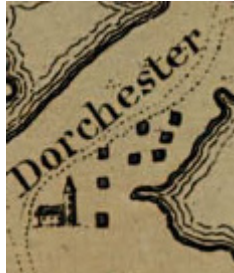
112. We may presume that this Friend Lydia Wilkinson would have been a close older relative who might succeed in placing herself *in loco parentis* for these motherless teenage girls.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

February 14: The slave poet [Phillis Wheatley](#) wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to her friend Obour Tanner, a slave in [Newport](#), the topic of discussion evidently being the British occupation: “I doubt not that your present situation is extremely unhappy. Even I a mere spectator am in anxious suspense concerning the fortunes of this unnatural civil contest.”

In Massachusetts, people were trying to kill each other at Dorchester Neck.



The Council of Massachusetts appointed Captain Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln a Colonel of the 3d regiment.

Thomas Paine revised his pamphlet COMMON SENSE to include an appendix responding to a [Quaker](#) non-violence pamphlet:

To the Representatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to so many of them as were concerned in publishing the late piece, entitled “THE ANCIENT TESTIMONY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS RENEWED, WITH RESPECT TO THE KING AND GOVERNMENT, AND TOUCHING THE COMMOTIONS NOW PREVAILING IN THESE AND OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL.”

Basically his argument, insofar as it was coherent and intelligible, amounted to the attitude that any Friendly witness to non-violence was hypocrisy, in that it pretended to be a religious position entirely separate from politics while, by urging nonresponsiveness to governmental violence, amounting to a sponsorship of the political status quo, it was actually religion dabbling all of its toes in the political mainstream.

Such a crowdpleaser of an argument would sell 500,000 copies.

27th, 2nd Month: “Daniel Fish reported to this Meeting that as Job Shearman was deceased he took a Friend with him and laboured with Joseph Brownell son of Thomas, respecting his outgoing and that he appeared to be disposed to make satisfaction. Therefore said matter is referred to next month Meeting under the care of Daniel Fish, 2nd, and John Hadwen.”

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

The women’s meeting at the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting collected £13, 7s for the poor.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

March: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Smithfield Lower House Preparative Mtg. [[Saylesville](#)] informing that Stephen and Jephtha Wilkinson, sons of Jeremiah, have attended Training for Military Exercise — and but seldom attended friends meetings — Wherefore this meeting appoints Benja. Arnold, Wm. Buffum & Thomas Lapham Jr. to labor with them for said Transgressions — and report to next Assembly."

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

This is the cast-iron stove that we had installed in the Saylesville meetinghouse for use during the winters, at about this point in time or perhaps a few years earlier:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

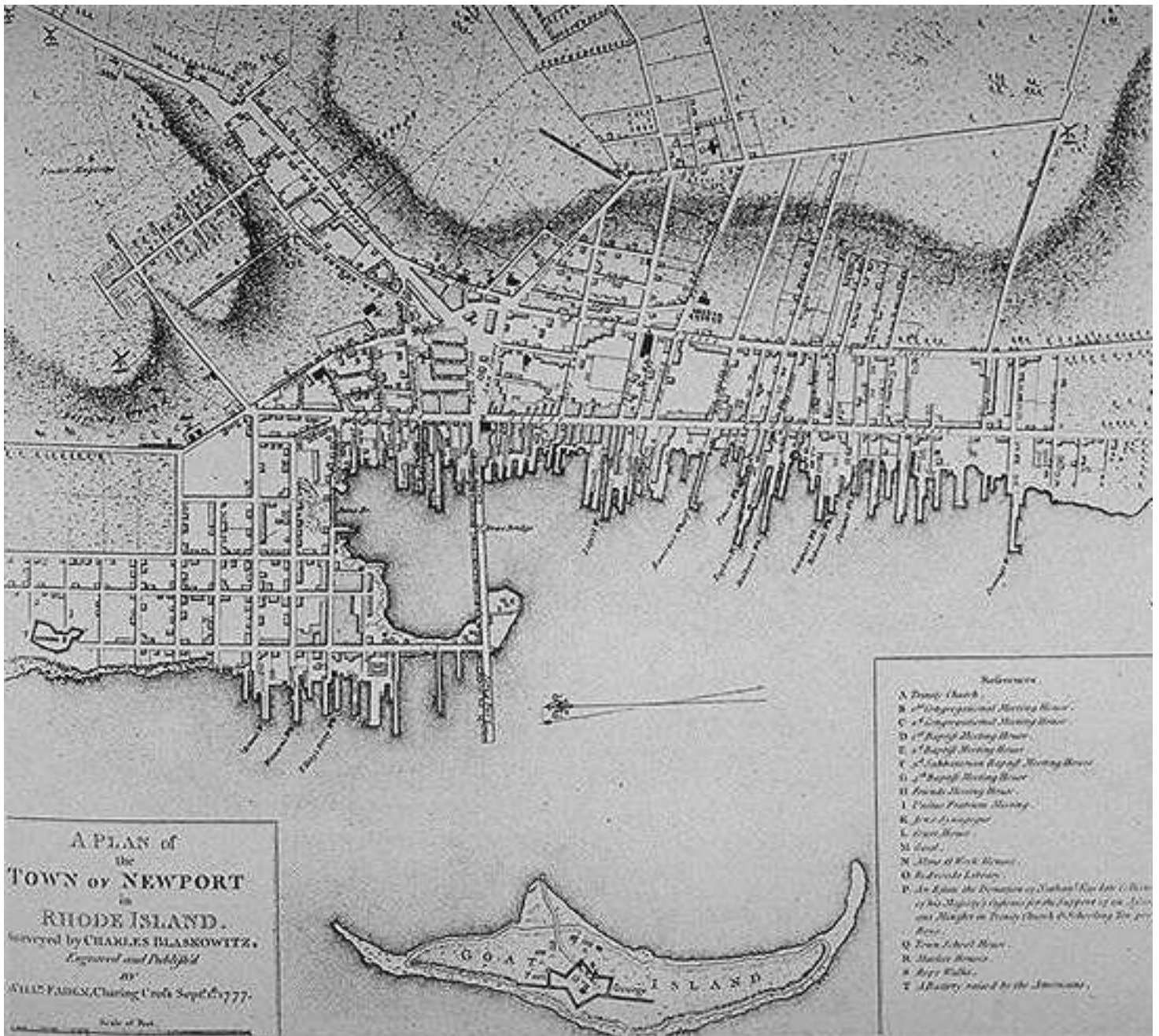
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

March: Fearful that the guns of the British warships anchored off [Newport](#) were aiming in directly at his Second Congregational Church, the Reverend [Ezra Stiles](#) went to reside in [Dighton](#). While tending congregations in Taunton and in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) he would periodically travel back to Newport for a sermon.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



11th, 3rd Month: The Philadelphia Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) wrote to the [Newport](#) Meeting for Sufferings that “We are desirous as they are near and in your power to repeat assistance to them, as it is wanting, that they may be the particular objects of your care.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

26th, 3rd Month: The Constitution of South Carolina.

READ THE FULL TEXT

“The Preparative Meeting of [Newport](#) inform that Job Townsend, 2nd hath appeared in train band under arms, whereupon we appoint James Wanton and John Gould to labor with Townsend and endeavour to bring him to a sense of his misconduct and report to next Monthly Meeting.”

RHODE ISLAND

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

April: At the women’s meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), “Lydia Wilkinson & Mary Olney are to visit Patience & [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) (Daughters of Jeremiah) make report they have performed their visit which was not to satisfaction. The same committee continued to further Labour with them for said offenses and Report to this meeting in the Eighth month next.”

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

10th, 4th Month: The [Newport](#) Meeting for Sufferings of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) reported that “Newport remains in very poor circumstances, as well as several towns to the Eastward, and we think the difficulties of the inhabitants of [Rhode Island](#) [[Aquidneck Island](#)] are increasing.” To this point, donations had been made to 330 local [Quaker](#) families consisting of a total of 1,267 persons.

30th, 4th Month: “Daniel Fish and John Hadwen made report that they had not had any encouragement from Joseph Brownell (son of Thomas) since last Monthly Meeting but rather the contrary, and this Meeting apprehended themselves clear from any further labour with him and on that account do disown Joseph Brownell to be any longer under our care as a member of our Society.”

RHODE ISLAND

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May: A call for American independence from Britain, the Virginia Declaration of Rights was drafted by George Mason (1725-1792) and amended by Thomas Ludwell Lee (*circa* 1730-1778) and by the Virginia Convention. Mason wrote “*That all men are born equally free and independant [sic], and have certain inherent natural right, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursuing [sic] and obtaining Happiness and Safety.*” [Thomas Jefferson](#) would draw from this document when a month later he worked over an early draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In 1789 it would be accessed not only by [James Madison](#) in drawing up the Bill of Rights to the US Constitution but also by the *Marquis de Lafayette* in drafting the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

But that was in Virginia and applied to people who were safely pro-war. For people who were anti-war there weren't all that many rights available in America:



Pennsylvania Quakers ... experienced significant harassment for their pacifism and neutrality. Their numbers were already greatly reduced by the disciplinary renaissance of the 1750s, and they faced a real schism from "Free Quakers," who both supported the Revolution and rejected pacifism. As a result "orthodox" Friends found themselves hunted down in a colony they had founded and long governed. In May 1776 a stone-throwing mob forced Philadelphia Friends to observe a fast day that the Continental Congress had proclaimed. A Berks County mob shackled and jailed Moses Roberts, a Quaker minister, until he posted a \$10,000 bond guaranteeing his "good" behavior. Philadelphia patriots also exiled seventeen Friends to Virginia in 1776 for nearly two years so they would not interfere with revolutionary activities. Patriots celebrating the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1782 ransacked Quaker homes that had not displayed victory candles.

Clearly, there were in [Rhode Island](#) a few Quaker men who were attempting to avoid persecution by the usual coterie of Those-Who-Aren't-With-Us-Are-Against-Us "patriots." For, at the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield](#), "*Two of the Committee to labour with Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson for attending Training etc. report that they have labored with them and they appear to have frequented Trainings for Military service and endeavour to justify the same, and seldom attended friends meetings, and gave but very little satisfaction for their said conduct. Therefore this Meeting puts them from under their care, until they shall condemn said conduct to the Satisfaction of friends, which we desire they may be enabled to do — Jona Arnold is desired to inform them of their denial, Right of appeal and report to next monthly Mtg. to which time the drawing of a Testimony of their deniels [sic], in order to be published, is referred. — L. Lapham, Clerk.*"

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

28th, 5th Month: The committee appointed by the Preparative Meeting of [Newport](#) to deal with Friend Job Townsend, 2nd having reported no success in dealing with him as an armed member of the local revolutionary militia, the [Quakers disowned](#) him "to be any longer a member of our Society."

RHODE ISLAND

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

June: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Jona. Arnold reports that he informed Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson according to appointment — and the matter of publishing their deniels [sic] was considered in this meeting, and Jona. Arnold & Job Scott are appointed to draw Testimonies of their Denials and bring to next monthly meeting."

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "*Jona. Arnold & Jephtha Wilkinson's Deniels [sic] which was read and referred to next monthly meeting for Consideration.*"

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY
QUAKER DISOWNMENT

30th, 7th Month: "*The Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#) inform that Gideon Shearman (son of John Shearman) and Seth Thomas (son of Joseph Thomas) have enlisted as soldiers, which is a transgression of the rules of our Society. Therefore we do disown them to be any longer under our care as members thereof, and order a copy of this minute to be read publicly at the close of a First Day Meeting at Portsmouth. Jacob Mott 2nd is desired to read the same and make report at our next Monthly Meeting.*"

RHODE ISLAND
QUAKER DISOWNMENT
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "*Patience Wilkinson hath been laboured with on account of her having an Illegitimate Child and not appearing in a State of Mind Suitable to Make Satisfaction therefore this meeting Disowns her from membership. [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) hath been laboured with for not attending Meeting and not using the plain language, finding no amendment this meeting puts her from under there [sic] care. (Both daughters of Jeremiah Wilkinson). Mary Brown and Mary Olney are to draw a Denial against Patience and Jemimah Wilkinson and bring to Next Monthly Meeting.*"

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Meanwhile, at the corresponding men's meeting, "*The testimonies of Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson's Deniels Referd [sic] to this meeting was Considered; and Being Drawn Seperate [sic], and Dated from this meeting, were approved of & signed by the clerk. The women's meeting Informs that they have rec'd Sarah Buffum (wife of Jedediah) a member of our Society and Disowned Patience and Jemima [sic] Wilkinson (Daughters of Jeremiah).*"

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

September: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "*The Committee presented the Denials of [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) approved & Signed by the Clerk. Also one for Patience Wilkinson Signed by the Clerk, both Daughters of Jeremiah Wilkinson. Benjamin Arnold appointed to read the Denials of Jemimah Wilkinson & Patience Wilkinson at a Publick Meeting at the Lower House. Lydia Wilkinson is appointed to enform [sic] Jemimah & Patience of their being Disowned.*"

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

27th, 8th Month: "*Jacob Mott reported in writing that by reason of indisposition he had not read the Minutes against Gideon Shearman and Seth Thomas and now desired to be excused from reading the Minutes. Therefore Samson Shearmen is desired to take care that they be read, and make report to next Monthly Meeting.*"

RHODE ISLAND
QUAKER DISOWNMENT
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield](#), "*Lydia Wilkinson continued to enform [sic] Patience and [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) of their being disowned from Friends and report to this Meeting.*"

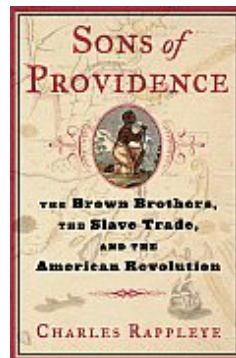
There was, meanwhile, an outbreak of typhus in [Rhode Island](#), that evidently came with the *Columbus*, a ship of war carrying prisoners. As a girl, Friend Jemimah Wilkinson had experienced evangelical sermons by the Reverend George Whitefield and had been inspired by the female leader Ann Lee ("Mother Ann") of the Shakers. At about the age of 18, she had become involved with the New Light [Baptists](#) or "Rogerenes" of Ledyard, Connecticut. At this point, while suffering under the spiritual distress of being [disowned](#) by here monthly meeting of the Society and contemplating the long road of atonement and spiritual rectification that would be necessary before such a disownment could be erased, probably while in Ledyard, as a victim of the typhus epidemic she fell into a prolonged coma — and upon reviving, she would proclaim that her soul had gone to Heaven and had been replaced in her body by "Spirit of Life." God had sent this apparition to inhabit her body in order to warn earthly creatures of His impending wrath. Discontinuing the use of the name "Jemimah Wilkinson" and denominating herself instead "Publik Universal Friend," she would preach, attired in something suggestive of men's rather than of women's clothing, through Connecticut and Rhode Island. The preserved image we have of her portrays her while attired in a rather standard clerical gown and collar over her men's clothing:



For a time her friend [Moses Brown](#) had been taken by her pretensions, but at the point of her disownment, he was able to stand aside. Here is the account of this by the Los Angeles newsman and storyteller Charles Rappleye on page 187 of his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006) — an account in which he has exaggerated some of the details (such as the precise number of hours that she was uncommunicative, and the conceit that she had been "pronounced dead") and gotten other details bass-ackward (for instance suggesting that she had been opposed to war when in fact she and her family were at odds with the Quaker Peace Testimony, sending a number of the Wilkinson sons to Washington's army):

Moses' quest for meaning drew him to another homegrown mystic during the early days of the war, a tall, striking woman named Jemima Wilkinson. As deep and stoic as was Job Scott, Wilkinson was extravagant. She called herself "the Public Universal Friend," and mesmerized audiences for hours by proclaiming moral convictions she said were acquired by revelation, or simply by delivering from memory lengthy quotations from the Bible. Some of her contemporaries considered her a charlatan, but she had genuine charisma, and won a following among powerful people in Rhode Island, including several prominent judges. Moses knew Wilkinson from her youth. Her father, a Quaker farmer, was a cousin to Israel Wilkinson, the ironworker long associated with the Browns, and also to Stephen and Esek

Hopkins, connections that ensured her entrée to the elite families of Rhode Island. Jemima was intrigued early on by a variety of religious doctrines, including those of the New Light Baptists and the Quakers, but her transformation took place in 1776, when she contracted a case of typhus. Beset with fever and delirium, she was pronounced dead, but she arose after thirty-six hours, and proclaimed her own resurrection. In the following months, Jemima Wilkinson renounced her former worldly identity and began holding ad hoc prayer meetings in country glades or borrowed meetinghouses. She preached a sort of radical strain of Quakerism, damning war, slavery, and matrimony in sermons that often ran over two hours. Her traveling services evolved into a sort of religious circus, featuring appearances by devotees who dubbed themselves Prophet Daniel and Prophet Elijah and who mimicked Wilkinson by professing visions and delivering messages from on high. Moses was intrigued by Wilkinson and attended several of her meetings. He was impressed with her knowledge of the Bible, but more than that, Moses was drawn to her story of divine inspiration. From the time of his own revelation, while walking home from Anna's grave, Moses looked for similar signs of God's active hand. Another adherent was Moses' uncle Elisha Brown, who attended several of her meetings and, convinced "that she was a messenger from God," invited her to his home, where they spent several evenings discussing her message and the controversy she caused among Rhode Island Quakers. Fortunately for Moses, however, he could not accept her as a prophet, and when the New England Meeting formally ostracized Wilkinson and barred attendance at her meetings, Moses was able to watch the proceedings with a sense of bemused detachment.



Jemimah would establish congregations at New Milford, Connecticut, and at Greenwich, Rhode Island. She did nothing to restrain enthusiastic followers who acclaimed her as the Messiah, and occasionally a stone would be thrown at her.

A memorandum of the introduction of that fatal Fever, called in the year 1776 the Columbus fever, since called the Typhus.... The ship called *Columbus* which sailed out of [Providence](#) in the state of Rhode Island, being a ship of war, on her return brought with her prisoners this awful and alarming disease of which many of the inhabitants in Providence died. On the fourth of the tenth month it reached the house of Jemima Wilkinson, ten miles from Providence.... A certain young woman, known by the name of Jemima Wilkinson, was seized with this mortal disease. And on the 2nd day of her illness was rendered almost incapable of

helping herself. And the fever continued to increase until fifth day of the week, about midnight she appeared to meet the shock of Death; which (released) the Soul.

What was it she preached? –Generally, she favored celibacy and plainness of dress, and opposed slavery. As an intellectual record it's not all that impressive. She totally bought into the Puritan vision of the inherent depravity of humankind. Various [Quakers](#), especially those favorable to the American cause in the Revolution, would follow her in approximately a similar manner to the manner in which the Shakers followed Mother Ann Lee. The [Religious Society of Friends](#) would be disowning a number of these Friends as they made themselves guilty by association. Although her brother Stephen Wilkinson and sisters Mercy Wilkinson, Betsey (?) Wilkinson, and Deborah Wilkinson followed Universal Friend in her relocation to upstate New York, her father Jeremiah Wilkinson, who had admittedly at times served as her escort but had never been a convert, and her brother Jeremiah Wilkinson, eventually would resume association with the [Smithfield](#) Friends.



Jemima Wilkinson was born in Cumberland, Nov. 19, 1752, and is, without doubt, the most singular as well as celebrated female character Rhode Island has ever produced. When she was about eighteen years of age, she became very much impressed with matters of a religious nature. A great religious excitement prevailed about this time in the county of Providence, and soon spread itself all over the State, through the efforts and preaching of George Whitefield. Jemima became very much interested and a great change came over her life. From a gay, spirited girl she became a sort of recluse, and spent her time in the study of the scriptures and deep meditation.

In 1775 she was stricken with a severe fever, and during her illness she pretended to have a vision from on high, and received a call, as she was pleased to term it, to go out and preach to the sin-burdened world. She arose suddenly one night, demanded her clothes, and appeared to be in a trance. The next Sabbath she preached her first sermon under the old oak tree we have mentioned in another part of this work. Her words made a decided sensation upon her hearers. She styled herself the "People's Universal Friend," and ever afterward was known by that appellation. She travelled through the country preaching her peculiar doctrine and soon surrounded herself with many devoted followers. For some six years she made her home at Judge Potter's, in [Kingstown](#). The Judge was a wealthy land-holder and became one of her most devoted admirers. When others began to desert her and cry her down as an imposter and a selfish, scheming woman, the Judge became all the more infatuated, and no means were spared to sustain her cause and protect her from the calumnies of her enemies. Wherever she went, the Judge was her companion, and when she finally resolved to leave her native State and settle in the wilds of western New York, Mr. Potter was among the most prominent advocates of this movement.

He at last became embarrassed financially, and his fine estate was sold, and in his old age he was compelled to live in straitened circumstances, a victim of infatuated devotion to this artful adventuress. She claimed for herself supernatural powers, and great crowds often congregated to witness some of her wonderful performances. She several times attempted to raise the dead, and her failures were attributed to want of faith in those who had assembled to witness the verification of her pretended supernatural powers. She removed with a few followers to Yates County, N. Y., and settled at a place which they called New Jerusalem. Here she spent the remainder of her eventful



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

life, and died July 1, 1819. After her death her followers remained for several years and kept up their peculiar organization.

The history of this woman has been written by several different parties, and the fallacy of her pretended inspiration received the verdict it so justly merited. And yet, that she was a woman possessed of more than ordinary abilities and some admirable traits of character it would be more than folly to deny. She lived in an age when ignorance and superstition in matters of religion were more prevalent than now, and it is not strange that she drew to her faith many good and honest people. Experience teaches that there is no creed without its believers and no delusion without its dupes. The saying that "murder will out" is accepted as truth, and the excitement attending the supposed celestial powers of this artful woman was shrewdly turned to account, and avarice preyed upon credulity. A great revolution is silently making its way through the world by the developing influences of education, the freedom of thought and the press, and will end in promoting the highest interests of the race, and remove forever the last vestige of religious superstition and fanaticism.

The Old Baptist Church at Abbott's was situated on the east side of the Lanesville road, upon the site now [1878] occupied by D.A. Thompson's house. It was built about the year 1700. It was a wooden structure, two stories high, with a large gallery. Its size was 30 x 60 feet, and it was torn down in 1825. Under an oak-tree that stood in front of this church, the celebrated Jemima Wilkinson made her first speech, and was listened to with attention.

The Baptist Catholic Society was chartered January, 1797. It held its meetings during warm weather in the shade of the old oak-tree at Lonsdale. These meetings were discontinued about 1860.

The old oak-tree in Lonsdale is an historical relic of the past. It is held in great veneration by the citizens of the place, and an iron railing has been placed around it. The tree is supposed to be three hundred years old, but is now [1878] rapidly going to decay. It is said, by good authorities, that these trees are one hundred years maturing, they flourish another hundred, and decay in the third and last hundred years.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

([Friend Jemimah Wilkinson](#) was not the only American woman to begin cross-dressing in this year. In Middleborough, Massachusetts, the mind of a 16- year-old indentured servant, Deborah Sampson, was becoming “agitated with the enquiry — why a nation, separated from us by an ocean ... [should] enforce on us plans of subjugation.” Sampson would resolve to make herself into “one of the severest avengers of the wrong” and through flattening her breasts with a bandage would enlist in the Revolutionary army as a common soldier. She was at this point also involved with the New Light [Baptists](#), although she would get in trouble with them and be expelled, and although she would be detected in the army and discharged. She would then transform herself more completely and competently, into the Revolutionary soldier Robert Shurtleff, for 17 months an enlisted man in the 4th Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Army. She would suffer war wounds in an encounter with a Tory militia while on a scouting expedition in the New York countryside but, at a later point, would fall ill with a fever and be discovered again to be of the female persuasion. With “chastity inviolate” – but of course they checked this out– she would receive a revolutionary veteran’s pension. Her grave in Rockridge Cemetery is marked as that of “a revolutionary soldier.” She married, so after her death her husband received the monetary equivalent of a revolutionary veteran’s widow’s pension.)

29th, 10th Month: At the Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#), “*One of the visitors from [Newport](#) informed that Benjamin Stanton had been on a cruise in a private vessel of war which being directly contrary to the peaceable principle we profess, we do disown him.*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)
[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

11th, 11th Month: The Meeting for Sufferings of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) brought £60 worth of firewood to [Aquidneck Island](#) to relieve the sufferings of winter.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

31st, 12th Month: At the Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#), the men’s meeting for business recorded “*As our Meeting hath at this time a number of soldiers in it renders it inconvenient to proceed to business. Therefore this Meeting is adjourned to the breaking of the meeting for worship at [Newport](#) next Fifth day.*” Meanwhile the women’s meeting for business recorded “*as the intercourse between this island and the main is obstructed by the arrival of the British Army here, the business respecting ... is refer’d....*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

1777

With the British occupying [Aquidneck Island](#), the [Jamestown, Rhode Island](#) meetinghouse of the [Quakers](#) was commandeered for use as a military hospital. (The graves of seven soldiers are still nearby.)

The [Quaker](#) “preparative meeting” of [Westerly](#) (also referred to as “Dunn’s Corners”), [Rhode Island](#) was reduced to the status of a “worship group.” It would continue as such until being laid down in 1800.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Friend [Moses Brown](#) went into his harvest field and called his laborers together, and offered to pay them extra wages if they would be willing to dispense with the usual allowance of distilled spirits that employers of that period provided to their laborers. At a much later point he would confide to his journal that “I have never Since being now 57 years furnished Any Spirits in Harvest or Hay Time, & I have My business done better and the Laborers come in and go out More Quiet and Satisfactory to them & their Family than they used to do when Spirits were freely Given and Used by them.”

Friend [Moses Brown](#) served on a committee to plan the education of children of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends. It was decided that students who were from outside the Friends community would also be allowed to participate. The [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting hired Friend Job Scott to “teach a School at the Lower Meeting House in Smithfield [that would refer to what is now the Saylesville meetinghouse in Lincoln], to be paid 80 hard dollars, or an equivalent in clothing, or Other things, for One Year, to be paid Quarterly, and his board to be found.” This would eventually result in the founding of the school of the New England Yearly Meeting, what is now referred to as Moses Brown School, on land next to what is now referred to as Brown University. (At the moment of this writing, there is no connection whatever between the school and the nearby Providence and [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, any connection between the school and the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends is at the most perfunctory and financial, and the educational curriculum of the school contains no testable Quaker component — while consideration is being given to dissolving even this perfunctory residual linkage with the [Quakers](#), “except in spirit.”) According to Mack Thompson’s *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, pages 135-6):

IN THE COURSE of the long years of the Revolution, [Moses Brown](#) emerged as the leading Quaker in New England. The basis of his leadership was an ability to hold the diverse groups within the various meetings together in the face of economic disaster, public ridicule, and divided loyalties. The solidarity of the Society of Friends was threatened not only by external enemies but by internal disputes. The war raised many problems that Friends had never had to deal with before, and the individualistic tendencies of their beliefs encouraged many to challenge the authority of tradition and the collective will of the meetings. To Moses the internal conflicts brought on by the war were as serious as dangers from battle or from governmental authorities, and he made strenuous efforts to minimize their effects.

The most divisive threats to the Society were posed by paper money and taxes. These two issues were intimately connected with the much broader question of acceptance or rejection of the new governments which used the taxes and money to support their civil and military establishments. In the early years of the Revolution, some Friends felt that currency issued by the rebellious governments should not be accepted, and this attitude became the official position of the Society, although it was more strictly adhered to in the middle states than in New England.¹¹³ Moses thought that the distinction made by Quakers between specie and paper money was ridiculous; one promoted the war as much as the other. His position was determined by sympathy for the American cause and by common sense: it was fortified by his experience when distributing the donations to the poor sufferers around Boston from 1775 to 1777. There he found that while some Friends accepted specie, others refused to take the new paper currency “from a principle of its promoting the war as well

113. Pemberton to [Moses Brown](#), August 28, November 9, 1775, *MOSES BROWN PAPERS*, MISC. MSS (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, B-814, Box 6). The Pembertons’ refusal to accept paper money issued by the revolutionary governments may well have been an expression of their pro-British feeling rather than an effort to maintain the Quaker discipline, although admittedly the two motives are hard to differentiate. For an argument that Israel Pemberton “did not defend the acts of the British government,” see Thayer, Theodore. *ISRAEL PEMBERTON: KING OF THE QUAKERS* (Philadelphia PA, 1943, page 207).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

as on account of the authority making it."¹¹⁴



114. April 30, 1776, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, MISC. MSS (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, K-AB)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January: A resident of the New York colony, John Cumming (this is **not** the Dr. John Cuming of Concord, Massachusetts), went to the city of New-York to determine how best he might handle his delicate political situation, his delicate political situation being that he was a Loyalist rather than a revolutionary. While in the city he refused a commission in the British army.

People were trying to kill each other at the Assumpsick Bridge in Trenton, New Jersey.

At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "*Benjamin Arnold informs this meeting that he hath read the denials of Jemimah and Patience Wilkinson agreeable to appointment.*"



JEMIMAH WILKINSON

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Three more [Quaker](#) men of Worcester County, Massachusetts were imprisoned for adhering to the Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

2nd, 1st Month: On [Aquidneck Island](#) itself, in [Narragansett Bay](#), while it was occupied by the British army and navy, the men of the local [Friends](#) attempted to maintain their peaceableness:¹¹⁵

The address of the people called Quakers on Rhode Island in Monthly Meeting assembled the 2nd day of the 1st mo. 1777 –

May it please the General,
We the King's peaceable and loyal subjects being deeply affected with the unhappy commotions which now prevail around us, on which reflecting we are desirous that thou through the blessing of Divine Providence may be instrumental in Restoring peace and tranquility to this at present distressed Country – Believing that thy intentions are to conduct toward such who have not deviated from their Allegiance to the King in a lenient & tender manner – we are desirous to inform thee that we as a Society Concerned since the Commencement of the present unhappy commotions to bear our Christian Testimony against any violations thereof in any of our Members and have publicly manifested our disunity with such as have appeared openly in taking up arms.

With thankful hearts we adore that most merciful hand which

115. Friends considered the revolution to be a "civil war" in which there was no reason whatever to choose sides. In return, both sides considered them disloyal.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

preserved us in that Critical time of thy landing so that no human blood was shed and that through thy distinguished Lenity the Inhabitants have been favoured beyond what might have been Expected. Encouraged thereby we ask the protection of our persons & properties & indulgence in the enjoyment of our Religious Liberties with desires for thy well doing here and happyness hereafter we are thy sinceer [sic] Friends

[SIGNATURES OF 38 MALE FRIENDS]

We whose names are hereafter inserted not being present at the Meeting aforesaid, do manifest our Unity with this address by subscribing same.

[SIGNATURES OF 27 MORE MALE FRIENDS]

During this month, the local [Quaker](#) Meeting for Sufferings recorded there to be abroad in the general American population a “*hope of the military*” according to which, by for a period giving free reign to “*lusts of men in general*,” it would be possible to “*shut up, separate, and destroy that union and fellowship which once subsisted between the inhabitants of the two countries*” — England and America. Meetings were urged to cope with such a false expectation of the efficacy of bloodshed by continuing “*to manifest to the world that there is one universal parent over all, that his obedient children have no parties to support, their desire being to promote the one peaceable kingdom of Christ...*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

February: Still-extant records of the Dover, New Hampshire monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) include the wedding of Caesar Sankey and Sarah Sharp, and this notation has been taken by some incautious historians to indicate that this African American couple had been recognized as Quakers — whereas in fact it indicated no such thing. In addition, in this month that record included a notation of the disownment of Caesar Sankey for his “going into the war,” which has been taken by some incautious historians to indicate that he had been recognized as a Friend — but in fact such a record likewise indicates no such positive thing, indicating merely that the general public needed to be alerted, for he might have been in some manner considered by them to have been marginally associated with this monthly meeting. The general rule, that Quakerism was for the white folks only, governed during this entire timeframe. Had Caesar Sankey or Sarah Sharp ever been considered by any of their contemporaries to have been Quakers, we most assuredly would now be able to discover in the record an abundance of commentary pro and con about that peculiarity.)

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

6th, 1st Month: The Meeting for Sufferings of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) delivered another £60 worth of firewood to [Aquidneck Island](#) to relieve the winter suffering of [Friends](#) there. They recorded: “*This Meeting taking under consideration that the place for holding the next Quarterly Meeting is as it stands appointed at [Newport](#), and by intelligence that we have received from a friend who lately came from [Rhode Island](#) [[Aquidneck Island](#)] we understand that provisions are scarce there, therefore and for other reasons we think it best that said meeting be held at Swanzy.*” (As it turned out, it was not even possible to obtain permission from the fighters for Friends to venture from the mainland onto the island to fetch the [Quaker](#) records of previous meetings: “*It is therefore the opinion of this Meeting that notwithstanding the want of our records and the absence of our Friends on the island, the meeting [at Swanzy] should still be held as planned.*”)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

28th, 1st Month: The Meeting at [Newport](#) recorded: “*As the intercourse between this island [and the mainland] is yet obstructed, the business ... is again refer’d...*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

1st, 2nd Month: “*John G. Wanton and Robert Taylor of [Newport](#) have signed a declaration called the Test Act, which being contrary to the peaceable principles we profess, therefore for the clearing of our Christian testimony we do disown them.*”¹¹⁶

[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)
[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)
[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

25th, 3rd Month: The Meeting at [Newport](#) recorded: “*Answers to the queries were read approved and which are to be sent with an account to the Quarterly Meeting if opportunity offers to send them, which prospect at present appears so discouraging that we do not appoint any [Friends](#) to attend it.*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

April: A new militia law in [Rhode Island](#) withdrew protection from [Quaker](#) men who refused to perform “alternative service.” Quaker refuseniks should be replaced by soldiers hired at town expense — and then the town should seize Quaker property in the amount of that expense. (In response to this, the Meeting for Sufferings of the Religious Society of Friends would desist from all compliance with community demands, for instance ceasing to issue the certificates of membership in the Religious Society of Friends that the military had been relying upon in determining whether or not a refusenik was actually a member.)

Friend David Anthony of Greenwich monthly meeting was imprisoned. The New England Meeting for Sufferings would take the matter up with the Rhode Island General Assembly and he would be released, spending but nine weeks in prison for his observance of the Peace Testimony.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

29th, 4th Month: The Meeting at [Newport](#) recorded: “*The business refer’d for some months past is now refer’d until we may have communications with our [Friends](#) on the main.*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

24th, 6th Month: The Meeting at [Newport](#) recorded: “*There not appearing at present any probability of attending the ensuing Quarterly Meeting by representatives nor of sending an account is the reason that the ancient custom is at present omitted.*” The residents of Point Estates, owned by the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting, were pleading poverty and “*deficient in paying their rents,*” and a committee was appointed to labor with them.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

116. Subscription to this Test Act, since it involved the provision of a substitute soldier or the making of an adequate payment for the obtaining of such a substitute soldier, was held to constitute personal participation in conflict and therefore was in violation of the peaceable principles of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)
[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Our national birthday, the 4th of July: At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Americans were invited by Captain Thompson to lunch on board a Continental frigate.

In Philadelphia, stones were being thrown through the windows of [Quaker](#) homes because, being adherents of the Peace Testimony, these people were unable to honor American military prowess by closing their businesses on the holidays declared in celebration of victories.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

The first religious sermon about Independence Day was delivered in Boston by the Reverend William Gordon, before the General Court of Massachusetts.

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

29th, 7th Month: The Meeting at [Newport](#) recorded: “Our [Friends](#) Aaron Lankester and David Sands signifying to this Meeting their desire to get off the island [they were visitors from New York [Yearly Meeting](#)] we appoint Gould Marsh, Thomas Robinson and Isaac Lawton to assist them in getting a permit from the Commanding Officer of the Island.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

August: St. Leger gathered his forces at Three Rivers before proceeding toward Rome, New York.

Four [Quaker](#) men of East Hoosack, Massachusetts were imprisoned for adhering to the Peace Testimony, until the General Court ordered their release.

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

August 2: People were trying to kill each other at Moses

In [Rhode Island](#), at Dutch Island, a black unit consisting of 300 local slaves who had been promised freedom after the war was able to kill approximately a thousand Hessian mercenary soldiers. (This black unit would also see action under Colonel Green at Ponts Bridge in New York.)

26th, 8th Month: The minutes of the women’s meeting of the [Aquidneck Island Friends](#) record that they had been alerted by the men’s meeting “that Hannah Borden, Anne Proud, and Ruth Goddard are indebted for Quit Rents for a considerable amount, we therefore appoint Amy Thurston and Mary Marsh to treat with said persons and make report to our next monthly meeting.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

30th, 9th Month: The visiting committee of the women's meeting of the [Aquidneck Island Friends](#) reported that the reason why the female residents of Point Estates had fallen behind on their rents was "*the general calamity by which the price of the necessities of life are so greatly enhanced, that it is with difficulty that they can supply their own daily necessities.*" The property of the [Quakers](#) was being seized ("*destrained*") both by the British soldiers and by the American soldiers, because of their refusal to take sides in the warfare. The accumulated totals of these destraints had come to amount to some £2,473. Indeed, attendance at meeting for worship was falling off because some [Friends](#) had become so straited that their clothing was no longer fit for them to appear in public.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

29th, 12th Month: The Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) recorded: "*No one is appointed to attend the Quarterly Meeting on account of the improbability of our having communication with our [Friends](#) on the main and not knowing where it may be held.*"

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1778

More of former [Quaker Benjamin West](#)'s pornography of violence, in "Battle of La Hogue":





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Per New York's 1st Militia Act, all persons working either for the new state government or for the new national structure were exempt from conscription. If, however a [Quaker](#) needed to obey the Peace Testimony, the price of his exemption from military service would be £10 per year. Non-commissioned coroners were exempted from this year through 1782. The owner of a mill was automatically exempted but ferrymen would need to obtain a license from the governor or the commander-in-chief before being considered exempt.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Friend Isaac Grey's A SERIOUS ADDRESS TO SUCH OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, ON THE CONTINENT OF NORTH-AMERICA, AS PROFESS SCRUPLES RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT: EXHIBITING THE ANCIENT REAL TESTIMONY OF THAT PEOPLE, CONCERNING OBEDIENCE TO CIVIL AUTHORITY amounted to a nationalistic argument in opposition to the Peace Testimony. When the 1st edition was bought up by the [Quakers](#) in order to suppress this publication, Grey had a 2d edition printed. He was [disowned](#) by New Garden Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

It was established that at least in the vicinity of Boston, Lynn, and Salem, all members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had by this point completed the process of [manumission](#) necessary to clear their families of the practices of

*"importing,
buying,
or disposing
or holding
of mankind as slaves."*

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

During this year, on *Paumanok* "Long Island," the [Quaker](#) meeting of Friend [Elias Hicks](#) appointed him a "recorded minister."

As an example of an acknowledgement of [Quaker disownment](#), here are two that were duly received and placed on file in this year at the Wilmington monthly meeting:

"Dear Friends, - Whereas I have paid a fine imposed on me for not appearing in a militant order with Andrew Tranburg and company, for which act of so doing I have received considerable condemnation, and am sensible that it is not consistent with a Christian life to do so; therefore, for the clearing of Truth and my own conscience, I thus give my testimony against that misstep, and hope for the future to keep nearer the spirit of Truth, that leads and not astray. I am your Friend, I.H."¹¹⁷
"S.D., under a sense of her own transgression, attended this meeting and offered a paper in order to acknowledge and condemn the same. 'Whereas I, the subscriber, for want of giving heed to the dictates of Truth in my own heart, which would have preserved me from evil, have, in a most sorrowful manner, deviated therefrom, and given way to a libertine disposition in keeping company with a man in no way suitable for me; and was led away in such a manner as to be guilty of fornication. It is with shame and sorrow of heart that I expose myself; but it has

117. Quoted in Ruth M. Pitman, "Structures of Accountability," QUAKER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT #60 (Summer 1985), page 34.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

often come before the view of my mind that the taking of the accursed thing formerly, although hid, even under ground, yet it was a hindrance to the battle of the Lord going forward. So I have been ready to conclude, that my endeavoring to keep this a secret might, in a spiritual sense, be a hindrance to the battle in this our day. And it is the sincere desire of my mind, that Infinite Goodness, which has been graciously pleased to visit me and set my sins in order before me, may not leave me nor forsake me; and that everything in me that is sinful or displeasing in his sight may be stoned, and the stump and root thereof be burned with fire, and that I may witness my sins to be washed away. Then I shall have more comfort that I sometime ago had, when I thought the time had come wherein I must appear before Him who knows the secrets of all hearts, and is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity with approbation. Oh, that I may often think of the distress that I was then in, for it passed through my mind, with many other things, that there was a woe pronounced against those that made the outside of the cup and platter clean, while the inside was full of hypocrisy; and it seemed to me that they were those who had the favor of man, but not of God. Now, as I felt myself, through my misconduct (though in a secret manner), disowned from the true unity of Friends, yet I think I can say that I am heartily sorry for all such misconduct as I have been guilty of, and do wish that Friends may find freedom so far to pass by my offence as to continue me under their care, hoping my future conduct may better desire it. S.D. ' '118

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

118. Quoted in Ezra Michener, A RETROSPECT OF EARLY QUAKERISM (Philadelphia: Zell, 1860), pages 191-192.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

After the Wyoming massacre of July 3d near Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, the [Quaker](#) family of Friend Jonathan Slocum, residing near the fort, did not flee with the other whites of the district. At some point 5-year-old [Frances Slocum](#) was discovered by members of the Delaware and Miami tribes in the closet under the stairs, because they were able to see her feet.



The tribalists also discovered her 12-year-old brother Ebenezer Slocum, but didn't bother themselves with him because of a deformed leg. (Near where she was taken into captivity is now the Frances Slocum Playground, which has a swing set and a basketball court. A few miles outside town is the Frances Slocum State Park.) Little Frances was taken first by canoe to Tioga, an Iroquois village on the Susquehanna River, and then overland to the Niagara River and a Delaware village. Although a number of histories have stated that this abduction took place in November, in an old family Bible Ebenezer Slocum describes it as taking place in September. As an identifying characteristic, this little auburn-haired pioneer girl had lost the end of the index finger of her left hand in a hammer-and-anvil accident. At the Delaware village, little Frances would be adopted by Strong Bear and Meshinga, a Miami couple who had lost their own daughter. She would traveled with them to their home in Kekionga (now Fort Wayne, Indiana). At the county historical museum in Wabash, Indiana there are a pair of moccasins and a shawl made by this "lost sister of the Wyoming."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

May 25, Sunday: A British force of 500 men, including Hessian troops, marched through [Warren](#) and down the main street of [Bristol, Rhode Island](#) (now known as Hope Street), setting fire to many buildings and taking several citizens as prisoners to [Newport](#). The home of the family of Captain Mark Anthony [DeWolf](#) at the south corner of Burton and Hope streets was one of the 19 torched. (The DeWolfs had fled to a farm in Swansea.) Most of the houses burnt were the barracks of American troops or homes of prominent “rebels.” (Bristol now boasts the oldest continuous 4th-of-July celebration in America. First staged in 1785, it was begun by Bristolians who had taken part in the revolution.)

After the failure of the American drive to recapture [Newport, Rhode Island](#), [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), who had become known as “The Universal Friend,” and some of her associates, obtained General John Sullivan’s permission and the British commander’s permission to pass through the military lines and pay a visit to England. It has been suspected that her agenda was to pay an evangelical visit to King George III.



This agenda would fail of accomplishment, but she would succeed in winning over Judge William Potter of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). He would in 1780 create a sanctuary for her and her little group of admirers on his estate at [Little Rest](#) (now [Kingston](#)).

Universal Friend would be going on preaching trips escorted by her father. Eventually her father would be replaced at her side, first by Judge Potter and then by her cadre of women friends. Her caravan —usually 12, riding two by two behind her spirited horse with her seated on a stunning white leather and blue velvet saddle— would find its way to Philadelphia and Worcester in Pennsylvania. Meetinghouses would be established, initially in South Kingston at the home of Judge Potter and then also in New Milford, Connecticut.¹¹⁹

The town of Acton was keeping tabs on how much the revolution was costing them:

4 men	Rhode Island	2¼ months	May and June	at £6=£24
4 men	Northern Army	4 months	Aug. to Dec.	at £24=£96
4 men	Northern Army	1½ months	Oct. and Nov.	at £9=£36
4 men	Cambridge	5 months	Nov. to April	at £12=£48
6 men	Cambridge	3 months	April to July	at £7¼=£43½

A full estimate of the services cannot be made. This town had the honor of furnishing several officers during the revolutionary war. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Faulkner and Captain Simon Hunt were in the battle at White Plains, and at

119. We are tempted to disrespect such a person as a mere self-deluded religious poseur — but in all fairness, if we do so there are any number of posturing males, cut from the same broadcloth, even today on the tube, whom we should also “diss.”



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

other times were also engaged in actual service.
The constitution was adopted by more than two thirds of the votes
of the town.¹²⁰

June 13: General John Sullivan had arrested two brothers of the [Quaker](#) faith for refusing to participate in any manner in military activities, and their case had been brought before the colony of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations's Council of War. When Quaker elders had appeared before the Council, it had only been to inform the Council that they would cooperate in no manner.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

They would not, for instance, sign any certificates that this person or that person was a member of the Society and therefore entitled to exemption from military service. Exasperated in the face of such intransigence, Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen, the chairman of the Council of War, wrote to Friend [Moses Brown](#):

I call upon you Moses and the whole Society of Friends ...
to show the shadow of injustice or inequity in the law.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

25th, 8th Month: The siege of [Aquidneck Island](#). The Quaker meeting at [Portsmouth](#) recorded: "*The communication between us and [Friends](#) at [Newport](#) being obstructed this meeting is adjourned to the 9th day of next month at the breaking up of the Meeting for Worship at Portsmouth.*"¹²¹

RHODE ISLAND

29th, 8th Month: Although the "Battle of Rhode Island" was taking place on the "Quaker Hill" of [Aquidneck Island](#), it is interesting to note that this event so significant to other Rhode Islanders would go entirely unmentioned in any local [Quaker](#) meeting minutes. What would be mentioned about this day, however, would be the sad fact that during the build-up for this "Battle of Rhode Island," a Tory home near [Bristol](#), [Rhode Island](#) had had to be abandoned — and later Friend Sarah Trask, wife of Ebenezer Trask, was found to have in her possession some objects from that home. When Friend Sarah would prove to be unwilling to express contrition for her conduct she would be [disowned](#) by her [Friends](#) meeting.

(Battles we could put up with —they having nothing to do with us— but theft was a no-no.)

120. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835

(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

121. As part of the defensive work in preparation for battle, the British forces on the island in this year sank 13 of their older ships across the mouth of the harbor. One of these appears to have been, actually, what remained of a proud ship that Captain Cook had used during his explorations, *Endeavour* (renamed *Lord Sandwich*, and in its last days used as a prison hulk containing captured American rebels). Coincidentally, also finding its way to the bottom of the harbor here would be Captain Cook's *Resolution*, renamed in its later existence *La Liberté*.

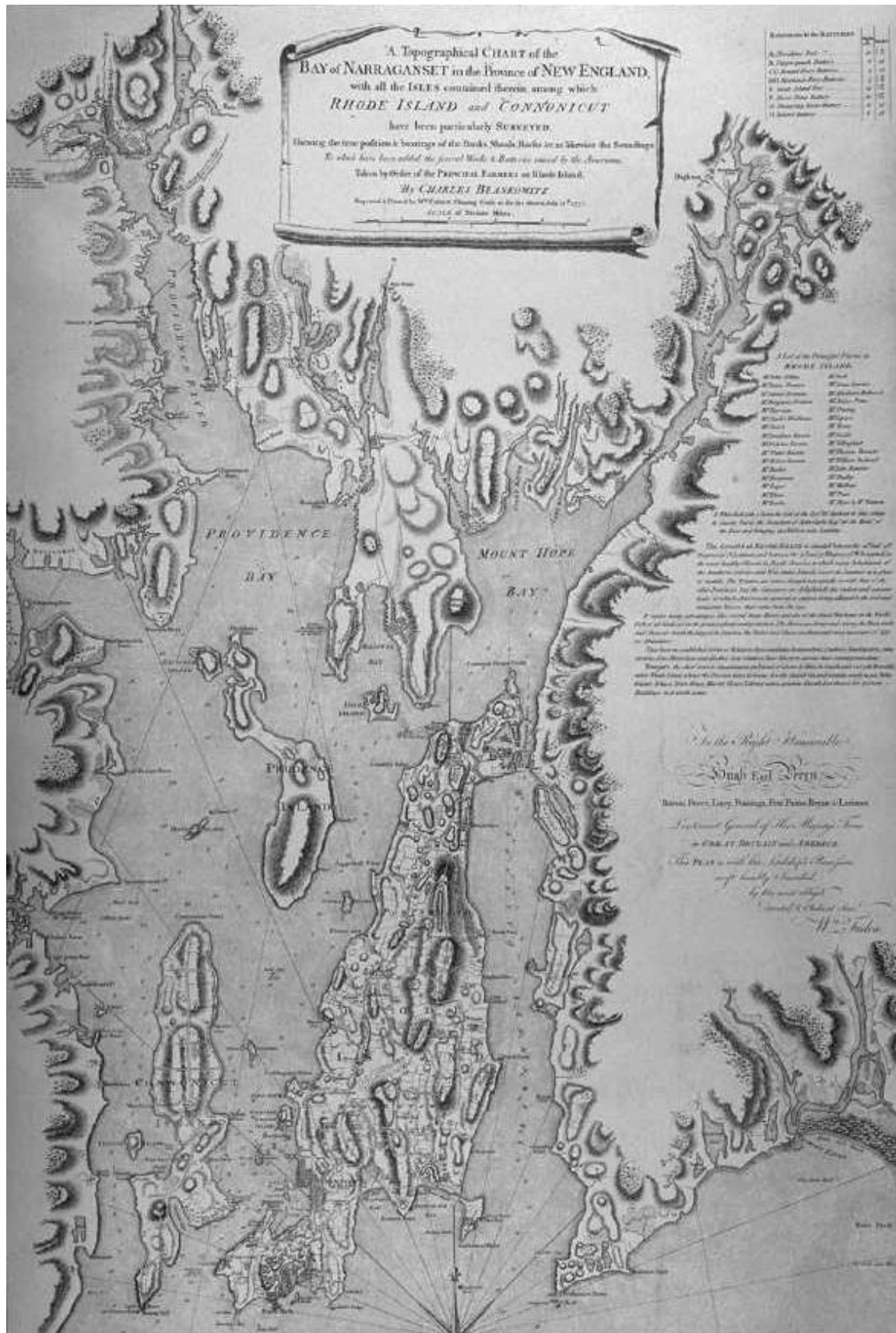


WHAT?

INDEX

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

14th, 9th Month: A [Quaker](#) committee from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had visited [Aquidneck Island Friends](#), and reported that they had found Friends on the eastern part of the island “generally in health, though stript of almost all their remaining livestock, and had at Middletown divers of their houses burnt, as we were informed by the British party, Friends houses were much throng’d by the Americans, who were very numerous on the Island, their hay and cornfields were wasting fast, horses and oxen being loose among the corn and indeed it was a wasting time amongst them, as to their outward estates. Yet to our comfort, we found Friends according to our observation quiet and pretty well resigned in their minds and our visit amongst them appear’d to be to their satisfaction and it was a time of sympathy and refreshment to us, to find them in so good a frame under their difficult situation. We assembled Friends after their Meeting and made particular enquiry whether there were any under necessitous circumstances and visited a number of families, found one Friend with a large family under present want being turn’d out of his house and stript of most of his property to whom we gave 24 pounds to enable him to purchase a cow from the Main. We saw no way to visit Friends at [Newport](#) but were informed that they were generally well about the 8th of last month but that bread was very scarce there.”

1779

In England, a boarding school for [Quaker](#) youth was chartered at Ackworth. Would this be taken as an inspiration for chartering a boarding school for Quaker youth in New England as well?

In the previous year, at the annual session, the Quakers of Philadelphia had recorded a report on the educational needs of their children. In this year that report made its way to Friend [Moses Brown](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL

The Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of Friends warned its members against “seeming” to give approval to war by the witnessing of militia demonstrations and marches. Do not be a spectator at such events, for such spectatorship is a complicit activity!

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

The Pennsylvania assembly also declared that for a [Quaker](#) to accept the Continental paper currency in trade was a dereliction of the Peace Testimony.¹²² In New England, however, Friend [Moses Brown](#) was taking the attitude that money in itself being morally neutral, a distinction could not be forced between different forms of money — and generally the New England Quakers would be following his leading.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

G.N. having had his Birth and education amongst us the People called Quakers but for want of taking heed to the dictates of Truth in his own breast he has so far deviated as to be guilty

122. Any number of Quakers were attempting to refuse to accept the paper money, on the ground that it had a war taint upon it. The Continental revolutionaries would sometimes confiscate all the property of such a currency abstainer. In the case of Friend John Cowgill, not only were his livestock seized, but his children were kicked out of their school, and he was taken under military escort to Dover, Maryland — where he was paraded through town in a cart with a placard attached to his back.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



of fornication; for which reproachful Conduct we deny him the right of membership amongst us until he is enabled to make suitable satisfaction for the same, which is desired on his



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

behalf.¹²³

And here is an application for re-enrollment as a member in good standing after disownment, at this same meeting in this same year (not the same case as the above case of G.N.):

Whereas I the subscriber some years past was so off my watch as to accompany my sister in her outgoing in marriage, contrary to the good order used amongst friends, on which account friends laboured with me, but thro' obstinacy I rejected their advice and suffered myself to be disowned, but being since favoured with a sight of the inconsistency of such a conduct do hereby condemn the same as disorderly and request that Friends may receive me into membership again, hoping to conduct better in future.¹²⁴

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Friend John Griffith's attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: "*Carefully shun the vain, unprofitable amusements, as well as the corrupt conversation of the world; all being earnestly admonished to avoid everything in their dress and address which might have the least tendency to render them unsuitable for an intercourse, league or amity with the children of the land, or of a depraved degenerate world that wallows in pollution and great defilements.*"¹²⁵

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

March 4: Giacomo Maria Brignole replaced Giuseppe Lomellini as Doge of Genoa.

[Moses Brown](#) wed a 2nd time, at the [Lincoln](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Rhode Island](#), with Friend Mary Olney.



22nd, 7th Month: The [Rhode Island](#) [[Aquidneck Island](#)] Monthly Meeting recorded that it had "*Received a Bill of exchange for one hundred pounds sterling drawn in favor of Thomas Robinson upon John Wright, Joseph Delaplane and Walter Franklin in New York, it being a charitable donation from our [Friends](#) in England, to be applied towards the support of such Friends as are reduced to necessitous circumstances within the verge of this Monthly Meeting.*"

August: Friend Samuel Wetherell, Jr. (1736-1816), a cloth manufacturer of Philadelphia who considered the Revolution to be defensive, and who considered defensive war to be not only permitted, but morally obligatory, was for these errors in his judgment [disowned](#) by the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

123. Ezra Michener, A RETROSPECT OF EARLY QUAKERISM (Philadelphia: Zell, 1860), page 55.

124. Quoted in Morse, BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING, page 55.

125. JOURNAL OF THE LIFE, TRAVELS AND LABOURS IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY OF JOHN GRIFFITH (York: 1830) [written 1779]



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

December: In Virginia, the sheriff went to the home of Friend Robert Hunnicutt of Blackwater monthly meeting on account of his “testimony against war” and consequent refusal to pay war taxes, and seized one of his [slaves](#). The sheriff selected a 6-year-old to seize –not worth nearly as much as an adult– so he wouldn’t need to make change.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(What was a [Quaker](#) doing, with black slaves? –Don’t ask.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

1780

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) appointed a committee “to Consider of a plan, for the Erection of a School or Schools for the Education of our Children & youth” in [Rhode Island](#), and a subscription fund was created for this purpose with Friend [Moses Brown](#) making the first donation, of \$575.

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL



Massachusetts withdrew its draft exemption for [Quakers](#), and began to consider all adherents of the Peace Testimony to be guilty of “desertion.” 17 men of the Dartmouth monthly meeting were imprisoned. Some Cape Cod Quakers were imprisoned. All these men would be soon released. The new constitution for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would have a clause specifically exempting Quakers from responsibility for militia service.

In New York, a 2d Militia Act revision obligated “Associated Exempts” –that is, militia members between the ages of 50 and 60– to cross state borders if ordered to do so out of military necessity. It increased the amount [Quaker](#) adherents of the Peace Testimony would be required to pay for conscientious exemption status, from £10 to £80. Public school teachers were, however, to be made exempt so long as they were actively employed for the full year.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Friend Benjamin Say](#) received the degree of M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He would practice as a physician in Philadelphia.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Judge William Potter had manumitted his slaves and was providing a sanctuary for “The Universal Friend” ([Jemimah Wilkinson](#)) and her band of followers at “the Old Abbey” on his estate at Little Rest (the village of [Kingston](#)) about a mile to the north of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). To house his guests he made such large additions to his already large mansion (14 new rooms) that he was obliged to undertake a mortgage he would not be able to maintain. According to a record that has survived, the Judge’s daughter Susannah Potter “died in the arms of The Friend.” Dr. Joshua Babcock of [Westerly](#), a friend of Benjamin Franklin, had become one of her followers. She remained on friendly terms with [Stephen Hopkins](#), former governor of Rhode Island, a cousin. (She was also related to [Esek Hopkins](#), first commodore of the American navy.) She had influence among the [Quakers](#) of Cape Cod. Since she was not an advocate of the Quaker Peace Testimony, she was able to speak at a “Free Quaker” meeting of the disowned Friends, in Philadelphia.



THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Jemimah came to be known not only as “The Universal Friend” but also, inside her band of disciples, as “Beft-Friend.” Upon one occasion in New Milford, Connecticut, she would proclaim a 30-day fast on bread and water — and her disciples would obey. (What are beft-friends for? :-)

June: The Quaker monthly meeting of [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) received a petition from an enslaved person, that she be allowed to “come under friends care.” Her name was Pink Harris and she was the slave of Friend David Harris. (Note that the given name “Pink” might very well indicate here what it has definitely indicated elsewhere in American culture — as witness the 1949 movie “Pinky.” The fact that this woman was enslaved should not be accepted as sufficient evidence that her complexion was in any way distinguishable from the fair complexion of the general membership of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Quite to the contrary, the fact that she would be accepted into membership should be accepted as sufficient evidence that this person was a mulatto light enough of complexion to be able to pass as all white at least among those unfamiliar with her family background and social situation.)



May 21: Elizabeth Gurney was born in Norwich, England, the daughter of a [Friend](#) who was a partner in the Gurney Bank and owned a woolstapling and spinning factory.

ELIZABETH FRY

Fall: Meetings of Free [Quakers](#) began in private homes in Philadelphia, in Chester County of Pennsylvania, and in West River, Maryland. Off your enemies — Christ would surely have voted for that!¹²⁶

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

126. The jest at the time was that what the Free Quakers were free of was Quakerism.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

September: The [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) received Pink Harris, the [slave](#) of Friend David Harris, into membership. She eventually would be granted a [manumission](#) document.

31st, 10th Month: The British army had been evacuated, [Aquidneck Island](#) had come to be occupied by French soldiers: “*A part of the Meeting House at [Newport](#) having at some time past been occupied by the French Army, we appoint James Mitchell, James Chase, Isaac Lawton, and Jacob Mott to use their endeavours to have it released.*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)
[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

20th, 11th Month: The situation of the French troops in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) would be described by François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux.

[MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX](#)

“Was read in this Meeting to good satisfaction an Epistle from the Quarterly Meeting held at Dartmouth the 12th and 13th of 10th month 1780 by which they desire we would treat with such [Friends](#) as are concerned in keeping [slaves](#), they having had information that there were some such among us, whereupon we appoint Isaac Lawton and Sampson Shearman to treat with them and report to next Monthly Meeting.”

[MANUMISSION](#)
[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

27th, 11th Month: A disownment by the [Newport](#) meeting: “*Whereas James Marsh, who some time past came off from [Rhode Island](#) [[Aquidneck Island](#)] and by his own account had never been deprived of a right of membership which he held by Birth among [Friends](#), has since he came among us [among the Friends of [Smithfield](#)] maintained a life and conversation in many respects inconsistent with our religious testimony, particularly in hiring a man or men to go into the war in his stead and although he could not deny but that he thought it incompatible with the Christian profession under which he had past, yet after being laboured with for his restoration, he gave no encouragement in making Friends satisfaction....”*

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

Between 1775 and 1780: The [Friends](#) of [Aquidneck Island, Rhode Island](#) had recorded 22 [manumissions](#) of black [slaves](#) between 1775 and 1780, while disowning during that period 14 members of the Society who after being visited and labored with had refused to sign such documents. At the end of this process the comment was made that there was “hardly a Friend” who continued as a slaveholder. “Hardly?” –We do know of one such Quaker: Ann Bower was still holding her slaves, nor had she been disowned.

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

1781

A house for a schoolmaster was erected on the property of the [Quaker](#) monthly meeting near Princeton, New Jersey. Until the turn of the century and the erection of a proper schoolhouse (located in what is now the parking lot), the children of the Friends would be educated in that home — and it is currently being alleged that the children of black slaves, and of native Americans, were educated in that home as well (although I have been unable to learn what the financial arrangements for this would have been).

In [Rhode Island](#), a [Quaker](#) man was stabbed by a group of looting [German](#) mercenaries attached to the British army, in his home in the presence of his wife and children (this is the only Quaker death we know of, caused by either army during the fighting of the American Revolution).

The seaman [Jean Thoreau](#) discarded his sailor's finery to marry Friend [Jane Burns](#), daughter of a Scottish [Quaker](#). Both were 27 years old. The maiden Jane and her aunts Ann Orrok and Hannah Orrok were joint heirs to the house in [Prince Street](#) in Boston. In this home Jean and Jane would have seven of their eight children, excepting Elizabeth. This 1887 sketch by George R. Tolman is a side view of the building that had been their home, as it appeared in the Reverend Edward Griffin Porter's RAMBLES IN OLD BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND:






LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Friend](#) John Dalton's early years had been heavily influenced by [Friend](#) Elihu Robinson, an instrument maker and meteorologist. At the age of 15, Friend John joined his older brother Jonathan in running a [Quaker](#) school at Kendal, near the family home in Cumberland, England.

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London, this year considered it necessary once again to emphasize that the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#) was incompatible with any [Quaker](#) vessel being armed:

It is recommended to the several quarterly and monthly meetings, that all concerned in armed vessels be dealt with according to the minute of 1744;  and it is recommended to Friends everywhere, to take into their serious consideration the inconsistency of any under our profession suffering their temporal interest to induce them in any manner to contribute to the purposes of war.

Friend [Benjamin Say](#), a physician of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was among those known as the "fighting Quakers," who upon being [disowned](#) by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on account of their disregard of the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#), initiated the formation of the society entitled "The Monthly Meeting of Friends, railed by some Free Quakers, distinguishing us from the brethren who have [disowned](#) us."¹²⁷

Friend Samuel Wetherill wrote these words upon being [disowned](#) by Philadelphia Monthly Meeting:

We wish only to be freed from every species of ecclesiastical tyranny, and mean to pay a due regard to the principles of our forefathers, and to their rules and regulations so far as they apply to our circumstances, and hope, thereby, to preserve decency and to secure equal liberty to all. We have no design to form creeds or confessions of faith, but humbly to confide in those sacred lessons of wisdom and benevolence, which have been left us by Christ and His apostles, contained in the holy scriptures; and appealing to that divine principle breathed by the breath of God into the hearts of all, to leave every man to think and judge for himself, according to the abilities received, and to answer for his faith and opinions to him, who "seeth the secrets of all hearts," the sole Judge and sovereign Lord of conscience.¹²⁸

127. There's this jest, that a Free Quaker was someone who was free of Quakerism. This wasn't the way they thought of themselves, of course, but we don't have a record that any of these people came back to Quakerism when the bloodshedding came to be over and the Ten Commandments reasserted themselves as guides to our conduct.

128. "An Address to those of the People called Quakers, who have been [disowned](#) for Matters Religious and Civil"

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

March 6: According to the journal of [Friend Thomas B. Hazard](#) or Hafsard or Hasard of [Kingstown, Rhode Island](#),¹²⁹ “General Washington went to Newport this day. The town was illuminated.” Presumably Washington and his escort of 20 soldiers had arrived over the old Pequot trail out of Connecticut and had crossed over to [Newport](#) on the ferry.

People were trying to kill each other at Wetzell’s or Whitsall’s Mills and at Wiboo Swamp in South Carolina. (I wish they’d learn to stop doing that.)

In England, Erasmus Darwin and the widowed Elizabeth Pole were wed. She was wealthy, so during this month they would move from Lichfield to her grand home, Radburn Hall near Derby.



This of course meant that Dr. Darwin would no longer be able to attend the monthly meetings of the Lunar Society at the Soho House in Birmingham — that his future contacts with these friends would be through correspondence.

THE LUNAR SOCIETY OF BIRMINGHAM



29th, 5th Month: “*The Women’s Meeting informs that Ann Bowers is holding [slaves](#) and refused to follow anyone’s advice.*” A committee of male [Friends](#) was formed, to labor along with the women.

RHODE ISLAND

MANUMISSION

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

¹²⁹. He was a blacksmith and sometimes rode to [Quaker](#) meeting with his wife on the same horse — and sometimes she would fall off but “not hurt herself much.” He was called “Nailer Tom” because of the nails he trimmed from scrap iron, and in order to distinguish him from a relative known as “College Tom,” from another relative known as “Shepherd Tom,” and from his own son who —because he had fits— was known as “Pistol-Head Tom.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July 4: At the Concord (Pennsylvania) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), a query came from



Birmingham Meeting whether, if an applicant for membership is known or believed to be sincere, he or she should be rejected simply on account of the color of their skin. The applicant in Birmingham, Pennsylvania, a young woman named Abigail Franks, confessed to being but $\frac{1}{2}$ white, and $\frac{1}{8}$ Negro and $\frac{3}{8}$ Native American. Such a request for membership presented by a local meeting such as the Birmingham would have been determined, had the applicant been fully white, at the level of the Monthly Meeting without reference to higher meetings. In this instance the application was referred to [Yearly Meeting](#) simply because the applicant was of mixed race. This issue would be referred first to a committee of men and women and then to a Quarterly Meeting committee which would be charged “to inquire more minutely into the disposition, color and circumstances of the individual on whose account the application took its rise.”¹³⁰



12th, 7th Month: Friend Artemis Fish had been [disowned](#) by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for marrying a woman who was not a Friend, and for being “*concerned in warlike matters.*” Despite thus having been disowned, at this point in his subsequent life he requested in writing that his former Meeting take him under its care while he wrestled with an uneasiness he had, over his progressive involvement in the civil warfare. On this day the Committee appointed by the Religious Society of Friends to deal with the peculiar problem in which former Friend Artemis Fish had requested their assistance reported to the meeting that “*he appeared to be concerned to be under the care of Friends,*” and requested continuance for another month since “*said Fish was therewith embarrassed over what was mentioned in his acknowledgement.*”

RHODE ISLAND

20th, 8th Month: “*The [Friends](#) appointed to treat with Artemis Fish reported that he still continues under his former embarrassment. It is therefore referred to our next Monthly Meeting.*”

RHODE ISLAND

31st, 8th Month: A committee of [Friends](#) visited Governor William Greene to ask that the [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) be cleared of soldiers. The governor addressed a letter to the French officer in charge, and gave it to the Quakers to deliver. When the committee would deliver this letter, they would be courteously received and the meetinghouse would within a few days be cleared of troops.

September 9: [James Arnold](#) was born to the [Quaker](#) family of Thomas Arnold and Mary Brown Arnold in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). As a youth, Friend James would enter the whaling enterprise of Friend William Rotch, Jr. in [New Bedford](#), eventually getting married with the boss’s daughter, Friend Sarah Rotch, and becoming a partner, and accumulating a vast whale-oil fortune — for which eventually he would find there to be no blood heirs.

¹³⁰. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury’s “Negro Membership in the Society of Friends” in [The Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



"The whaler was a kind of pirate-miner – an excavator of oceanic oil, stoking the furnace of the Industrial Revolution as much as any man digging coal out of the earth."

– Philip Hoare, THE WHALE: IN SEARCH OF THE GIANTS OF THE SEA (NY: HarperCollins, March 2010)



MOBY-DICK, THE OIL SPILL

27th, 9th Month: "The *Friends* appointed to treat with Artemis Smith reported that his embarrassment still continued, which was that the said Fish was sometime past appointed Collector of a Tax for the support of war by the Town of *Portsmouth*, a part of which he collected, but being uneasy therewith refuseth to collect the remaining part. Said matter is referred to next Monthly Meeting under the care of the Friends before appointed, who are directed to make a narrow inspection into the nature and circumstances of said affair and report accordingly."

RHODE ISLAND

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October: In the case of Abigail Franks, the committee of [Quakers](#) reported that the young woman who confessed to mixed-race origins had been visited and that:

her disposition they apprehended to be worthy of Friends' notice; and her color appeared to them not darker than some who are esteemed white: and we find by inquiry that her great grandfather was an African Negro and her great grandmother an American Indian; her grandfather a descendant of them and her grandmother an Indian; her father a descendant of them and the mother a white woman.

The matter of the acceptability of such a person of mixed race as a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was referred to the [Yearly Meeting](#).¹³¹

Meanwhile, the general social context of these people who were being so racially picky was as follows:



Pennsylvania Quakers ... experienced significant harassment for their pacifism and neutrality. Their numbers were already greatly reduced by the disciplinary renaissance of the 1750s, and they faced a real schism from "Free Quakers," who both supported the Revolution and rejected pacifism. As a result "orthodox" Friends found themselves hunted down in a colony they had founded and long governed. In May 1776 a stone-throwing mob forced Philadelphia Friends to observe a fast day that the Continental Congress had proclaimed. A Berks County mob shackled and jailed Moses Roberts, a Quaker minister, until he posted a \$10,000 bond guaranteeing his "good" behavior. Philadelphia patriots also exiled seventeen Friends to Virginia in 1776 for nearly two years so they would not interfere with revolutionary activities. Patriots celebrating the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1782 ransacked Quaker homes that had not displayed victory candles.

30th, 10th Month: *"The Committee appointed to confer with Artemis Fish reported that they inspected into the nature and circumstances of his embarrassment and have advised him to be patient and quiet until it is accommodated. His request is therefore dismissed for the present."*

RHODE ISLAND

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

30 1 day of 12 M 1781 (December 30, Sunday, 1781): [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was born as a birthright Friend, the 1st son of Friend James Gould and Friend Hannah Wanton Gould. He would write on his 25th birthday:

*30 3 day of 12 M 1806 / With the day compleats the 25 year of my Age*¹³²

131. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury's "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends" in [The Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

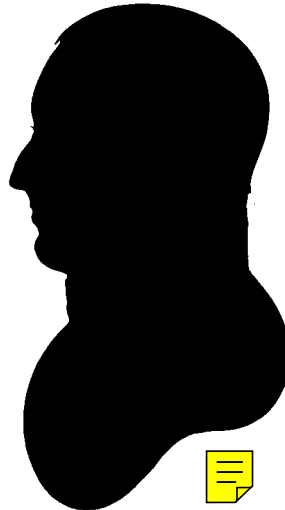
James, his father, seems to have followed the tailor's trade in part due to being quite lame. His shop was near the Parade, which is the present-day Washington Square of [Newport](#). Hannah, his mother, was a daughter of Stephen Wanton and had grown up in one of the grand families of Rhode Island, a family that had obtained at least part of its fortune by investment in the [international slave trade](#). He would grow up in the [Quaker](#) community near the Point on [Aquidneck Island](#), and get married with Friend Hannah Rodman, daughter of Friend Clark Rodman and Friend Abigail Rodman, in 1808, and this couple would produce two offspring, Caleb who would die in infancy and John Stanton Gould who would get married with Mary Ashby and settle in Hudson, New York.

132. Friend Stephen crafted the books he used for his journals, himself, by taking plain paper and stitching it together down the middle, and then folding the papers over on the stitch line. All entries from his journal in the Kouroo Contexture were prepared by Rosalind Cobb Wiggins. "Posie," as she was called, earned an MA in Black Studies in Education following a 25-year career as a portrait and ecclesiastical sculptor. After teaching at Washtenaw Community College in Ypsilanti, Michigan, and at [Moses Brown](#) School in Providence, Rhode Island, she retired to work as the curator of the New England Yearly Meeting Archives, archives which are now kept at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island. Since then she published works about Friends and African Americans in 18th- and 19th-Century New England. Her article "Paul and Stephen, Unlikely Friends" appeared in [Quaker History](#), Volume 90 Number 1, for Spring 2001.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

This is the only known image of Friend Stephen:



Friend Stephen is the Gould who wrote the very extensive spiritual diary, now in the Rare Book collections of Cornell University along with the original of the above image:

#2557 Stephen Wanton Gould
 Diary #10
 May 1, 1809-June 30, 1812
 Contains entries of:
 Birth of Stephen's son Caleb — May 24, 1809
 Death of Caleb — August 30, 1810
 Birth of Stephen's son John Stanton — March 14, 1812
 Death of Stephen's father James Gould, January 21, 1812

The cover is handmade of a double sheet of heavy paper, hand-stitched along the side:

“ No 1^o ~ from 1st of 5m^o 1809 to 30th of 6 m^o 1812 ~ ”

There is in the Cornell collection also a curious tiny one which reads, in its entirety, as follows:

12 mo 19 1826 Edward Almy came to our house to board. / Moses Lopez says he came to Newport in the year 1767. & was 20 years old when he arrived. & landed on Romes's wharf, now the Shipyard owned by the family of Gibbs. He is now, this year 1827 — 80 years of age — He now lives in NYork & visited Newport 6 mo 1827

1782

English [Quakers](#) formed an association “for the relief and liberation of the [slaves](#) in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the [slave trade](#) on the coast of Africa.”

During the 1760s, some [Quakers](#) from [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) had relocated to a new community in the Hoosac Valley in the Berkshires, called at the time East Hoosuck Plantation — that had long since been renamed in honor of founding father Samuel Adams of Boston, as Adams MA. At this point these Friends began to erect an Adams meetinghouse, that would require four years to complete. This is the meetinghouse as it would appear as of 1904, with more than a century of weather and silence on its boards:



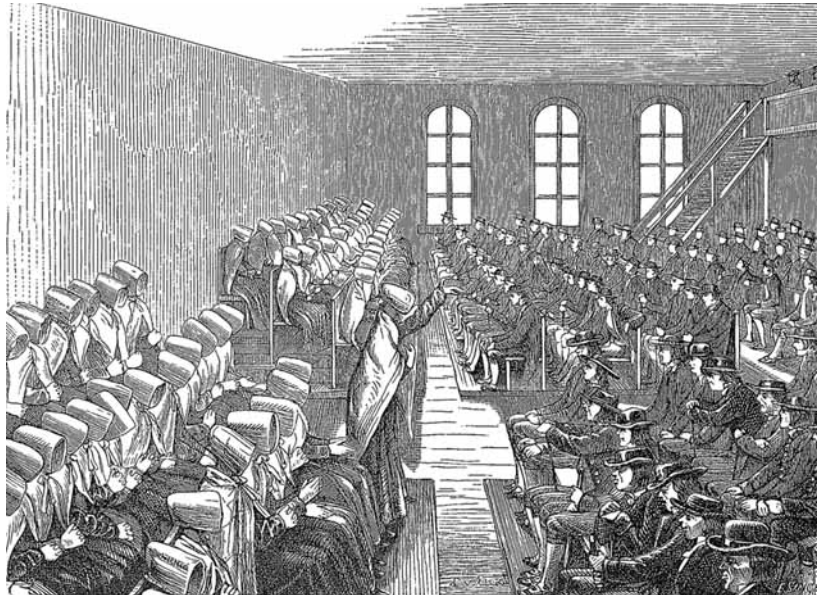
Here is an attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts, expressed in this year in a [Critical Review](#) notice of John Scott of Amwell’s POETICAL WORKS: “These poems are written by a Quaker; a circumstance rather extraordinary in the world of letters, rhyming being a sin which gentlemen of that fraternity are seldom guilty of.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

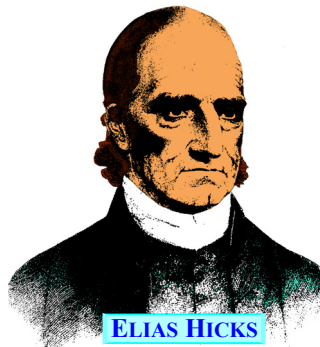
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

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" and hurried off to spread the news.



ELIAS HICKS

In New York, a third revision was made to the 1778 Militia Act. Gaolers were once again made exempt from any military service. However, [Quakers](#) were to be required to pay £10 for exemption from military service.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Flushing Meeting joined with all other New-York [Quakers](#) in refusing to man the city watch, as ordered by the British troops, holding this to be a violation of their Peace Testimony, according to which they should refrain from lending support to either side of a war.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The botanist Michel-Guillaume-Jean de Crèvecoeur,¹³³ in his *LETTERS FROM AN AMERICAN FARMER* (Stone, ed., page 160), had some alarming things to say about women's use of [opium](#) on [Nantucket Island](#):

A singular custom prevails here among the women, at which I was greatly surprised and am really at a loss how to account for the original cause that has introduced in this primitive society so remarkable a fashion, or rather so extraordinary a want. They have adopted these many years the Asiatic custom of taking a dose of opium every morning, and so deeply rooted is it that they would be at a loss how to live without this indulgence; they would rather be deprived of any necessary than forego their favorite luxury. This is much more prevailing among the women than the men, few of the latter having caught the contagion, though the sheriff, whom I may call the first person in the island, who is an eminent physician beside and whom I had the pleasure of being well acquainted with, has for many years submitted to this custom. He takes three grains of it every day after breakfast, with the effects of which, he often told me, he was not able to transact any business. It is hard to conceive how a people always happy and healthy, in consequence of the exercise and labour they undergo, never oppressed with the vapours of idleness, yet should want the fictitious effects of opium to preserve that cheerfulness to which their temperance, their climate, their happy situation, so justly entitle them. But where is the society perfectly free from error or folly; the least imperfect is undoubtedly that where the greatest good preponderates; and agreeable to this rule, I can truly say, that I never was acquainted with a less vicious or more harmless one.

READ THE FULL TEXT

As a Quaker as well as a researcher into the general past, I can think of a suggestion to make, a suggestion only, as to a novel line of research in regard to this revelation. Nantucket was from a very early point a [Quaker](#) center. And the Quakers of England had been in that era involved in the manufacture and sale of opium products. Nowadays we don't hear much of this, although we hear a whole lot about the involvement of certain Quaker families, such as the [Cadburys](#), in the manufacture and sale of a comparison product, fine chocolate candies. Someday I'd like to know whether any of those Quakers were making any sort of connection between the use of opium, a decided pacifier, and the Quaker Peace Testimony. I'm not jesting.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Lawrence Buell characterizes this literary effort thusly on page 55 and pages 127-8 of *THE ENVIRONMENTAL*

133. He was also known during his lifetime as Hector Saint-John de Crèvecoeur and, in the New World, as J. Hector St. John.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

IMAGINATION: THOREAU, NATURE WRITING, AND THE FORMATION OF AMERICAN CULTURE.¹³⁴



America's first major work of literary agrarianism, Crèvecoeur's *LETTERS OF AN AMERICAN FARMER* (1782), ... begins with images of Farmer James's happy, thriving estate –the proper way of the new world, clearly– and ends with somber autobiographical reminiscence of the loyalist untimely ripped from that estate when revolution struck. Crèvecoeur's visions of agrarian prosperity in the middle colonies are not a homegrown American documentary so much as a European visitor's or immigrant's dream of what might be enacted, ventriloquized first through the letters of a model farmer writing to an English gentleman who had visited him, then in Crèvecoeur's more cosmopolitan authorial voice. We witness American culture and writing at the moment of being dreamed by the European mind. ... One sign of Henry Thoreau's yielding that also presaged (and, through his influence, helped to shape) the whole course of American literary naturalism was the opening of a split between pastoral and agrarian sensibility in his work not present in early American literary naturalism. Crèvecoeur and the Virginia planters domesticated the pastoral ideal in an agrarian context, as did Jefferson's Yankee Federalist counterpart [Timothy Dwight](#). Thoreau, however, generally satirized farming as part and parcel of the soul-withering false economy of the work ethic against which he set his own ethos of contemplative play, which approached crop growing in a wilfully fanciful manner: "Shall I not rejoice also at the abundance of the weeds whose seeds are the granary of the birds?" (*WALDEN* 166). His favorite metaphor for necessary labor was the myth of Apollo tending the flocks of King Admetus (*WALDEN* 70; cf. *Journal* 4: 114) – a way of pastoralizing but spurning pasture duty at a single stroke. (It became one of his code phrases for days spent surveying [*Journal* 6: 185].) Thoreau's desire to imagine an actualization of the pastoral idea more as leisure than as work drove him more often to picture the countryman as a Colin Clout than as a Lycidas.

The *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA*, which of course very seldom mentions Thoreau, has this to say in addition:

The passage containing his "melting pot" theory and answering the question "What is an American?" is widely quoted, and historians of the frontier depend heavily on his documented account of the stages by which the log cabin became the opulent farmhouse. Crèvecoeur also provides natural history essays like those of Henry Thoreau, descriptions of nature, Indian legends, poignant tales of the Revolution, and melancholy, sentimental stories of slavery and the disappearance of the red men. His charming style, keen eye, and simple philosophy are universally admired.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

134. It is not clear to me why Buell here refers to him as Farmer James. Although he was known by several names, I was not aware that James had been one of them.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

11th of 11th Month: The Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Rhode Island](#), agitated for the [Quakers](#) to “promote the institution of a school or schools.”

From the Meeting for Sufferings for New-England, to the several Quarterly and Monthly-Meetings belonging to the Yearly-Meeting.

Dear Friends,

Being moved by the Yearly-Meeting, as well as by renewed desires being raised in ourselves, to encourage and promote the institution of a School, or Schools, for the virtuous education of our youth; and as we are apprehensive the design and intention of the Yearly-Meeting has not been dearly understood by many, whereby objections and discouragements with well-minded Friends have arose, tending to shut up the benevolence which otherwise might have been manifest by a more general, free and liberal contribution, to an institution intended for and which promises essential benefits to the poor and others, not only for the present, but for generations to come: We are therefore engaged to lay before you the intentions of Friends in this establishment, and our purpose of executing them, when and as far as we are enabled; and to add such remarks as may remove, as far as may be, such objections as we have heard suggested. There are some, and we hope not a few, yet amongst us, who, as the restraining principle of truth hath been raised into dominion, have been made uneasy in their minds, at their children's going to schools of those not of our society, nor under the government of it; where there is generally a corruption of language and often of manners imbibed, if not taught as parts of their instruction. Those who have a concern for a right education of their rising offspring, that they may be preserved in the simplicity of truth, are desirous to have them brought up and instructed in the way they should go, that when they are old they may not depart from it. From this source arises the present concern of the Yearly-Meeting, correspondent with the concern of our worthy ancients, who we find by the discipline established amongst us as a people, as early as the year 1690, advise Friends every where, “as far as they are able or may be capable, to provide school-masters and mistresses, who are faithful Friends, to teach and instruct their children, and not to send them to such schools where they are taught the corrupt ways, manners, fashions, and language of the world, and of the heathen, in their authors and names, of the heathenish gods and goddesses, tending greatly to corrupt and alienate the minds of children into an averseness or opposition against the truth, and against the simplicity of it.” The want of attention to which advice has occasioned the well-concerned amongst us for the happiness of the rising generation, and prosperity of truth, to mourn for the hurt thereby sustained in our society. Our principles lead to a separation from the world, its customs, habits, language, and manners; how then can we hope for faithful successors in our *posterity*, or that they will come up in principles and practices agreeable thereto, if we continue so far to neglect the early care of our offspring, as to send them to schools where principles and practices so repugnant are inculcated and taught? It is essential to the continuance of



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

every society, upon the foundation of its rise and establishment, that its first principles be often recurred to. The principle of light and truth, which first separated our ancients from the world, early led George Fox, that ancient worthy follower of our Lord, into a sight of the necessity of a separation from the world, in the education of the succeeding generations, even before the establishment of the discipline which the Lord was then opening in him, and is in the hands of faithful members as a hedge around us as a people. In the year 1667, after being at Hertford at settling the men's Monthly-Meeting, and returning towards London, he advised the setting up a school at Waltham for teaching boys, and also a woman's school to be opened at Shacklewell, for instructing girls and young maidens in "*whatever things were civil and useful in the creation.*" See journal, page 395. And his concern for the prosperity of the schools is manifest by his visiting them in various parts, an example still worthy the attention of the Lord's servants. Some may be ready to say, it is evident that truth requires its professors should be instructed and exemplified by its followers; but, say they, how does this apply to, or make necessary, the Yearly-Meeting school, it being each Monthly-Meeting's concern to attend to this necessary care? True, it is the duty and should be the care of rightly-concerned Friends, in each Monthly-Meeting, to see, as far as may be, that proper schools are kept up for the right education of the children. The question is of importance, and needs to be answered, as it leads to the rise of the proposition for the present institution. At the Yearly-Meeting in 1779 there came up a proposal from Rhode-Island Quarter, and at the same time a recommendation from our brethren of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, by their epistle from the Yearly-Meeting, respecting the education of our youth, in schools under the care of solid Friends; which took the solid attention of our Yearly-Meeting, and they recommended to each Quarter to appoint a Committee, to "assist the several Monthly-Meetings in the best method of educating children and youth amongst Friends, and to return an account next year, in order to ripen the subject for further advice and assistance in this interesting matter." The Quarterly-Meetings, upon inspection by the said Committees, did not find any schools under the immediate care of Monthly-Meetings; nor were there any standing Committees for that purpose, in any Monthly-Meeting, save one; but upon a large and favored conference of the Committee from Rhode-Island Quarterly-meeting, with the Committees of seven Monthly-Meetings, half the number in the Yearly-Meeting assembled upon the occasion, with other solid Friends. "There appeared a disposition in each Monthly-Meeting to reform in our practice, and get as fast as may be into the education of children and youth in schools wholly under the tuition of Friends, and the government of the several Monthly-Meetings, by Committees to be appointed for the purpose." And accordingly the Quarterly-Meeting's Committee gave forth advice, in the 10th month, 1799, "that Friends do not, after their present contracts expire, send their children to schools kept by instructors not of our society, or not under the regulation of Friends, without the advisement of the School-Committee of their respective Monthly-Meetings;" which limitation, though it may to some seem as the effect of modern zeal, is supported by an ancient



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

recommendation of our Yearly-Meeting in 1709, which may not be improper on this occasion to recite, "that Friends do their endeavours to get Friends school-masters or mistresses, and in want of such to have their children taught at home, not send them to such as are not Friends; because of the dangers of being corrupted with the hurtful conversation of the youth, or otherwise."

The said Committee had further to observe, in their report to the Quarterly-Meeting, "that the great difficulty that seemed to attend Friends, at this time, respecting the establishing proper schools in the several Meetings, is the great defect of education in times past, whereby persons suitably qualified for school masters are not easily, if at all, to be had. If therefore the Quarterly-Meetings could promote a school, where boarding scholars might be received and taught, in such a manner as to qualify our youth, of the rising generation, to teach school, we think it would be an acceptable service." Which being accepted, and the substance sent up to the Yearly-Meeting, and being read there, with the accounts from the other Quarters, the subject at large came weightily before the Meeting, and a large Committee was appointed to take the subject into consideration, and report what appeared best to be done *further* in that matter. From all which it appears evident, that the early care of Friends to guard against a declension, which doubtless was foreseen would arise in the society, if a care was not duly attended to in the virtuous education of the rising generation, in our principles and practices, and to guard against the corruptions incident to mixtures with others at large, has not had the desired effect. Several causes for which may be assigned, one of which is the want of proper attention, in too many, to the first principle of light and truth as afore mentioned, which separates from the world, and which would engage all our members to comply, as far as circumstances would admit, with the advices of superior Meetings upon this subject, which has been sorrowfully felt by some amongst us, who have to believe that the outgoings of many of our youth have been greatly owing to the want of attention in parents to this great duty of a right education of their offspring. The difficulty of procuring suitable school-masters, and in small Meetings members living too remote from each other to daily go to and return from one school, and the want of ability, in many families, both on account of their education and their streightened circumstances in life, render the proper instruction of their children in their families impracticable. To remedy these difficulties, make education cheap and easy for all in society to come at, in a more guarded, safe and useful manner; and especially that the affecting and reproachful answers to our queries, too often heard, that our poor do not partake of suitable learning to fit them for business, the concern of Friends is extended to

The institution founded by the Yearly-Meeting, in 1780, as follows:

"We the Committee appointed to consider of a plan for the erecting of a school or schools, for the education of our children and youth, in order to qualify not only a sufficient number for instructors and schoolmasters, but that the poor children and others of the society may receive the necessary learning to qualify them for business, having considered with



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

attention, and solidly conferred upon the subject, do propose the recommending down to the several Quarterly and Monthly-Meetings, the promoting free, liberal and voluntary subscriptions, donations, bequests and devises, adequate to the design and importance of the subject, as a fund to remain forever; the interest or income of which to be applied to the support of education: That there be a standing Committee appointed by this Yearly Meeting, to whom, or some of them, deeds and conveyances of real estate may be made, as Trustees for the Yearly-Meeting for New-England; and to be authorised to receive all donations, collections and subscriptions; and to take care of devises, which may be from time to time for the purposes aforesaid, and to appropriate the same, and to be in all cases subject to the direction of the Yearly-Meeting. And that said Committee, as soon as it shall be enabled, open a school, in such place as they may judge most convenient, within the limits of this Yearly-Meeting. And as the fund shall or may be increased, to increase the number of schools, if necessary, in the most convenient places, within the limits aforesaid: And have the right of procuring and approbating all masters and instructors of such schools; and also to establish general rules and orders, both for the observation of the instructors and pupils, directing the books that shall or may be read, and the branches of learning to be inculcated, consistent with truth and the good order of society; and to take the necessary care that they are faithfully attended unto. The said Committee to be subject, from time to time, to the advisement and direction of this Meeting; and to be annually re-appointed, if thought best, or removed, as occasion may require: And that the said fund is to be considered as a perpetual estate, limited and confined to the purposes of education irrevocably; but that the direction and application thereof be in the Yearly-Meeting, or their Committee – who are to have liberty to receive into the said school or schools orderly youth, not of our society (they complying with the rules and regulations of the school) whenever the Committee may, after due consideration of all circumstances, think it useful and best. And as it appears a care is reviving in most Monthly-Meetings for the due education of the rising generation, it is the desire of this Committee that such care be continued and increased, and that the example of this Meeting operate as an encouragement to each particular Meeting, to attend to so important and necessary a concern.

“And in order to the speedy establishment of this necessary institution, we recommend a subscription in freedom to be promoted in all the Meetings, to be forthwith applied for the purposes aforesaid; and that it become the care of Friends in future to promote annually subscriptions, to be applied to the use of the school, until the income of the fund shall be sufficient, and so make such annual subscriptions unnecessary.

“Which being several times read, and weightily considered, this Meeting approves of the same, and commits the care and management thereof to the Meeting for Sufferings; any of whom are empowered to receive donations, to be conveyed to the Meeting for their disposal: And that any three or more to be by them named be feoffees in trust for the Yearly-Meeting, to receive deeds and conveyances of any real estate.”

It appears that Friends, not only in the southern governments



upon this continent, but in England and Ireland, about the same time, without the notice of each other, have been moved upon to a renewed care of the rising youth in this respect. Our brethren in England have informed us of their approbation and satisfaction to hear of our intention; and that they had established an institution in their Yearly-Meeting of the like kind, which afforded a promising prospect of usefulness: The liberal benevolence of Friends there being such, as to raise the fund already so large, as to purchase an estate, educate, victual and cloath, upwards of 300 boys and girls, at the small expence, to their parents, of 8 guineas a year, or 3s. 3d. sterling per week. It appears to us the revival of engagement amongst Friends, on this subject so generally, ought to be considered by all, who are desirous of promoting the reformation in our society, as a favour; and that encouragement is thereby administered.

To come up to their example in full we do not expect; yet so far as circumstances require, and ability is afforded, we think it worthy our imitation. And as an account of that institution hath been published in a letter, written by our Friend John Fothergill, and laid before us, we think it may be acceptable and useful to recite some parts of it for your encouragement; especially those describing the intentions of Friends, being well expressed, and correspondent with our intentions, in putting to practice the plan referred to our execution.

He says, "I need not here recapitulate the abundant care, and the many endeavours that have been used for the education of Friends children. We have many schools for the education of youth amongst us, and very deserving school-masters, in various parts of this nation, where the children of those in affluent circumstances derive a competent share of learning; and that those who are of less ability may partake of the like benefit, is the object of the present institution, and I hope it will be practicable to draw a line between those who are the proper objects of this establishment and such whose circumstances allow them to send their children to the present schools, as will give no just cause of complaint." And after mentioning the generous exertions of many Friends, in liberally subscribing to the institution during the sittings of the Yearly-Meeting, he says, "from this time I confess I have felt very little discouragement, notwithstanding the labour and care that must attend the settling this extensive concern. Is there any thing of great value in this life, that doth not require proportionable care and labour to obtain it? I persuade myself we are making provision not merely for the *subsistence* of great numbers of children of both sexes, in a safe and healthy retreat, but are likewise providing for their *orderly* and *Christian* education. Too few are the parents who can honestly say, "that they train up their children in godly conversation, in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel, and in frequent reading the holy scriptures." Here we trust due care will be taken, both of their principles and conduct. From what I can learn, it does not seem that much backwardness, in respect to this affair, has appeared in any place. If it has not proceeded every where with equal alacrity, it seems to have been owing more to the want of due information than any other cause. It is agreed, that as the school is intended for the education, maintenance and cloathing



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

of children, whose parents are not in affluence, that they shall be instructed in reading, writing and accounts, as fully as the time allowed them will permit. Some useful employment may be provided for the boys, according as their age, strength, talents or condition, may require. Learning and labour, properly intermixed, greatly assist the ends of both, a sound mind in a healthy body. The girls also will be instructed in knitting, spinning, useful needle-work, and in such domestic occupations as are suitable to their sex and stations. I believe it is the wish of all concerned in this important affair, that by gentleness, kind and affectionate treatment, holding out encouragement and approbation to the deserving, exerting the influence of the fear of shame, and promoting the children to every act of kindness and beneficence one towards another, to bring forward into the society and its service a number of youth, who may have been made acquainted under such tuition, in degree, with the discipline of wisdom. Many children amongst us sustain a grievous loss, by not being early and properly made acquainted with the principles we profess. For want of this instruction, they become too easy a prey to the customs of the world; and those habitudes, which would be as a kind of hedge about them, and protect from many temptations, are thrown down, and all the allurements of vice and folly suffered to seduce their affections to their ruin. When they cease to be distinguished from others by their garb and deportment, they too often cease to be distinguished from the world by their morals, and the rectitude of their conduct.

"The history of the rise and progress of Friends, their principles, their sufferings, and the indulgences granted them by the legislature, will probably make a part of this instruction to the children of both sexes, as well as the general doctrines of religion and morality. But above all, it is hoped that every opportunity will be embraced of cherishing, in their tender minds, obedience to that principle of light and truth which is given us to profit withal. And however necessary it is for all to be bred up in the fear of offending this pure inward spirit of truth, which naturally leavens the mind into a teachable, submissive frame; yet to those whose condition in life makes a just subordination a duty, a temper of this kind must be an invaluable blessing. Perhaps there is nothing in the common course of public education in the world, that so unfits men for that humble attention to the divine monitor within, that renders them such perfect strangers to the spirit of Christianity, and all its happy effects, as the cultivation of a bold unfeeling disposition, under a notion of promoting manliness and courage; it too often sets aside that great defence and ornament of youth, a modest ingenuous temper; accustoms them to throw off the restraints of duty and affection, and at length to bid defiance to entreaty, admonition and reproof. In this place it is hoped that endeavours will be used to form in the children a temper widely different, equally remote from a culpable fear and servility, and an audaciousness that knows no respect for order or authority. There is a circumstance in the bringing up of Friends children, which has been and yet is of greater importance to them than perhaps is generally apprehended, and I mention it, as in the proposed institution it will doubtless be particularly regarded. To



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

habituate children, from their early infancy, to silence and attention, is of the greatest advantage to them, not only as a preparative to their advancement in a religious life, but as the ground work of a well-cultivated understanding. We are almost the only professors of Christianity, who acknowledge the use of this absolutely necessary introduction to Christian knowledge and Christian practice. To have the active minds of children early put under a kind of restraint, to be accustomed to turn their attention from external objects, and habituated to a degree of abstracted quiet, is a matter of great consequence and lasting benefit to them. To this they are inured in our assemblies, and to sit in silence with decency and composure. Though it cannot be supposed their young and active minds are always engaged as they ought to be, yet to be accustomed thus to quietness, and initiated to curb and restrain the sallies of their youthful dispositions, is no small point gained towards fixing a habit of patience and recollection, and a regard to decorum, which seldom forsakes those who have been properly instructed in this entrance to the school of wisdom, during the residue of their days. Did the subject of this letter admit of it, it would not be difficult to shew, from abundant authority, and reason itself, the vast aid afforded to the improvement of the human mind, by early habits of silent attention. The most ancient schools of philosophy taught and practised it; and the scriptures are so full of precepts on this head, as ought to remove every objection to this necessary duty. As it must happen that, in many places, the children of those who are objects of my present consideration are destitute of such opportunities, by the remoteness of their parents' situation from meetings; it is another call to society to prevent, as much as possible, the loss arising from such circumstances. How many farmers, manufacturers and others, are often under the necessity of sitting down in places at a great distance from a meeting? In which case, if they have numerous families, the most they can do may be to take with them the eldest, when the younger are left at home untutored in this most wholesome discipline, till the practice becomes a burthen to them. To this consideration it will not be improper to add another which is connected with it, and that is the want of opportunities of sending their children to Friends schools. By which means, if they have any learning at all afforded them, it is under the tuition of such as are mostly strangers to our principles, and the practice derived from them, plainness of speech, simplicity of manners, and that beginning of wisdom, which is inspired by the fear of the Lord. On the contrary, they are liable to associate with such children as are unacquainted with all these things; taught to deride those who practise them, and live at large to appetite and custom. And how often does it happen that the children of Friends, in such situations, bred up with unprincipled licentious youths, form connexions with them, to their own great hurt, the distress of their parents, and the loss of many a valuable member to society?"

We may now mention, that the state of society amongst us at present being different from the state of Friends in England, as to there being schools sufficient under the government of Friends, where the children of those who are of ability to pay may be instructed; the children of such therefore, with the



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

poor, must be admitted, under suitable regulations, so as not to preclude the poor, whenever presented; they being the first in view to be instructed. We do not expect it will be best to delay opening the school until there is a sufficiency to board the whole scholars out of the fund; but as soon as one can be opened, to teach and board those who are or may be considered as the poor of the society, it may be best to proceed. The period for opening the school must depend upon the liberality of each Monthly-Meeting, and their members, to subscribe for the promotion of so benevolent a purpose. As fast as the fund increases beyond the proportion of scholars, the expence for their instruction will be lessened.

After having thus explained the intention of Friends in this undertaking, which we hope and trust may be of use to future generations, if properly supported, and conducted with that prudence and economy which have hitherto accompanied the management of our affairs, we may add some remarks on such objections to this design, as we recollect to have heard mentioned or suggested. It hath been alledged here, as in the case of the Ackworth-School, that it might be much more advantageous to society, could several similar schools be settled in different parts of the Yearly-Meeting. This, says the letter, "at first may appear a reasonable allegation. It may be thought that small schools are more easily managed than larger, that much would be saved in sending children backward and forward, that many parents would consent to sending their children fifty miles, who would object to three or four times that distance; and, in short, that each school being under the guidance of Friends, in the particular district whose conveniency it is to serve, its management would be inspected with more attention and success, than might be supposed to be the case with such an affair as the present." But let us look at the probability that such schools would be erected: Have we not seen the endeavours of concerned Friends, and the Yearly-Meeting, by their recommendation to each Monthly-Meeting, to promote schools under their own care, without the desired effect? And in England Friends found by experience, that it was possible to draw the attentions of Friends to one considerable object, and interest themselves in its support, whilst lesser ones in a short time disappeared; unless, as our friend John Fothergill observes, we should discover a more lively zeal to promote such undertakings, than some late endeavours made appear. — Nevertheless, if experience should teach us that more schools in different parts will be most useful, whenever the funds are raised sufficient, they may and doubtless will be erected. — But let not this idea divide Friends attention in the beginning, of which there is danger in the present case, if we are not careful to keep out *self*, so that our charity may be of that nature which the Apostle assures us "seeketh not her own." I Cor. xiii 5. Then we shall be able to come up to his further advice, "let no man seek his own, but another's welfare." I Cor. x. 24.

We are satisfied the *expence* on the whole will not, in the method proposed, be equal to the cost of education equally good about home, could the same be had; and to the poor and middling in circumstances the expence will be considerably lessened, as the principal amount of the contribution will doubtless come



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

from those of easier circumstances, and we doubt not many Friends now deceased, could they have foreseen it would gladly have promoted so useful an institution in their wills; and as little can we doubt, that others will gladly embrace a like opportunity hereafter. The disadvantage of educating our youth in a place of bad examples, may serve to put us upon a care where we fix the institution, no place being yet fixed upon, that it may be in a neighborhood of solid Friends. He says, "to serve the rising generation, and promote its benefit, the sum of £3000 was generously subscribed by Friends, a house built, and an able, well qualified master was procured. It was intended to be a day-school, but such was the ill effect of the children mixing with others, in going to and from school; so much were they hurt by bad examples, and bad company, that those who had engaged in the generous design, found it necessary to abandon it, merely, as it appeared, from this circumstance. Such is the necessity of preserving youth from the influence of bad example, if we hope to preserve them in innocence and simplicity. The prospect of avoiding both these causes of disappointment, seems only obtainable in such an institution as the present, where, in the first place, every reasonable endeavor will be used, that none make a part of the family, whose conduct is not exemplary; and, in the next, no opportunities will be afforded the children educated there of mixing with others, to their harm." As the like objection has been made on account of the expence of travel from the remote parts of the Yearly-Meeting, as was made to the Ackworth-School, we may give the same answer. "This expence will be greatly reduced, if the children are allowed to remain there such a length of time as may enable them to receive competent instruction: The longer they are permitted to remain, the less burthensome their conveyance." To relieve this expence, we find twopence sterling a mile is allowed, for all distances above 50 miles, to be paid out of the stock; something similar may and doubtless will be allowed, to make this article as easy to all parties as the nature of the case will admit. "It will perhaps be urged, that many Friends may be unwilling to send their children to so distant a part of the nation. It must ever be a difficulty to affectionate parents, to lose sight of their objects of regard and attachment. But is it not daily seen, that parents, in the most affluent circumstances, both amongst us and others, part with their offspring to the greatest distances, when the benefit in prospect for their children claims such a sacrifice? The schools of Friends, in the north and in the west of England, chiefly consist of children from the greatest distances; and they often remain at them, unseen by their parents, a longer time than perhaps may be the case at this school. Besides, have we not seen this objection totally removed by what has happened at Gildersome, a place as remote from London, and the eastern and southern parts of this kingdom, as Ackworth? Besides, the separation of children from their connexions is oftentimes of much consequence to themselves and their families, by preventing improper associations, or dissolving such as have been already formed, greatly to the unhappiness of many an affectionate careful parent. There is one objection of much weight, that naturally presents itself to the view of every considerate person, which is the situation of the times. This is most certainly a discouragement to every public



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

undertaking, and to this in particular – but with the difficulties of the times the necessity of such provision keeps equal pace. Many may be obliged to accept of that help which they could once afford to others; and one of the surest means, perhaps, of averting such necessity, will be to consider ourselves as stewards of the blessings we enjoy; and that by communicating to the wants of others, we are laying up provision against want ourselves. Large contributions are not expected where but a little can be spared, and those who are of ability we trust will not withhold their assistance. To descend into all the objections that could be framed would be tedious: I believe we shall all be of opinion, that those who do not choose to part with any thing, however commendable and necessary the occasion, will be found the most fertile in raising objections. – Hitherto there has been no reason to complain. When the matter was opened at the Yearly-Meeting, and properly explained, Friends seemed to vie with one another in their generous efforts. This has likewise been the case, wherever the nature of the affair has been rightly understood." May this also be the case of us in New-England, after the intentions of Friends herein manifested are generally made known. And we may further mention our concern, in the language of a Committee of upwards of sixty Friends, from various quarters of the Yearly-Meeting of London, with divers other Friends from distant parts– "in order that the great end of establishing this school (a pious, guarded, useful education of the children of Friends not in affluence) may be more effectually obtained, it appeared to be the wish of all present that some Friend might be found willing to accept the office of Treasurer, and to reside at the place – one whose age, reputation and experience, as well in a religious progress as in temporal concerns, may qualify him to promote, in every part of the family, the main object of this institution: And it is much to be desired that such an one might engage from principle of duty. Besides reading and writing, and useful accounts, instruction upon other subjects, suitable to their years and situations, is intended to be given them, and these to be intermixed occasionally with some light manual occupations; such as may at once be conducive to their health, lessen the unpleasantness of application, and be in some degree useful to them in future life, be their condition what it may; improving each sex in their respective vocations, as much as may be, keeping always in remembrance, that to make them acquainted with themselves, and stand in awe of him who made them, and not to sin against his holy law in their hearts, will prove, through life, a source of solid comfort." It is not practicable precisely to define the instructions to be given in this institution, but what is mentioned by our worthy ancient, George Fox, when he advised the first schools set up, comprehends the intention of Friends in this respect, and is worthy to be repeated: "In whatever things were civil and useful in the creation." There no superfluity is allowed, and we hope we and our successors may have an eye thereto, and not go beyond what truth and Christian discipline enjoin; and as the direction of the school will ever remain in the Yearly-Meeting, it is to be hoped Friends may be easy in their minds as to any apprehensions on that account. The poor, and those of small circumstances, as mentioned, are the objects principally in view; these, when



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

qualified for school-masters, as well as other business, are more likely to be useful in that laborious but necessary occupation, than those whose parents may be in affluence, being more likely to sit down and gain experience therein, than those who may have more temptations to take their flight into the world. All distinctions, as in the Ackworth-School, are to be avoided as much as possible; the children here, as there, ought to value themselves on no other superiority than behaving themselves better than others, both in respect to learning and conduct. They are all to be considered as children of one family, under the care of that body which interests itself deeply in the welfare of them all. The riches, the poverty, the good or bad conduct of their connexions, must here have no other regard paid them, than such as may proceed from the necessity of guarding against the influence of any of these circumstances, to the children's future disadvantage. – And if the fund of this, as in that institution, comes ever to support an uniformity of dress, we think, as it may tend to prevent undue distinction, it would be well to follow their example therein. "Though the children's improvement in learning, their health, and other suitable accommodations, are matters of great moment in such an institution as this, yet there is one of a superior nature; to promote a tender, teachable disposition, inuring them to bear that yoke in their youth which will moderate their desires, and make way for the softening influence of divine good-will in their hearts, fitting them for the faithful discharge of every duty in life, yielding content in action, moderation in prosperity, becoming at once the safe guard and ornament of every stage in life, from youth to ripe old age. This, I trust, will be the constant, uniform endeavour of those, in an especial manner, who may be engaged in the immediate service of the family, in whatsoever station they may be placed I know this is the fervent desire of many, and trust I may say of all who are engaged in this matter;" to which we may also put our seal.

Having thus given you an account of the sense and intentions of this Meeting, respecting the institution, we may, by direction of the Yearly-Meeting, as well as from a desire of seeing the plan executed for the benefit of the present generation, as well as posterity, recommend to Friends generally, to make subscriptions in freedom and openness of mind, consistent with truth and becoming its followers, united in the same cause of promoting each other in love and good works. And it is the desire of this Meeting, that as soon as Friends are easy to compleat their subscriptions, they will send them up, and if any Monthly-Meeting or concerned Friends are desirous of any further information, we will endeavour to give them a satisfactory answer.

*Signed in and by Order of the Meeting for Sufferings,
held at Providence, for New England, the Eleventh
of the Eleventh Month, 1782.*

By MOSES BROWN, Clerk.

P.S. By a printed report of the state of Ackworth-School, in 1780, it appears there had been, from its being opened, in the 9th month, 1778, to the 31st of the 12th month, 1780, 314 children admitted; that from the progress then made in that undertaking, a guarded, religious and useful education, had been



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

procured for many Friends children, then in the house, who could not otherwise have had these essential advantages; that several were then well qualified for servants and apprentices, and that any Monthly-Meeting sending a list of their subscribers, the names would be inserted in the Ackworth books, which Friends are informed will also be the case here.

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

1783

In Philadelphia, the [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) circulated a petition against the [international slave trade](#) to the Federal Congress, as follows:

To the United States in Congress Assembled
The Address from the Yearly Meeting
of the People Called Quakers
4th Day of the Tenth Month 1783

Being through the favour of Divine Providence met as usual at this season in our annual Assembly to promote the cause of Piety and Virtue, We find with great satisfaction our well meant endeavours for the relief of an oppressed part of our fellow Men have been so far blessed, that those of them who have been held in bondage by Members of our Religious Society are generally restored to freedom, their natural and just right.

Commiserating the afflicted state into which the Inhabitants of Africa are very deeply involved by many professors of the mild and benign doctrines of the Gospel, and affected with a sincere concern for the essential Good of our Country, We conceive it our indispensable duty to revive the lamentable grievance of that oppressed people in your view as an interesting subject evidently claiming the serious attention of those who are entrusted with the powers of Government, as Guardians of the common rights of Mankind and advocates for liberty.

We have long beheld with sorrow the complicated evils produced by an unrighteous commerce which subjects many thousands of the human species to the deplorable State of Slavery.

The Restoration of Peace and restraint to the effusion of human Blood we are persuaded excite in the minds of many of all Christian denominations gratitude and thankfulness to the all wise controller of human events; but we have grounds to fear, that some forgetfulness of the days of Distress are prompted from avaricious motives to renew the iniquitous trade for slaves to the African Coasts, contrary to every humane and righteous consideration, and in opposition to the solemn declarations often repeated in favour of universal liberty, thereby increasing the too general torrent of corruption and licentiousness, and laying a foundation for future calamities. We therefore earnestly solicit your Christian interposition to discourage and prevent so obvious an Evil, in such manner as



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

under the influence of Divine Wisdom you shall see meet.

Signed in and on behalf of our Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia dated the fourth day of the tenth month 1783.

Here are the signatures on this above petition against the [international slave trade](#), rearranged for your convenience into alphabetic sequence:

- ACER/STEER, Jos. Jr. ?
- ALLEN, David
- ALLINSON, Saml.
- ASHBRIDGE, Geo.
- ATKINSON, William
- ATKINSON, William
- ATTMORE, Caleb
- ATTMORE, Tho.
- BACON David
- BAILY John
- BALDERSON John
- BALDWIN Joshua ?
- BALL Joseph
- BALLINGER Daniel
- BARKER/PARKER Thompson ?
- BARNARD Richard
- BARTLETT Richard
- BATES Hezekiah
- BEALE John
- BELLANGER Thomas
- BENERES Anthony ?
- BERNARD Jeremiah Jr.
- BERRIS/BERRY John ?
- BETTS Simes ?
- BIDDLE Owen
- BIRCHALL Jno.
- BLACKFORD Gerard Jr.
- BONSALL Edward
- BONSALLE Isaac
- BORTON/BARTON Isaac ?
- BRADWAY Edward
- BREWER William
- BRIGGS Samuel
- BRINGHURST James
- BRINGHURST Joseph
- BRINTON Joseph
- BRITT Daniel
- BROTHERTON Henry
- BROWN ?
- BROWN Jonathan
- BROWN Joshua
- BROWN Richard
- BROWN Saml.
- BROWN Thomas
- BUCKLEY Phins.
- BUDD Joseph



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- BUNTING Joshua
- BUNTING Josiah
- BUNTING Samuel
- BURROUGH Joseph
- BUTLER John
- BYRNES Daniel
- CADWALADER Isaac
- CADWALADER Moses ?
- CAMERON Dugald
- CANBY Samuel
- CAREY Thomas
- CARPENTER John
- CATHRALL Benjamin
- CATTELL Jonas
- CHESTNUTWOOD Jacob ?
- CHILD John
- CHURCHMAN George
- CHURCHMAN Mord.
- CLARK Joseph
- CLARKE Benjamin
- CLARKE Isaac
- CLARKE Saml ?
- CLAYTON Aaron
- CLEAVER Ellis
- CLEAVER Ezekial
- CLIFFORD Thomas
- CLIFFTON William
- CLIFTON Henry
- COALE William
- COATES Moses
- COATS Isaac
- COLLINS John
- COLLINS John
- COMFORT Ezra
- COMFORT John
- CONARROC Thomas Sr. ?
- COOKSON Samuel
- COOPE Abrah.
- COOPER David
- COOPER Samuel
- COOPER William
- COOPER William Jr.
- COPLAND Cowperthawaite
- COWGILL Eze.
- COWGILL Henry
- COWGILL John
- CRESSON James
- CRESSON Joshua
- CUMMING David
- DARNEL Edward
- DARNEL Lewis
- DARNEL Samuel
- DAVIES Joseph
- DAWES Abijah
- DAWES Jonathan



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- DAWES Rumford
- DAWSON Daniel
- DAY Jacob
- DENNIS Philip
- DICKENSON Daniel
- DILLWYNE Geo. ?
- DIMOCK Joshua ?
- DINGCE/DINGEE Christopher ?
- DINGEE Chas.
- DIXON William
- DORSEY Benedict
- DOUGHTY William
- DOWNING Silas
- DOWNING William
- DOWNLIE Geo. ?
- DRINKER Danl.
- DRINKER Henry
- DRINKER John
- DUNCAN John
-
- ELLIOTT John Jr.
- ELLIS John
- ELLIS Peter
- ELLIS Wm.
- ELY Hugh ?
- EMLER/EMLIN James ?
- EVANS David
- EVANS Enoch
- EVANS Evan
- EVANS George
- EVANS John
- EVANS Robert
- EVANS Thomas
- EVANS Thos.
- EVES John
-
- FALK William ?
- FARQUHAR Allen
- FARQUHAR Thomas
- FEARNBY/FEARNLEY Thomas ?
- FERRICE/FERREE John ?
- FIELD Elijah
- FIELDS John
- FISHER Mi ?
- FISHER Thomas
- FISHER Thomas
- FLOWER ?
- FOLLETT Thomas
- FOLWELL William
- FORMAN John
- FORSYTHE John
- FOULKE Caleb
- FRANKLIN John
- FRANKLIN Thos.
- FRENCH Robert
- FURMAN Josiah
- FURMAN/TRUMAN Morris ?



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- GARRETT Nathan
- GARRIGUES Saml.
- GARRIGUIS Edward
- GARRIGUIS William
- GENNONERE Sam ?
- GEORGE Thomas
- GIBBONS Ia ?
- GIBBS Jonathan
- GIBBS Joshua
- GIBBS Lucas
- GILBERT John
- GILLINGHAM Yeamans
- GODINGS William
- GOODWIN Richard
- GRACY John
- GRAY Enoch
- GRIEST/GUEST John
- GRIFFITH Abrm ?
- GRIFFITTS James
- GRISEGER William ?
- HAINA Job
- HAINES Caleb
- HAINES Jesse
- HAINES Samuel
- HALL David
- HALL Thomas
- HALLOWELL Thos.
- HALLOWELL Wm. Jr.
- HAMPTON Samuel
- HAMTON Benja.
- HARLAN Caleb
- HARRISON Thomas
- HARTSHORNE William
- HARVEY Amos
- HARVEY William
- HATTON Peter
- HAVILAND Daniel
- HAWLEY Joseph
- HAWORTH George
- HAWORTH John
- HAYDOCK John
- HAYES Henry
- HEDGER Samuel
- HIBBERD Abraham
- HICKS Samuel
- HILLIAR John ?
- HOLLINGSHEAD Edmund
- HOLLINGSWORTH Christopher
- HOLLINGSWORTH John
- HOOPER/HOOPES William
- HOOPES David
- HOOPES Thos Jr. ?
- HOPKINS Johns
- HOPKINS Saml.
- HORNE John



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- HORNOR Benj.
- HOSKINS John
- HOSKINS Raper
- HOUGH Benjamin
- HOUGH John
- HOUGH Thomas
- HOWELL Arthur
- HOWELL John
- HOWELL Joshua
- HOWELL Sam.
- HUGHES Owen
- HUMPHREYS Benjamin Jr. ?
- HUMPHREYS John
- HUMPHREYS Richard
- HUNT John
- HUNT John Jr.
- HUNT Joshua
- HUTTON John
- HUTTON Samuel
- JACKSON John
- JACKSON Wm. Jr.
- JACOBS Isaac
- JAMES Abel Jr.
- JAMES Isaac
- JAMES John
- JAMES Joseph
- JANNEY Bleackston
- JANNEY Joseph
- JANNEY Mahlon
- JEFFERIES Wm.
- JEFFERIS Cheyney
- JENKINS Joseph
- JESS Zachariah
- JOHN Griffith
- JOHN Joshua
- JONES Cadwalader ?
- JONES Edward
- JONES Edward
- JONES James Jr.
- JONES Nathan
- JONES Norris
- JONES Owen
- JONES Richard
- KAMBIN/KAMBER Caleb ?
- KERSEY William
- KIRK Caleb
- KIRK Elisha
- KIRKBRIDGE/KIRKBRIDE Robert ?
- KIRKLAND/KIRKBRIDE Jonathan ?
- KITE Benjamin
- KNIGHT Giles Jr.
- LAING John
- LAMB Daniel
- LAMB Joshua



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- LAMB Pierce
- LANCASTER Aaron
- LANE Isaac
- LARKIN Isaac
- LEE Mordecai
- LEEDS Daniel
- LETCHWORTH William ?
- LETTLERS/LITTLERS Nathan ?
- LEWDEN John
- LEWDEN John
- LEWIS Evan
- LEWIS Nathan
- LEWIS Robt.
- LEWIS/LORDS Vincent ?
- LIGHTFOOT Thomas
- LINDLEY Jacob
- LINTON Benjamin
- LINTON W.
- LIPPINCOTT William
- LITCHWORTH John
- LONGSTRETH Daniel
- LORD Constantine
- LORD Constantine
- LOWNES Caleb
- LOWNES William
- LUKENS Joseph
- LUNDY Jacob Jr.
- LYNN John
- LYSTON John
- MARILE Jacob
- MARILE John ?
- MARIS Caleb
- MAROT Davenport
- MAROT Phillip
- MARSHALL Henry
- MARTIN George
- MASON Benjamin ?
- MASSEY Thomas Jr.
- MATHIS Bartho.
- MATTHEWS Thomas
- MAULE Ebenezer
- MAXEY Isaac
- MCRAE Andw. ?
- MIDDLETON Gideon
- MIDDLETON Saml.
- MIFFLIN Daniel
- MIFFLIN Warner
- MILHOUS Jesse
- MILHOUS John
- MILHOUSE Thomas
- MILLER Mark
- MILLER Samuel
- MILLER Solomon
- MILLER William
- MINSHALL Griffith ?
- MOON James



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- MOON Moses
- MOORE David
- MOORE Edward
- MOORE George
- MOORE Joseph
- MOORE Mord.
- MOORE Robert
- MORRIS John Jr.
- MORRIS Joshua
- MORTON John

- NEWBOLD Clayton

- OAKFORD Aaron
- OFFEY/RIPPLEY Danl. ?
- OLDDEN John
- OTTEY William

- PAINTER James
- PARKE Jacob
- PARKER John
- PARKER Thomas
- PARRISH John
- PARRY John
- PASASON/PAXON Oliver ?
- PAXON Ephraim ?
- PAXON Thomas
- PAXSON Aaron
- PAXSON Isaac
- PAYNTER Richard
- PEARSON Thomas
- PEIRCE John
- PEMBERTON Saml.
- PENNELL Dell
- PENROSE Joseph ?
- PENROSE William ?
- PICKERING Isaac
- PICKERING Jona.
- PICKERING Jos. ?
- PIERCE/PEIRCE Joseph
- PLEASANT Saml.
- POTTS Jonas
- POTTS Joseph
- POULTNEY Anthony
- PRICE John Jr.
- PRICE Philip Jr.
- PRICE Philipe
- PRICE Richard
- PRIOR Edmund
- PUGH James
- PUGH John

- REDMAN Thomas
- REEVE Mark
- RENNICK/PENNICK Caleb ?
- RENNOCK/PENNOCK Joseph ?
- REYNELL John



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- REYNOLDS Henry
- RHOADS Samuel
- RICHARDS Saml.
- RICHARDSON Joseph
- RICHARDSON Joseph Jr.
- RICHARDSON William
- RIDGE Zachary
- RIDGWAY David
- RIDGWAY J.
- RIDGWAY William
- RING Elias
- RISELY John
- ROBBINS Nathan
- ROBERTS Hugh
- ROBERTS Israel
- ROBERTS John
- ROBERTS John
- ROBERTS Joseph
- ROBERTS Willism
- ROBESON John
- ROBINSON Ebenezer
- ROGERS Abner
- ROGERS Robert
- ROGERS Thomas
- ROGERS Thomas Jr.
- ROGERS Thomas Jr.
- ROGERS William
- ROSE Thos.
- RUSSELL Tos.
- SANSOM William
- SATTERTHWAIT John
- SAVERY William
- SAVERY William Jr.
- SAY Thos. ?
- SCARLET John
- SEAL Caleb
- SHARPLES Joel
- SHARPLES Joshua
- SHARPLES Thomas
- SHARPLESS Daniel ?
- SHARPLESS Jos.
- SHARPLESS Nathan
- SHATWELL/SHOTWELL Jos. Jr.
- SHAW Henry
- SHESHIR/CHESSHIR Joel ?
- SHINN Sam. ?
- SHOEMAKER Jacob
- SHOEMAKER Jacob Jr.
- SHOEMAKER Jonathan
- SHOEMAKER Thomas
- SIM/PIM Thomas ?
- SIMPSON John
- SIMPSON Saml.
- SMEDLEY Jeffrey
- SMEDLEY Thomas Jr.
- SMITH Aaron



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- SMITH James
- SMITH James Jr.
- SMITH John
- SMITH Samuel
- SMITH William
- SPEAKMAN Thomas ?
- STABLERS Edward ?
- STACKHOUSE Joseph
- STAPLER Jno.
- STAPLER John Jr. ?
- STAPLER Thomas
- STARR Jacob
- STARR James
- STARR James
- STARR saml.
- STARR William
- STEVENSON Cornell
- STEVENSON William
- STOKES Thomas
- STRODE Richard
- SUGAR Thos.
- SWAIN Benjamin ?
- SWAYNE Jacob
- SWAYNE Tho.
- SWETT Benj.
- SWIFFT John ?
- TALBOT John
- TALBOT Joseph
- TATUM John
- TAYLOR Amos
- TAYLOR Bernard
- TAYLOR Samuel
- TEST Benjamin
- THOMAS Isaac
- THOMAS Robert
- THOMAS Townsend
- THOMPSON Daniel
- THOMPSON Israel
- THORNTON James
- THORNTON James Jr.
- TODD John
- TODD John Jr.
- TODDINGS James ?
- TOMKINS Jacob
- TOWNSEND John
- TOWNSEND Joseph
- TRIMBLE Samuel
- TROTTER Saml.
- TROTTER Thomas
- TURK Isaiah ?
- TYSON James
- UPDEGARD Saml. ?
- UPDEGRAFF Harman ?
- VANLAW Joseph



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- VERRCE Robert
- WALKER Abel
- WALMSLEY Silas
- WARING W.
- WARRINGTON Joseph
- WATERMAN Jesse ?
- WATHERILE Saml. ?
- WATSON Thos.
- WAY Joshua
- WEBB John
- WEBSTER Hugh
- WEBSTER Isaac
- WEBSTER William
- WELLS Richard
- WEST Charles
- WEST Charles Jr.
- WEST Joseph
- WHARTON Isaac
- WHELALL James Jr. ?
- WHITALL Job
- WHITE Robert
- WHITE Samuel
- WHITSALL James
- WHITSON Thomas ?
- WIBLES/HIBLES David ?
- WILKES/WEEKS Resine ?
- WILKINSON Francis
- WILKONSHAM Enoch
- WILLETS Amos
- WILLIAMS George
- WILLIAMS Nathan
- WILLS Aaron
- WILLSON Gabriel
- WILSON Isaac
- WILSON William
- WOLMSLEY Thomas ?
- WOOD Robt.
- WORINTON Abraham
- WORLEY Jacob Jr.
- WORRILL Jonathan
- WORSTALL/ James ?
- WRIGHT Isaac
- WRIGHT John
- WRIGHT Jon.
- WRIGHT Jonathan
- WRIGHT Nathan
- YARNALL Amos
- YARNALL Eli
- YARNALL Ellis
- YARNALL Joshua
- YARNALL Peter

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Here is the Silhouette of one of the Philadelphia Quakers who signed the above petition against the international slave trade, Friend John Parrish, who lived from 1730 to 1807:



Incidentally, the above petition is often described as an antislavery petition. It is not that. It does not ask the federal government either to proscribe slavery in the United States, or to prohibit the domestic trade in slaves, and it does not ask that any slaves be freed. It is solely a petition against an international business operation.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

A group of approximately 200 [disowned](#) former members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who, terming themselves Free Quakers, had responded to the call for arms during the American revolution and marched off to serve as a militia company, at this point founded for themselves on Arch Street between 5th and 6th Streets in Philadelphia a brick Georgian mansion-style meetinghouse of their own. The granite tablet that architect Samuel Wetherill set in their north gable reads “in the year of our Lord, 1783, of the Empire 8,” which is an indication that at that point the new country’s condition of being was as yet unclear — that it might have become an imperium rather than a republic. Initially 30 to 50 of these disowned Friends would regularly attended worship meetings in their new meetinghouse and the group would never have more than about 100 members. Over the course of several years, actually, participation would wane until in the mid-1830s there would no longer be enough members even to continue to hold meetings for worship. Their leader was Samuel Wetherell, Jr. (1736-1816), a cloth manufacturer who considered the Revolution to be defensive, and who considered defensive war to be not only permitted, but morally obligatory — and had for this been [disowned](#)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in 1779.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Also prominent among the disowned Free Quakers were:

Colonel Timothy Matlack
Colonel Clement Biddle
William Crispin
Christopher Marshall
Peter Thomson
Benjamin Say
“Betsy” Ross
Thomas Ross, Jr.
Isaac Grey¹³⁵

135. There’s this jest, that a Free Quaker was someone who was free of Quakerism. This wasn’t the way they thought of themselves, of course, but we don’t have a record that any of these people came back to Quakerism when the bloodshedding came to be over and the Ten Commandments reasserted themselves as guides to our conduct.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Abner Brownell (1756-1851), setting out to “diss” the sect that was collecting around the delusional [Rhode Island](#) “Universal Friend” [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), had Timothy Green print for him in New London, Connecticut a 44-page booklet which he entitled **ENTHUSIASTICAL ERRORS, TRANSPIRED AND DETECTED, BY ABNER BROWNELL, IN A LETTER TO HIS FATHER, BENJAMIN BROWNELL.**

(as on the following screens)

ENTHUSIASTICAL ERRORS,

Transpired and detected,

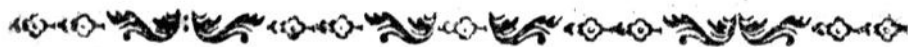
By ABNER BROWNELL,

In a Letter to his Father,

BENJAMIN BROWNELL.



But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the Truth of the Gospel. Gal. 2. 14.
For he that biddeth him God speed, is Partaker of his evil Deeds. 2 Epist. John, 11 Verse.
And have no Fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkness, but rather reprove them—And be not ye Partakers with them. Eph. 5. 11 and 7.
For their Folly shall be manifest unto all Men. 2 Tim. 3. 9.
But ye have not so learned Christ: If so be ye have heard him, and have been taught by him, as the Truth is in Jesus. Eph. 4. 20, 21.
Wherefore come out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord. 2 Cor. 6. 17.
And go ye not therefore after them. Luke 21. 8.
This Witness is true. Titus 1. 12.



Printed for the Author, in the Year 1783.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The story he tells is that of an exhorter to goodness rather than of a proclaimer of new doctrine:

and then she will read to them a Description that she has, that the Turks gave antiently concerning our Lord Jesus Christ's outward Appearance, his Shapes, Stature, Features and Complexion, and Habit, with a long loose Gown, and his Hair being black, and curled in his Neck, or upon his Shoulders, and parted upon the Top, after the Manner of the Nazarenes, and then that they may look upon her and see how near she resembles those Descriptions; and so from
ONE

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Although Jemimah Wilkinson has been characterized as a cross-dresser, we can see that if she was such, she was such not by the standards of our time (trousers, jacket and tie, etc.) but by the standards of that time (bareheaded indoors, mannish hat outdoors, hairdo not notably of a feminine style).

First then, I shall proceed as I propos'd, to shew how I was attached to her Doctrine. In the Year 1778, I heard of a remarkable Person of a Female Preacher from a back Town of Providence, call'd Cumberland, about which there was a Report of something very remarkable and extraordinary, that she was a Person that was said had been dead for the Space of an Hour, and by the mighty Power of God had been rais'd immediately to a State of Health, and had an immediate call to appear in public Testimony to preach to the People: I hearing of her being invited down to Tiverton, I went as by Invitation of my Father with his Company, it being late when we got there, she was in the Improvement of her Sermon; the first outward Appearance seem'd to be something singular and extraordinary, appearing in a different Habit from what is common amongst Women, wearing her Hair curl'd in her Neck, without any other Covering on her Head, except it was when she travel'd out, she put on a Hat much like a Man's, only the Brim flap'd down; her Visage appeared a good Deal bright, with a very agreeable Aspect in her Countenance; her Voice very grum and shrill for a Woman, and seem'd to deliver her Discourse very pathetical and engaging, in which

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

It would seem that she had prophesied the end of the world, or, at least, allowed some of her disciples so to speculate, the end being on or about April Fool's Day of 1780, or perhaps the "Dark Day" of May 19, 1780:

stroyed from off the earth ; and then the saints would live here a thousand years, which would begin sometime the first of April, 1780, being about forty-two months after her first beginning to preach, which was not so fully and plainly held forth by her as by some of her Apostles ; but the time expired, and nothing of that nature happen'd : a while after on the 19th of May was the dark day, and then she made application of that's being the fulfilling of her prediction and what was to happen, and so that doctrine seem'd to die away, and there wasn't much said about it afterwards, only it would be in the Lord's own time, &c.

(The disreputable information which this former follower had to offer about his former leader consisted merely in the fact that when he had tried to have something of his printed, without first clearing it with "Beft-Friend" Jemimah Wilkinson, for a period the copy of his writing from which the printer had been setting type had been taken from the printer's office, evidently so that Universal Friend might satisfy herself that the writing was not directed against her.)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The “Meeting for Sufferings” committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), with Friend [Moses Brown](#) acting as clerk of that committee, noted that £134 was lying around in their education kitty and decided to bite the bullet and create a Yearly Meeting School. They considered [Providence](#), [Portsmouth](#), and [East Greenwich](#) in [Rhode Island](#), and Lynn in Massachusetts, and settled on Portsmouth because they were offered the use of a room in the local Friends meetinghouse together with the rental income from a number of house lots that Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting owned in [Newport](#). Friend Isaac Lawton there could be the schoolmaster at an annual salary of £75, and local families were volunteering to provide room and board for as many as 30 young scholars.



[John Brown](#) of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) provided half the funds for a “compleat Philosophical Apparatus and Library” of science at the [College of Rhode Island](#) — clearly they were able to take a “philosophical” *pecunia-non-olet* attitude, at the time, toward the fact that such moneys arose at least in part from the international vending of human beings, both between Africa and America (the international trade in new [slaves](#)) and from region to region along the American coast (local resale of used slaves).



Here is an example of the local resale of used slaves mentioned above (something that we seldom take into



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

consideration when thinking about these issues), a local resale practice that would be allowed to continue unimpeded even after the “[international slave trade](#)” and its dread Middle Passage had been benevolently interdicted. In this year, a white widow of Warren, [Rhode Island](#), Roby Luther Whitting, was having difficulties with her [slave](#) lad Fantee. She had leased her property to Edward Jones of [Providence](#) on May 22, 1782 to be used for a period of one year, but Jones had been dissatisfied with Fantee’s labor and also dissatisfied with Fantee’s general attitude. In a letter to the widow on January 17, 1783 he asked to be paid damages, alleging that the boy had been guilty of “every vice under the sun,” vices unspecified. In this situation, Fantee escaped, was recaptured and imprisoned, and was then returned in disgrace in irons to the widow in [Warren](#). The slavemistress, at her wit’s end, on February 6, 1783 entrusted her black, “about Eighteen or Twenty Years Old a Healthy Active Lad,” to Isaac Gorham of the *Patty* to be sold in the West Indies, to be taught a lesson he wouldn’t forget by being gradually worked to death in the cane fields. (On the voyage thither, Captain Gorham’s sloop would be intercepted by a British warship and lucky Fantee would find himself confiscated as contraband.)



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”

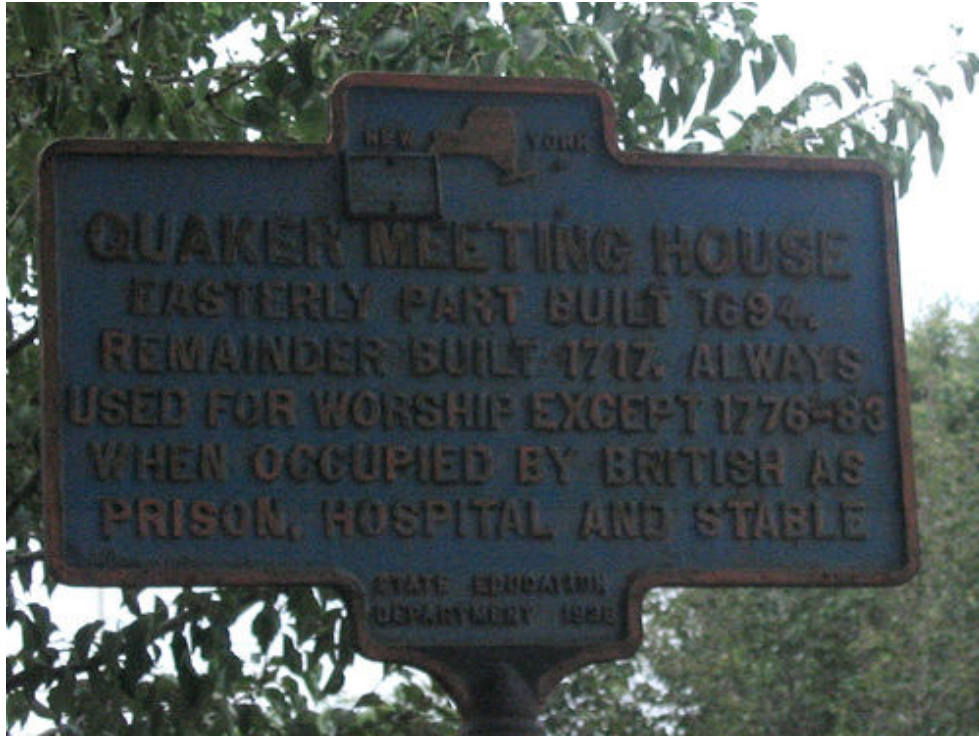


— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

With the departure of the British army, the Quaker meetinghouse in [Flushing](#) on *Paumanok* Long Island was returned to the control of the Friends, and meetings for worship were resumed there.



At this point 4 [Rhode Island](#) meetinghouses were available for Quaker worship: Mendon, what would become the upper and lower [Smithfield](#) meetinghouses, and Providence. Whereas previously the Quakers who met in the new meetinghouse on Main Street in [Providence](#) had been considered to be merely a “worship group” affiliated with the Providence Monthly Meeting, a worship group that happened to be meeting to worship locally for convenience rather than going on the carriage ride all the way north to the Smithfield meetinghouse on the one side of the river or the [Saylesville](#) meetinghouse on the other side of the river, at this point the affiliations and the names were rearranged. Henceforth the group that was attending the Smithfield meetinghouse and the “Lower Smithfield” meetinghouse near Saylesville would be considered to constitute a separate Smithfield Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). (That is, there would be two monthly meetings rather than one, and the name “Providence” would adhere to the group that actually was inside the town of Providence.)¹³⁶

19th, 3rd Month: “Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#) informed that Weston Hicks [a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)] appeared at a public Town Meeting and there advised the people not to let any refugee Tory or anyone that had been friendly to the British Army while they were in [Rhode Island](#) [on [Aquidneck Island](#)] have any vote or be chosen into any office in the Town [[Portsmouth](#), [Rhode Island](#)], which appearing to us to create strife and animosity and being inconsistent with our religious principles and very unbecoming to a professor thereof, whereupon a committee was appointed to labour with him and bring him to a sense of his misconduct, and for his neglect of attendance of our religious meetings.”

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

April 25: According to the journal of [Friend Thomas B. Hazard](#) or Hafsard or Hasard of [Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), also known as “Nailer Tom,”¹³⁷ there had been a great firing of cannon on account of the “Dickrelashon of Peece.”

136. I have not been able to establish whether or not this split had anything to do with the current state of affairs in Smithfield and Saylesville, having to do with the disownment of the charismatic “Universal Friend” [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), who at this point was still active in the area.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1783. The news of the restoration of peace, and the acknowledgment of our independence, was celebrated with great pomp, April 22. There was feasting and training, a sermon and an oration, canon-firing, bell-ringing and flag-displaying, from morning till night; and fire-works and a brilliant illumination terminated the joyful demonstration in a blaze of splendor.

May/August: In early May, Reykjanesfjallur erupted off Iceland.¹³⁸ On June 8th, the Laki (Lakagigar) basalt fissure of Iceland began to erupt. A quarter of the people in Iceland would die. According to Professor John A. Day's *THE BOOK OF CLOUDS* (Silver Lining Books, 2002), [Friend Luke Howard](#)'s fascination with clouds was kindled by this period in which the skies of the Northern Hemisphere were laden with dust and ash from the eruptions of Iwaki crater and Asama Yama on the island of Honshu and Aoga-Shima on the island of Izu in [Japan](#) and of Reykjanesfjallur off the coast and the Laki basalt fissure on the mainland of Iceland, a period termed the "Great Fogg."

[William Cowper](#) would in 1785 in *THE TASK* describe the "dim and sickly eye" of this summer as "portentous, unexampled, unexplained." The smell of sulfur was everywhere. As far as this poetic "unexplained" went, [Benjamin Franklin](#) would in 1785 prepare a paper for the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, suggesting that this might be the result of unusual volcanic activity.

137. He was called "Nailer Tom" because his trade was the cutting of nails from scrap iron, and in order to distinguish him from a relative known as "College Tom," from another relative known as "Shepherd Tom," and from his own son who —because he had fits— was known as "Pistol-Head Tom."

138. According to Thordarson, Thomas & Self, S. "The Laki (Skaftar Fires) and Grimsvotn eruptions in 1783-1785." *Bulletin of Volcanology*. Volume 55, pages 233-263, this was probably one of the events known to volcanologists as the Laki and Grimsvotn eruptions. Soufrière on St. Vincent would blow in 1812, Mayon in the Philippines would blow in 1814, but these would become almost as pop-tarts popping up in a toaster when Tambora in Indonesia would blow in 1816, as it would be by far the most powerful volcanic blast since the Santorini volcano on island of Thera in the Aegean Sea blew its top in 1,628 BCE. All but 26 of the 12,000 Sumbawa islanders would lose their lives. We would have a mild taste of this volcano weather, in our own lives, in the series of cool summers after 1991 when Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines would blow its top — remember?

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July 6: In London, Friends William Dillwyn, George Harrison, Samuel Hoare, Jr. (!), Thomas Knowles, John Lloyd (there was a Quaker of this name who was one of the six clerks in the Chancery Office), and Joseph Woods met to decide upon Quaker benevolent measures “for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa.”

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: Six Quakers met in London on the 6th July, 1783; William Dillwyn, Samuel Hoar, George Harrison, Thomas Knowles, John Lloyd, Joseph Woods, “to consider what step they should take for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa.” They made friends and raised money for the slave; they interested their Yearly Meeting; and all English and all American Quakers.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

This Samuel Hoare, Jr. was a banker, a friend of Wordsworth, Southey, and Scott, born in 1751, who would die on July 14, 1825 and be buried in the [Quaker](#) cemetery on Winchmore Hill in London:



(His relationship, if any, to Squire Samuel Hoar of Concord is at present quite unknown.)

Tilly Buttrick, Jr. was born in Westford, the second child of Tilly Buttrick of Concord and Mrs. Abigail Hale Buttrick of Newbury. (He would be with his father there until in 1793 or 1794 at the age of 10 years he would be put to the service of his Honor Lieutenant Governor Moses Gill in Princeton, Massachusetts. He would live with his father again, in Groton, in perhaps 1798-1800 between the ages of 15 and 17, and would then be put in a mercantile house in Boston, under D. Hastings, Esq., until the age of 21 in 1801. He would sail on the

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Alnomak from Boston, bound for the Isle of France, on September 10, 1804, and return to Boston in the middle of April 1806. In June 1806 he would sail again, on the *Decatur* to the island of Jamaica. When back in Concord, he would contract to escort a party made up of a man's wife, three children, and manservant, in a pleasure wagon drawn by two horses, to Detroit in the Michigan Territory. From there he visited the Niagara Falls, and his travels were disrupted by the development of hostilities between the English and the Americans, after which he returned to Massachusetts. He would be wed with Hannah E. Bliss of Concord by the Reverend Ezra Ripley on July 10, 1811. On July 3, 1814 he would contract with a gentleman, to accompany him to Kentucky. He would return to Concord on the turnpike through Connecticut, on foot, on October 20, 1821. [VOYAGES, TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES OF TILLY BUTTRICK, JR.](#) would be printed for the author by the firm of John Putnam in Boston in 1831. He would die in Concord at the age of 75 years during 1859.)

VOYAGES, TRAVELS, ETC.

August 18, early evening: [Friend Luke Howard](#), at eleven years of age, watched a fiery [meteor](#) flash across the skies of western Europe. –Would this be the meteor that inspired the meteorologist?

August 26: America had won its struggle for liberty and it was time to get back to business as usual. In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), John Innes Clarke and Joseph Nightingale of the firm of Clarke & Nightingale were fitting out yet another [negrero](#), the *Providence*₂,¹³⁹ for a voyage to the coast of Africa. Hearing of this, [Friend Moses Brown](#) visited them and received their reassurances.



MOSES BROWN



Yes, they were indeed fitting out a vessel for a trading voyage to the coast of Africa, but they would be trading their cargo of New England's triple-distilled rum brandy not for [slaves](#) but merely for ivory, for beeswax, and for gold dust. The [international slave trade](#)? –No, Heaven forbid!

Actually it was as obvious as a wart on the tip of your nose the size and color of a small cherry, what was going on here:

He learned soon after that Clarke had misled him; that the ship fitting for Africa was in fact a slaver. Moses promptly sat down and wrote a lengthy plea to Clarke and Nightengale [*sic*], asking that they "give orders to the captain not to suffer any negroes to be brought on board." Where his other tracts against slavery, addressed to legislators and to the public, stressed the iniquities of the trade and the ordeal of the slaves, in this letter Moses was more personal, asking his merchant friends to consider their own consciences, to save their own souls. Moses said that his own decision, years before, to engage in the trade



139. Note well that this particular vessel named *Providence*, being merely a [negrero](#) like the original [Katy](#), does not fit well into our normative sequence of the Godly warlike national vessels USS *Providence*₁, USS *Providence*₃, USS *Providence*₄, and USS *Providence*₅, which had begun with the previous Rhode Island negrero *Katy*. (The reasons why it does not fit well is that we like our history to be served to us Whiggish style, with noticeable progress toward perfection between the generations. –We tend not to appreciate the sort of historical tale that is, more realistically merely stupid thing after stupid thing endlessly perpetuated!)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

despite “averse convictions,” had led to “the most uneasiness, and has left the greatest impression and stain upon my mind of any if not all my other conduct in life.” His remorse was especially acute, Moses wrote, when he paused to think how his conduct might appear in judgment before God. Moses felt moved, then, by “some engagement for your preservation from so great an evil as I have found the trade to be.” He implored them to reconsider, “that you may avoid the unhappy reflections which I have had.”

If that was not prodding enough, Moses added an audacious dig to jar the merchants’ sensibilities close to home. One of their own bondsmen had approached him some time ago, Moses confided, seeking release from “the burden of slavery.” Moses said he counseled the slave to be patient, but he asked the merchants to consider, if a slave sought relief from their own kind treatment, how much worse must be the anguish of those slaves sold to a life of toil in the tropics.

October 1: This being the year in which [Moses Brown](#), a brother to the wealthy [Providence](#) businessmen [Nicholas Brown](#) and [John Brown](#) who engaged in the [international slave trade](#) but a convert to [Quakerism](#), was becoming an elder in his monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) and beginning his campaign to end [Rhode Island](#)’s involvement in human slavery,¹⁴⁰ one might be tempted to leap to the presumption that



such a campaign must obviously have been a righteous Quakerly protest against lay racism, motivated by religious egalitarianism — but before we leap to such a conclusion we must consider something which happened on this particular day of the year: In the case of Abigail Franks, the young woman of mixed race who had applied for membership in the [Religious Society of Friends](#), the [Yearly Meeting](#) decided that:

The request of Chester Quarter last year respecting the application of a woman to Concord Monthly Meeting to be received into membership, and which was referred for further consideration to this or a future meeting being now revived, the subject opening with weight, it is the sense and judgment of the meeting that Concord Monthly Meeting may safely consider the application of the person on the same ground in common with other applications for admission into membership.

Although these minutes testify only to “weighty and edifying deliberations and a spirit of condescension,” “a weighty exercise,” and “diverse just observations,” mentioning no doubt or objection, it is clear that there had been such — because there is on record a personal letter from a friend of the applicant who afterward commented “the mountains of opposition are leveled before her.”¹⁴¹

No way was this going to be easy! There was still a great spirit of racism to be overcome!

140. There were five slaves in the Brown family mansion on College Hill in [Providence](#), and [Moses Brown](#) helped them work up the courage to steal themselves away.



October 3, Tuesday: A deputation from the Yearly Meeting of the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware [Friends](#) came before the Continental Congress and asked leave to present a petition.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS


Although we lack the government's side of this story, what the Quakers would take back home with them would be a story that their petition against the gross national iniquity of trafficking in the persons of fellow-men, which is to say, in opposition at least to the [international slave trade](#) and perhaps even to human [enslavement](#) as such, had met with the transparent excuse that this body was unable to accommodate them — being not yet “vested with the powers of legislation.”

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The slave-trade was hardly touched upon in the Congress of the Confederation, except in the ordinance respecting the capture of slaves, and on the occasion of the Quaker petition against the trade, although, during the debate on the Articles of Confederation, the counting of slaves as well as of freemen in the apportionment of taxes was urged as a measure that would check further importation of Negroes. “It is our duty,” said Wilson of Pennsylvania, “to lay every discouragement on the importation of slaves; but this amendment [i.e., to count two slaves as one freeman] would give the *jus trium liberorum* to him who would import slaves.”¹⁴² The matter was finally compromised by apportioning requisitions according to the value of land and buildings.

After the Articles went into operation, an ordinance in regard to the recapture of fugitive slaves provided that, if the capture was made on the sea below high-water mark, and the Negro was not claimed, he should be freed. Matthews of South Carolina demanded the yeas and nays on this proposition, with the result that only the vote of his State was recorded against it.¹⁴³

On Tuesday, October 3, 1783, a deputation from the Yearly Meeting of the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware Friends asked leave to present a petition. Leave was granted the following day,¹⁴⁴ but no further minute appears. According to the report of the Friends, the petition was against the slave-trade; and “though the Christian rectitude of the concern was by the Delegates generally acknowledged, yet not being vested with the powers of legislation, they declined promoting any public remedy against the gross national iniquity of trafficking in the persons of fellow-men.”¹⁴⁵

The only legislative activity in regard to the trade during the Confederation was taken by the individual States.¹⁴⁶ Before 1778 Connecticut, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia had by law stopped the further importation of slaves, and importation had practically ceased in all the New England and Middle States, including Maryland. In consequence of the revival of the slave-trade after the War, there was then a lull in State

141. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury's “Negro Membership in the Society of Friends” in *The Journal of Negro History*, Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213. 

142. Elliot, *DEBATES* (1861), I. 72-3. Cf. Article 8 of the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

143. *JOURNALS OF CONGRESS*, 1781, June 25; July 18; Sept. 21, 27; November 8, 13, 30; December 4.

144. *JOURNALS OF CONGRESS*, 1782-3, pages 418-9, 425.

145. *ANNALS OF CONGRESS*, 1st Congress 2d session, page 1183.

146. Cf. above, Chapters ii., iii., iv.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

activity until 1786, when North Carolina laid a prohibitive duty, and South Carolina, a year later, began her series of temporary prohibitions. In 1787-1788 the New England States forbade the participation of their citizens in the traffic. It was this wave of legislation against the traffic which did so much to blind the nation as to the strong hold which slavery still had on the country.

29th day 12th month: [Friend](#) John Congdon of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) [manumitted](#) a Negro Lad Named Dick about 14 years of age and pledged that for the meanwhile he would provide for instruct and direct him. “During his Infancy,” until the age of 21, Dick the former [slave](#) was to play the role of apprentice.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
Job	Hannah Knowles	
	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

1784

At the foot of Meeting Street in [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*), [Rhode Island](#), during this year and the following one, the [Friends](#) were enlarging their meetinghouse.¹⁴⁷

January 31: At the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) town meeting, the vote was 108 over 58 in favor of [Friend Moses Brown](#)’s bill for the abolition of slavery.

[Bernard Barton](#) was born at Carlisle, England, a “birthright [Friend](#).” After being educated at a [Quaker](#) school in Ipswich he would be apprenticed to a shopkeeper in Suffolk. Then he would work nearly all his life as a clerk in a bank at the coastal town of Woodbridge in Suffolk. In his free time he would create ten volumes of poetry, some of his creations becoming hymns with titles such as:

- “Lamp of our feet, whereby we trace”

147. For a number of years the town meetings would be held in this building, and a school would be kept in its upper part.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- “Walk in the light, so shalt thou know”
- “Fear not, Zion’s sons and daughters”
- “Hath the invitation ended?”
- “See we not beyond the portal?”
- “Those who live in love shall know”



February 25: The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) took up [Friend Moses Brown](#)’s bill for the abolition of [slavery](#). Not only would Rhode Island’s slaves be gradually [manumitted](#), beginning with all children born after the 1st



of March, but also, no resident of the state might participate in the [international slave trade](#), and every shipowner fitting out his ship for African ports would be required to post bond that slaves would be no part of his ship’s cargo.

“An Act authorizing the manumission of negroes, mulattoes, and others, and for the gradual abolition of slavery.” Persons born after March, 1784, to be free. Bill framed pursuant to a petition of Quakers. COLONIAL RECORDS, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 503.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The statute included a provision releasing slavemasters who manumitted slaves born prior to 1784 between 21 and 30 years of age (for a male) or 18 and 30 (for a female) from further obligation to financially support the freed slaves, but only when their town council was confident that the freed slave was healthy enough not to become dependent on town aid.



His brother [John Brown](#) was opposed, pointing out that if white people were not charitable enough to buy these black victims along the coast of Africa, very often the black victims of African wars would simply be offered. One Benson, a veteran of the trade, supplied the assembly with supporting anecdotes. The Middle Passage was portrayed as a rescue.

[Esek Hopkins](#) pointed out that these [Quakers](#) who opposed [slavery](#) were mere hypocrites, who readily participated in the rum industry, the sugar industry, the indigo industry, and other segments of the economy that relied heavily upon slave labor. These self-righteous posturers were as implicated as anybody else.

A more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon has come to us recently from Professor Joanne Pope Melish:



The support provisions of the 1784 emancipation law allowed slave owners to escape any further financial responsibility for slaves under forty years of age whom they [manumitted](#), which threatened to leave too many "old" slaves in their thirties to the support of the towns. A 1785 revision ["An Act repealing Part of the Act respecting the Manumission of Slaves," RI General Assembly, October 1785], reiterated in 1798 ["An Act relative to Slaves, and to their Manumission and Support: part of the revision of the Public Laws of the State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations," RI General Assembly, January 1798], lowered the age of eligibility for unencumbered emancipation to thirty. Apparently some town councils, faced with rising costs for pauper support, refused to allow slave owners to manumit



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

even eligible slaves, leading to the passage of an 1804 act providing for an appeal procedure by slave owners "aggrieved" by recalcitrant councils ["An Act in Amendment of the Act, entitled, 'An Act relative to Slaves, and their Manumission and Support,'" RI General Assembly, March 1804]. In other words, an aging slave population that would not be replenished either by birth into slavery or by importation, which had been outlawed in Rhode Island in 1774, presented an increasing financial liability, and many slave owners sought to manumit their slaves before they would be obligated to support them in their old age. The large number of manumissions may have led the slaves themselves to interpret these provisions as the "General Emancipation" act that Brown describes. Undoubtedly most slaves saw freedom under any circumstances as good news – though not all did, as Brown wryly observes, noting that a few "declared their masters had been eating their flesh and now they were going to stick to them and suck their bones."

At the first federal census in 1790, there were 427 free people of color and 48 slaves living in the city of Providence, a city of about 6,400. By 1810, four years before William Brown was born, the number of free people of color had risen to 865, just about 8.6 percent of the population of about 10,000, and the number of slaves had fallen to 6. Yet there were still 5 slaves in Rhode Island and 1 in the city of Providence in 1840, according to the Fifth Federal Census, and it was only the new state Constitution of November 1842 that finally abolished slavery entirely in Rhode Island.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

March 1: REPORT ON GOVERNMENT FOR WESTERN TERRITORY.

READ THE FULL TEXT

The Quakers were being largely held in contempt for their opposition to the recent struggle between the American colonials and the mother country. The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly had voted down Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s bill for the abolition of the [international slave trade](#), by a resounding margin of 2 to 1, and his bill for the abolition of [slavery](#), by instead creating a plan for gradual nominal *post nati* emancipation of Rhode Island's persons of color.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MOSES BROWN



"Emancipation in the ... Indies....": All the great geniuses of the British senate, Fox, Pitt, Burke, Grenville, Sheridan, Grey, Canning, ranged themselves on its side; the poet Cowper wrote for it: Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, in this country, all recorded their votes.

One nice thing that was accomplished in the General Assembly of Rhode Island was that previously, although technically it had been illicit to bring new slaves from Africa onto Rhode Island soil, the captains of the Rhode Island *negreros* had been being allowed to keep their cargos of new slaves from Africa on Rhode Island soil for up to one year — so long as they promised that before the end of that year this cargo would be disposed of in the West Indies. This up-to-one-year permission was removed and from this point forward, the Rhode Island *negreros* would not be allowed to bring any of the new slaves back home with them, even for a short period.

Under Rhode Island's new Negro [Emancipation](#) Act, effective on this day, newborn children of slaves were to be designated as apprentices rather than as slaves, and were to be released from said indentureships when the

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

females reached the age of 18 and the males reached the age of 21 (without however ever having had any of the protections awarded to white apprentices, and without their parents ever becoming themselves free). The idea was that by the time these newborns had reached an age to be released from this “apprenticeship,” they would have paid off the debt they obviously owed to the slavemaster who still owned their mother — for the lost labors of their mother while she was paying attention to her own child rather than to the needs of her master or mistress.

INDENTURE



When Rhode Island legislators began the gradual statutory abolition of slavery in their state in 1784, they declared in a preamble that slavery “had gradually obtained by unrestrained custom and the permission of the laws.”

– William W. Wiecek, “The Statutory Law of Slavery and Race in the Thirteen Mainland Colonies of British North America”



Slavery was not established by law in any American colony, but its development by custom was later recognized by legislation.

– William E. Moore, “Slave Law and the Social Structure”

MANUMISSION

(Separately, such a law was becoming effective also in the neighboring state of Connecticut. Rhode Island would, however, later repeal its law as “burthensome” to its white slavemasters — since the plantations of “The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations” were where more than half of the entire amount of New England’s black slaves were situated.)

“Emancipation in the ... Indies....”: On the other part, appeared the reign of pounds and shillings, and all manner of rage and stupidity; a resistance which drew from Mr. Huddleston in Parliament the observation, “That a curse attended this trade even in the mode of defending it. By a certain fatality, none but the vilest arguments were brought forward, which corrupted the very persons who used them. Every one of these was built on the narrow ground of interest, of pecuniary profit, of sordid gain, in opposition to every motive that had reference to humanity, justice, and religion, or to that great principle which comprehended them all.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

29th 3d month: [Friend](#) William Congdon of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) manumitted his slave Negro man named Jack. He also freed toddler Negro girls named Luce and Fan (until the age of 18, the girls were to be considered as apprentices).

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
Job	Hannah Knowles	
	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

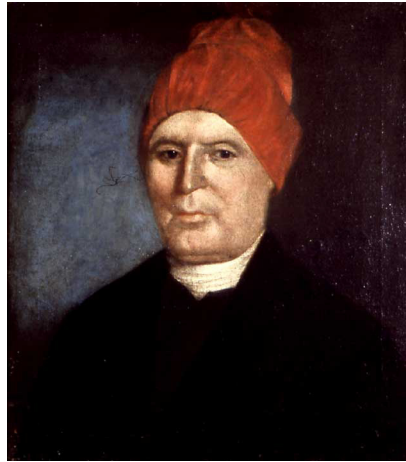
4th Month: Artemis Fish wrote to the local meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#): *“I had a birthright with you in the Society, but was so inconsiderate and disregardful thereof as to marry out of the good order, and have since been active in warlike matters and also an encourager of others thereto, which of late has become a trouble to my mind and I now have to acknowledge my misconduct and offences [sic], desiring you to pass them by and extend your care toward me for my help and restoration, hoping through Divine assistance to be so favored as not to be further trouble to the Society but rather in some good degree to compensate for the wrong already done.”*

RHODE ISLAND

April 29: The Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#) wrote from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to [Friend Moses Brown](#) in [Providence](#) about the prospects of their abolitionist efforts:

I have dared publicly to declare that this town [Newport] is the most guilty, respecting the trade, of any on the [North American] continent, as it has been, in a great measure, built up by the blood of the poor Africans.... This has greatly displeased a number [of the local white people], and I fear the most are far from a disposition to repent, especially they who have the greatest share of the guilt.... This gives me a gloomy

prospect of our future circumstances!



I don't have a date for this, but will insert it arbitrarily at this point. When the Reverend wrote a polemic against the [international slave trade](#), at first the [Newport Herald](#) would agree to print his new tract — but then the editor would change his mind.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The [Declaration of Independence](#) showed a significant drift of public opinion from the firm stand taken in the "Association" resolutions. The clique of political philosophers to which Jefferson belonged never imagined the continued existence of the country with slavery. It is well known that the first draft of the Declaration contained a severe arraignment of Great Britain as the real promoter of slavery and the slave-trade in America. In it the king was charged with waging "cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another."¹⁴⁸

To this radical and not strictly truthful statement, even the large influence of the Virginia leaders could not gain the assent of the delegates in Congress. The afflatus of 1774 was rapidly subsiding, and changing economic conditions had already led many to look forward to a day when the slave-trade could successfully be reopened. More important than this, the nation as a whole was even less inclined now than in 1774 to denounce the slave-trade uncompromisingly. Jefferson himself says that this clause "was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina

148. Jefferson, *WORKS* (Washington, 1853-4), I. 23-4. On the Declaration as an anti-slavery document, cf. Elliot, *DEBATES* (1861), I. 89.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also, I believe," said he, "felt a little tender under those censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."¹⁴⁹

As the war slowly dragged itself to a close, it became increasingly evident that a firm moral stand against slavery and the slave-trade was not a probability. The reaction which naturally follows a period of prolonged and exhausting strife for high political principles now set in. The economic forces of the country, which had suffered most, sought to recover and rearrange themselves; and all the selfish motives that impelled a bankrupt nation to seek to gain its daily bread did not long hesitate to demand a reopening of the profitable African slave-trade. This demand was especially urgent from the fact that the slaves, by pillage, flight, and actual fighting, had become so reduced in numbers during the war that an urgent demand for more laborers was felt in the South.

Nevertheless, the revival of the trade was naturally a matter of some difficulty, as the West India circuit had been cut off, leaving no resort except to contraband traffic and the direct African trade. The English slave-trade after the peace "returned to its former state," and was by 1784 sending 20,000 slaves annually to the West Indies.¹⁵⁰ Just how large the trade to the continent was at this time there are few means of ascertaining; it is certain that there was a general reopening of the trade in the Carolinas and Georgia, and that the New England traders participated in it. This traffic undoubtedly reached considerable proportions; and through the direct African trade and the illicit West India trade many thousands of Negroes came into the United States during the years 1783-1787.¹⁵¹

Meantime there was slowly arising a significant divergence of opinion on the subject. Probably the whole country still regarded both slavery and the slave-trade as temporary; but the Middle States expected to see the abolition of both within a generation, while the South scarcely thought it probable to prohibit even the slave-trade in that short time. Such a difference might, in all probability, have been satisfactorily adjusted, if both parties had recognized the real gravity of the matter. As it was, both regarded it as a problem of secondary importance, to be solved after many other more pressing ones had been disposed of. The anti-slavery men had seen slavery die in their own communities, and expected it to die the same way in others, with as little active effort on their own part. The Southern planters, born and reared in a slave system, thought that some day the system might change, and possibly disappear; but active effort to this end on their part was ever farthest from their thoughts. Here, then, began that fatal policy toward slavery and the slave-trade that characterized the nation for three-quarters of a century, the policy of *laissez-faire*, *laissez-passer*.

149. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 19.

150. Clarkson, IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, pages 25-6; REPORT OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, etc. (London, 1789).

151. Witness the many high duty acts on slaves, and the revenue derived therefrom. Massachusetts had sixty distilleries running in 1783. Cf. Sheffield, OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN COMMERCE, page 267.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

May 3: [Anthony Benezet](#) died. His grave is in the Friends' Burial Ground of Philadelphia.

On this day the abolitionist [Friend Moses Brown](#) demanded an answer to the question, “Has General Washington freed his Negroes or has he not?” (There would be no response.)

The Los Angeles newsman and storyteller who has weighed in on this issue, Charles Rappleye, has responded to this factoid on page 234 of his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006) by offering some factoids of his own. Unfortunately, Rappleye's factoids, although part of the “conventional wisdom” familiar to all American newsmen and storytellers, happens to be demonstrably inaccurate:

Considering the well-known history of Washington's stony silence on the question of [slavery](#), and that he finally manumitted his 123 slaves only upon his decease, Moses' query seems wildly off base.¹⁵²

First, George Washington was the Virginia slavemaster who had selected a healthy male slave and had that man held down, while a healthy tooth was yanked out of his jaw with pliers, in order to have a piece of ivory to fit into a gap in his personal denture. **This is not the act of a man who is maintaining a stony silence on the topic of some people's lives belonging not to themselves but to other more fortunate people.** Second, Washington would [manumitted](#) precisely one slave upon his decease, a mulatto manservant he called “Billy” who referred to himself as “William Lee,” who since he had become old and crippled had anyway lost all cash value:

And to my Mulatto man William (calling himself William Lee) I give immediate freedom; or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which ha[v]e befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so: In either case however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life, whic[h] shall be independent of the victuals and cloaths he has been accustomed to receive, if he chuses the last alternative; but in full, with his freedom, if he prefers the first; & this I give him as a test[im]ony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War.

152. Presumably the newsman meant to use the idiom “wildly off target,” as in “The ball struck the batter on the elbow.” A runner who is “off base” can be tagged out, and one can suppose there to be something like “widely off,” which is to say, far away from the white base bag that the runner is supposed to be touching with one shoe — but there seems to be no such thing as being “wildly” off base.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Third, this ostensibly precise figure supplied by the newsman, “123 slaves,” is a figure that requires considerable elaboration. There were 317 slaves on the various Mount Vernon farms, 153 of whom as the dower property of his spouse Martha Washington would at her death pertain to the Custis heir-at-law, her grandson George Washington Parke Custis, and 40 of whom were the property of a neighbor, Penelope Manley French. Fourth, in accordance with the standard manner in which estates were then probated and are still now probated, **all debts must always be discharged in full before any of the deceased’s bequests can be honored.** There is no getting away from this. Fifth, in accordance with the manner in which estates were being probated at the turn of the 19th Century in Virginia, **since the black beneficiaries counted as mere property, the entitlements of all white beneficiaries would need to be satisfied in full before any of the indicated manumissions could take place.** At that time in that place, there was no getting away from this. Therefore, for George Washington to have set up an enforceable plan for the manumission of either 123 or 317 persons upon the eventual demise of his spouse Martha Washington, it would have been mandatory for him to have set up an escrow account and to have registered in that inviolate account moneys or properties at least equal in value to the lives of those 123 or 317 human beings. And this he did not even begin to do. Instead Washington expressed what amounted to good intentions in regard to the balance of the slaves over and above his crippled mulatto manservant William Lee. –And although there is ample extrapolative puffery, in fact we have no documentary record that **any one** of these 123 or 317 human beings became free upon the demise of the widowed Martha (the only documentary record we have is that Martha expressed **considerable irritation** upon hearing of the expectation these people had, that as soon as she was dead they would be set free):

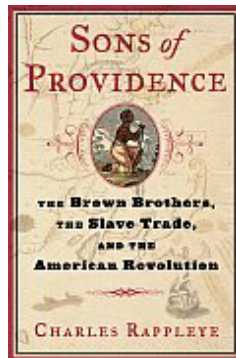
[Ite]m[:] Upon the decease [of] my wife, it is my Will & desire th[at] all the Slaves which I hold in [my] own right, shall receive their free[dom]. To emancipate them during [her] life, would, tho’ earnestly wish[ed by] me, be attended with such insu[pera]ble difficulties on account of thei[r interm]ixture by Marriages with the [dow]er Negroes, as to excite the most pa[in]ful sensations, if not disagreeabl[e c]onsequences from the latter, while [both] descriptions are in the occupancy [of] the same Proprietor; it not being [in] my power, under the tenure by which [th]e Dower Negroes are held, to man[umi]t them. And whereas among [thos]e who will recieve freedom ac[cor]ding to this devise, there may b[e sol]me, who from old age or bodily infi[rm]ities, and others who on account of [the]ir infancy, that will be unable to [su]pport themselves; it is m[y Will and de]sire that all who [come under the first] & second descrip[tion shall be comfor]tably cloathed & [fed by my heirs while] they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living are unable, or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until they shall arrive at the ag[e] of twenty five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The Negros thus bound, are (by their Masters or Mistresses) to be taught to read & write; and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the Laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of Orphan and other poor Children. and I do hereby expressly forbid the Sale, or transportation out of the said Commonwealth, of any Slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover most pointedly, and most solemnly enjoin it upon my Executors hereafter named, or the Survivors of them, to see that th[is] clause respecting Slaves, and every part thereof be religiously fulfilled at the Epoch at which it is directed to take place; without evasion, neglect or delay, after the Crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support so long as there are subjects requiring it; not trusting to the [u]ncertain provision to be made by individuals.

In consideration of these pieces of information, does Friend Moses's demanding interrogative, "Has General Washington freed his Negroes or has he not?" seem—to anyone other than this Charles Rappleye—to have been "off base" or "off target"? I would think not. It was an exceedingly pertinent issue, one that deserved not silence but the answer it did not ever receive, and even now is not receiving. As Friend Moses commented, if this general were to retain his slaves, such a fact would "indeed be a paradox to posterity."



Should we put up with this sort of trade press book? I suppose we should, if the author is going to come to an important conclusion. But what conclusion does Rappleye draw from all the factoids he summons, true factoids mingled with a few false factoids?—Merely that this struggle between John and Moses, between vicious and greedy enslavers and generous and benign liberators, amounted to nothing but "sibling rivalry on a grand scale" (page 330). All this stuff we moderns think we believe about abolitionism being progressive and enslavement regressive is sheer irrelevance, for these black slaves and their anguish are mere stage props; what we have here is two white brothers "John and Mosie" taking center stage and chewing up the set scenery and relating to each other in the duke-it-out way that brothers relate to each other. "John was never going to cede to Moses the question of what was right and what was wrong." Such an analysis being so simplistic as to be reductionist, the conclusion I would come to is that no, we should not put up with this sort of trade press book.

November: As an example of the practice of [Quaker disownment](#), here is an expression of contrition found on file at the Hopewell, Maryland monthly meeting:

Whereas I have been guilty of strikeing and riding over a man, for which conduct I am sorry, desiring that friends may pass it by, and continue me under their care as my future conduct may render me worthy. Given from under my hand this 1st day of the 11th month, 1784. R.F.¹⁵³

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

May: By this point young [Friend](#) Abigail Franks had been accepted as a member of Birmingham Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) despite being of mixed racial heritage.¹⁵⁴

153. BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING, page 56.

154. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury's "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends" in *The Journal of Negro History*, Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

November 1: A set of rules and regulations was adopted by the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in the upper room of the meetinghouse in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#):

The following rules and regulations were agreed on for the Government of the Yearly Meeting's School viz—

First,—That the Scholars carefully observe to be at School at the appointed times—That none presume to absent themselves without leave of the person under whose care they are, and that manifested to the Master.—

Second,—That they be always silent at their studies, so that their voices be not heard unless when saying their lessons, or speaking to their Master—

To hold no discourse with their School-fellows during the time of study, unless to ask something relating to their learning, and then in a low voice, and to avoid gazing about, moving from place to place or too frequent going out.—

Third,—That strict obedience be paid the Monitors in discharge of their Office, and that none shall take the liberty to enter into any dispute with them; but those who may after deliberate consideration, think themselves aggrieved, may make their complaint to the Master, and if he does not redress them, or if they have any cause of complaint against the Master, they may lay the same before one or more of the School-Committee, who shall take notice thereof at their next Meeting to reconcile and redress the same.

Fourth,—That in going to and from School every one behave with decency and sobriety, without giving the least cause of offense to any.—

Fifth,—That in all their conversation whether in or out of School they use the plain scripture language of the singular number to one person, and be careful to place the words thou and thee in their proper places, and to call the days of the Week and Months of the Year in their numerical Order, and each other by their proper names according to the practice of the Apostles, avoiding all other names, terms of reproach, and every other rude or uncivil expression.—

Sixth,—That in hours of leisure they observe modesty and Sobriety, using such exercise of body only as may preserve their minds in sweetness to each other, that friendship and harmony may dwell among them, and they thereby learn to prefer and love each other's company in preference to that of any rude wicked children, whom they are strictly enjoined not to associate with.—

Seventh,—Never tell a lie, or use artful evasions, nor wrong any person by word or deed, Swear not at all, nor use the name of God irreverently or in vain, Mock not the aged, the lame, deformed or insane, or any other person; Throw no sticks, stones, dirt, snow-balls or any other thing at any person; nor wantonly or unnecessarily at any creature, revile no person, nor utter any indecent expression; never return any injury or affront, but forgive agreeable to the declaration given us of our Lord. Matthew, Chapt. 6th. verse 14 15, for if ye forgive men their tresspasses, your heavenly father will also forgive you, but if ye forgive not men their Tresspasses neither will your heavenly father forgive your tresspasses, and in all things to the best of their power behave in a modest and civil manner to all.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Eighth,-When meetings are held on any other than first days the Scholars are to go to School prepared to attend them with decency and Sobriety.

Ninth,-And inasmuch as the best rules avail not unless they are put in practice, frequent enquiry should be made by the Master whether they are punctually observed in his absence, and when any neglect appears, it should not pass without notice and reproof or correction if necessary, and where any complaint or difference arise, the ground and justice of such complaint or difference should be enquired into, when the Master should take the opportunity to recommend and inculcate the great duty of doing to each other what they would have done to than: And when any Scholar makes complaint of a School-mate, neither those complained of nor any other should be permitted to reproach the complainants for their care to preserve good order; but care should be used to check such as take pleasure in tattling and tale-bearing both in and out of School.- The Master is desired to be at the School-house some time before the School hours as often as he conveniently can, that thereby the Scholars may be preserved from irregularity; and good order encouraged that so it may become habitual.

Tenth,-That he strictly enjoin the Scholars to be diligent to their several studies and application to their Books that their proficiency may be to each an Ornament, which alone can be acquired by attention and diligence.

Let the Scholars know they must be careful to attend Meetings, on first days, as well as other Meeting days, unless sickness or unavoidable necessity prevents; and if any fails in this duty, let enquiry be immediately made for the cause, and every necessary method used to detect and discountenance every inclination to screen and hide their misconduct in this way or any other instance by that mean and scandalous practice of equivocating and lying; vices which they should know are detestable in the sight of their almighty creator and of good men and worthy of correction; while candor, openness and integrity are praise worthy and should be encouraged that they may be truly virtuous.

And above all, let frequent opportunity be taken and every occasion employed to inculcate in their minds the necessity and advantage to themselves, both present and future, of strictly observing every moral and Christian duty and let any breach there of be more frequently reproved than any other neglect.- And although the scriptures of truth are the principal Books to be read in the School, being as saith the Apostle, able to make us wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus; and are 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 2nd Tim. Chap. 3rd. Ver. 15, 16, 17th.

Nevertheless there are other Books which may be useful and the Master may occasionally direct such parts of William Penn's no Cross no Crown; and reflections and Maxims; Robert Barclay's Apology and Catechism, and Piety promoted with such other Books, Epistles and Letters as the School Committee and he may think best-And as it is necessary that the Master have the government of his Scholars, in order to their being well-educated; he is to keep a strict tho' not passionate discipline according to the

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:**18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM**

foregoing Rules, and it is expected all persons who send their Children will be resigned to his government Accordingly.—

Eleventh. The School hours be from the 9th hour to the twelfth, and from half after One to half past four till the first of the fourth Month next the time for the other part of the Year to be hereafter concluded on.—

Twelfth. And that the Master previous to his dismissing the Scholars, direct their Books and studies to be laid aside and their attention to be retired from them, In a pause for inward recollection as well as outward retirement; And then dismiss them not all at once, but gradually and quietly in such divisions as he may think most conducive to the reputation of the School, and advantage of the Scholars.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1785

[Friend](#) James Pemberton (1747-1809) wrote from Philadelphia to a Friend in London that the subject of accepting members who were not completely white was one that “excited much attention.”¹⁵⁵



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Here is a Silhouette of Friend James Pemberton of Pennsylvania:



When Robert Hunter visited Boston as part of his extended tour of the new United States of America, he went around on his Sundays to various worships. One Sunday morning he attended an Anglican service, which was familiar to him, and then that afternoon he went with a friend of his to the Boston meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Afterward he would comment on his own and on his friend's behalf that “[we] came out no wiser than we went in.”



August 23 (or 20): [Oliver Hazard Perry](#) was born at the Old Perry Homestead in [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), of parents that have been characterized as “[Fighting Quakers](#).”¹⁵⁶

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

155. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as [Quakers](#) are from Henry Cadbury's “Negro Membership in the Society of Friends” in [The Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.

1786

The [Quakers](#) of Conanicut or [Jamestown, Rhode Island](#) began to replace their old meetinghouse, erected in 1710, with a new structure.

In the Berkshires, the [Quakers](#) of Adams, Massachusetts finished the meetinghouse of their monthly meeting. This is how it would appear more than a century later, in 1904:



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In approximately this year the followers of [disowned](#) “Universal Friend” [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) hired Abraham Dayton, Thomas Hathaway, and Richard Smith to scout a site for their “New Jerusalem” refuge. Passing through the valley known as Wyoming in upstate New York, the trio encountered a backwoodsman named Spalding who directed them to the Yates County region around Seneca Lake. Heading upriver until they fell upon the track left by General John Sullivan’s genocidal army, they arrived at the foot of Seneca Lake, and on Cashong Creek found a pair of French traders, De Bartzch and Poudry, who assured them of the attractiveness of the area.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

January 2: As an example of the practice of [Quaker disownment](#), here is an expression of contrition found on file at the Hopewell, Maryland monthly meeting:

Whereas I have made profession of the Truth, but not being strickly on my guarde, gave way to passion, so as to throw a stool at a man, for which misconduct I am sorry, desiring Friends to pass it by, and I hope to be more careful. January 2, 1786, W.S.¹⁵⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

156. A Quaker who fights is like a chicken that pisses. If it pisses it’s not a chicken but something else wearing a chicken suit.
 157. BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING, page 56.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 30: In Mountmellick in county Laois in Ireland, which had been the home of Friend [William Edmundson](#), Friends John Pim, John Heiton, Jack Gatchell, and Mungo Bewley opened a boarding school intended for girls from poor [Quaker](#) families.

May 8: Thomas Hancock, founded British rubber industry.

May 11: [Henry Marie Brackenridge](#) was born, a son of Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He would be educated by his father and by private tutors, and then attend a French academy at St. Genevieve, Louisiana.

In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Ruth Smith Hopkins](#), alleging that as a [Friend](#) she had “sometime past” set free her Negro Man Servant, so that he would “be entitled to the Privileges of a Freeman which he is and has an undoubted Right to be,” at this point needed to visit the town clerk to register for this [Toney Hopkins](#) a written Infrument of manumission to replace said previous such document, unrecorded, that he said he had lost.

This obviously innocent document of record in obviously honest confirmation of the previous benevolent action would appear for all time on pages 35 and 36 of Volume 22 of such [Providence](#) records:

To all People to whom These Presents shall come - Whereas I sometime past set free a Negro Man called Toney Hopkins heretofore a Servant [Servant??] to Me the Subscriber and gave him

———page break———

him a written Infrument evidencing the Same which writing he the said Negro- Man says is lost and being diffcult that he should be entitled to the Privileges [Privileges??] of a Freeman which he is and has an undoubted Right to be I have given him the [the??] further written Evidence thereof hereby declaring him the said Toney Hopkins a Free-man agreeable to the date set for encouraging the Manumission of Slaves in this state hereby for myself my Heir's [sic??] & Renouncing all claim to him the said Toney Hopkins his Labour or Service In Writing whereof I have hereto subscribed my Name and put my seal this Eleventh Day [Day??] of the 5th Month 1786 In Providence in Prefence of
Ruth Hopkins (L.S.)

Recorded this 11th Day of May AD 1786
(symbol) Theodore Foster Town Clerk

MANUMISSION

That's at least what this appears to be, on its surface.

But, is this all as straightforward as it seems? This would presumably be the Ruth Smith Hopkins who was the daughter of the 2d wife of [Governor Stephen Hopkins](#) (March 7, 1707-July 13, 1785), Anne Arnold Smith Hopkins, by her previous husband, who had been adopted by Governor Hopkins, and who lived in the red

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

house just down the street from the county house in which this record was being created:

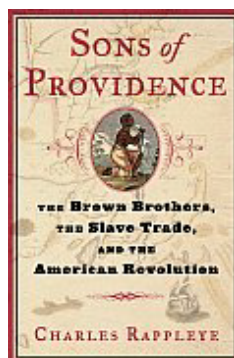


This slave being freed would presumably be Toney, a [slave](#) in this household.¹⁵⁸ Toney had presumably been the property not of the unmarried adopted daughter but of the stepfather who was recently deceased, and whose estate was presumably at that point still in probate. But, by his will, he had freed all his slaves! Something does not compute. But here's the rub: Governor Hopkins had been disowned by the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for having refused to manumit his personal servant, pleading special circumstances. There had apparently never been any such document, as the manumission document which here she said he said was lost. **Toney, however, clearly had not been freed by Governor Hopkins or by what he had written in his will, and this adopted daughter couldn't free him because she didn't own him. This was a little white scam.** This was the [Quaker](#) daughter's one chance to set right her stepfather's neglect and clear her family of the taint of enslavement and provide to Toney his chance at freedom. The Quaker lady fibbed. Bully for her!

May 21: In Maryland, the Reverend John Pitman "Went to hear a [Quaker](#) who kept us waiting about an hour & a half before he began & then spoke about an hour got down & dismiss'd us by shaking hands he spoke well for one of their Society without any tone &c."

June 3: [Sarah Rotch](#) was born on [Nantucket Island](#), in the [Quaker](#) family of William Rotch, Jr.

158. Charles Rappleye, in his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 142), instances that the 1774 census had recorded six slaves as living in the Hopkins household in Providence, Rhode Island. He also references "'a Negroe woman,'" as recorded in the minutes of the Smithfield Monthly Meeting." I wonder if he has actually looked at these holographic minutes at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island, for I am unable myself in them to make out this phrase he has alleged, "a Negroe woman."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

November 27, Wednesday: In the afternoon, in Rhode Island, as [John Brown](#) was sitting down to a meal, Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s son Obadiah showed up with a package in hand. The boy was carrying a written argument opposing this new family involvement, and also a recent pamphlet arguing for the abolition of the [international slave trade](#).

The [Baptist](#) brother would provide the [Quaker](#) brother with a categorical defense of his personal righteousness. This was his story and he was sticking to it:

[T]he slaves are positively better off that is brought from the coast than those that are left behind.

Besides, everyone else was doing it! The morality of his position having thus been demonstrated, John went on to confess that there was, in addition, a practical consideration — it is appropriate for a businessman to pay his debts:

I owe an enormous sum of money in Europe, and am striving in every trade which appears lawful and right to me, to pay as much of that debt as possible.

Meanwhile, in Massachusetts, a party of Shays' Rebellion insurrectionaries led by Oliver Parker arrived in [Concord](#), intending to march on the following day to Cambridge and there prevent a sitting of the Court of Common Pleas. Captain Job Shattuck passed through town in secret. The plan would fall apart, and then the dispersed insurrectionaries would be individually tracked down and taken into custody.



On the 28th of November the Court of Common Pleas was to sit in Cambridge; and though the leading insurgent of the 12th of September had been persuaded not to take any measure in opposition to government, his agreement was overruled in secret council with the leaders in Worcester county. On the 27th a party, headed by Oliver Parker marched to Concord, intending to proceed to Cambridge. Job Shattuck came in a secret manner; and after his arrival, went under cover of night, "to Weston to get intelligence of the Worcester forces; but though they had begun their march, they did not appear; and from want of cooperation the whole plan fell through. The insurgents at Concord, growing disheartened, scattered before any force could reach them." Warrants were issued for apprehending the leading insurgents in Middlesex, and were committed to the sheriff. A military force volunteered to assist him, leaving Boston the 29th of November, and proceeding immediately to Concord. The militia of Concord stood ready to afford any assistance. A party of horse was despatched to secure the subjects of the warrants, and returned at night with Page and Parker prisoners. Not having succeeded in apprehending Shattuck - the principal leader, they proceeded to his house in Groton, and on their arrival found he had taken the alarm and fled to the woods. A search was made and after considerable exertion he was taken about 10 o'clock, a.m., November 30th. He received several wounds from his pursuers



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

during his arrest, some of which were very dangerous, – a treatment which was generally censured. He was taken to Boston the next day and confined to prison where he received medical aid but he never entirely recovered the use of his limbs. In the following May he was tried at Concord, and condemned to be hanged. But the government treated him with leniency, as they did all those who unfortunately acted, as he did from mistaken views, and gave him a full pardon September 20, 1787.¹⁵⁹ Ephraim Wood, Esq. obtained this pardon from the government. After the apprehension of the opposing leaders in Middlesex, the insurrection was confined to other counties. Detachments of soldiers were made in January to suppress it. One from [Concord](#) marched to Worcester, Springfield, Hadley, Amherst, Petersham, back to Amherst, Hadley, [Northampton](#), Westhampton, Pittsfield, Farmington, Loudon, Sandersfield, Southwick, West-Springfield, back to Worcester and home. The officers of this company were Roger Brown, Captain; Amos Barrett, Lieutenant; and Jonas Heald of Acton, Ensign, and were attached to the regiment commanded by Colonel Henry Woods, of Pepperell, and Lieutenant Colonel William Monroe, of Lexington. They left Concord, January 19th, and returned February 26th. On the 27th of January, the town voted “to provide the families of those soldiers that were gone with the necessities of life, while absent, if asked for.” A bounty was paid by subscription. All the militia marched as far as Marlborough; but, before they had been long absent, they were ordered back again. The people of this town took no further part in the insurrection.¹⁶⁰

1787

[Friend](#) Charles Brockden Brown came to be apprenticed to a Philadelphia lawyer.

Since his service in the American Revolution as a 13-year-old mounted courier, Andrew Jackson had been residing in [North Carolina](#). He had devoted himself to legal studies. At this point, at the age of 20, he was admitted to the bar.

As an example of the practice of [Quaker disownment](#), here is an expression of contrition found on file at the Hopewell, Maryland monthly meeting, which we may hope led to reinstatement in the religious community:

“I have for some time past been desirous to be joined in membership with my Friends, and from the feelings of my mind,

159. Captain Job Shattuck died in Groton, January 13, 1819, aged 84 years. He had been a brave and successful officer in the French and Revolutionary Wars, and often affirmed that he looked on no act of his life with more satisfaction, than that to which I have adverted; though he is said to have felt grateful for the pardon at the time, and remarked, he “would always be a good subject afterward.” Whatever the object of those acts might originally have been, the ultimate results were undoubtedly good. The people were thereby taught the necessity of a general union of the states, and of the speedy adoption of the federal constitution. They were induced to take such measures as gave the people confidence in the government and promoted the general posterity.

160. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835

(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

have requested the same, and do acknowledge the Meeting was just in disowning me from being a member of their religious society for accomplishing my marriage by the assistance of an hireling teacher, for which conduct I am sorry, and desire Friends may pass it by, and receive me into membership again, as my future conduct may recommend me. This from your friend, P.Y.”¹⁶¹

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Noah Webster’s “Examination” attempted to counter certain [Quaker](#) scruples upon the fact that [human enslavement](#) had just been enshrined in the current draft version of [the federal Constitution](#):

But, say the enemies of slavery, negroes may be imported for twenty-one years. This exception is addressed to the quakers, and a very pitiful exception it is. The truth is, Congress cannot prohibit the importation of slaves during that period; but the laws against the importation into particular states, stand unrepealed. An immediate abolition of slavery would bring ruin upon the whites, and misery upon the blacks, in the southern states. The constitution has therefore wisely left each state to pursue its own measures, with respect to this article of legislation, during the period of twenty-one years.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Organization was begun following a paper given by Dr. Benjamin Rush at the home of [Benjamin Franklin](#), entitled, “An Inquiry into the Effects of public punishment upon criminals and upon society.” Although the Quakers have always had a deep influence in Philadelphia, the organization would by no means be limited to Quakers. Dr. Rush for instance was a Unitarian, and Franklin wasn’t much of any religion. The President of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons for its first 40 years would be an Episcopal Bishop, William White.¹⁶²

Since [Franklin](#) might be termed the grandfather of electroshock therapy on the basis of his early suggestion that persons suffering from insanity be shocked into sanity by the application of electricity, I will insert the following item here: in this year Dr. John Birch made the experiment of administering electroshock to a popular singer who was suffering from melancholia — after daily treatments for a month, he recorded, the singer was able to fulfil his engagements that summer “with his usual applause.”

161. BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING

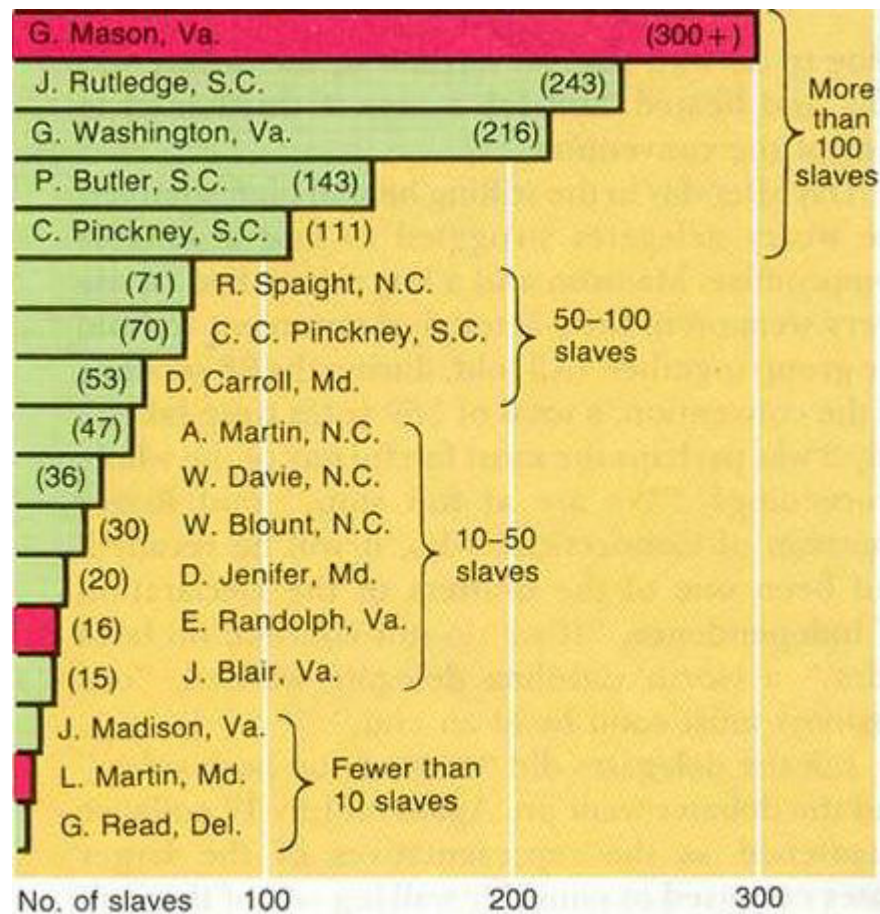
162. For those who wish to read more, there are two books by Dr. Negley Teeters of Temple University: THEY WERE IN PRISON, a history of the PA Prison Society, and THE CRADLE OF THE PENITENTIARY. Prior to this point, prison as punishment was not known. The motivation of the experiment was to create a substitute for corporal and capital punishment. This group promotes correctional reform and social justice to this day, although now it deems itself the Pennsylvania Prison Society.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Dr. Benjamin Rush was a member of the “Convention of Pennsylvania for the Adoption of the Federal Constitution.”

Franklin was again reelected President of Pennsylvania and went as delegate to the Philadelphia convention for the framing of a Federal Constitution. Here is an indication of the lifestyles of the people who attended this convention. Note that George Mason of Virginia, J. Rutledge of South Carolina, and George Washington of Virginia were three of the largest slaveholders in North America, and that in all, 17 delegates to this convention owned the lives of some 1,400 human beings:



Franklin, who owned slaves and acted as a slave-trader in Philadelphia out of his print-shop, went to the constitutional convention in part as the official representative of the anti-slavery cause — and never once raised this vital issue. Fifty years later, when the sealed proceedings would be disclosed to the American public and it would be revealed that he had betrayed us in this fundamental respect, there would be the greatest outrage at his conduct, and a debate would begin which would be germane to the origin of our civil warfare, a debate as to whether [the federal Constitution](#) was a pact with Satan which ought to be dissolved. That is to say, the activities (or lack of activities, for he was possibly already on opium at the time) of Franklin at the constitutional convention would lead directly to the foundation of the Northern Disunionist faction. But he spent his valuable time at this important convention arguing for banal nonce items such as having several executives rather than one and one legislature rather than several. The more important stuff, that he was supposed to be talking about, was precisely what the guy wasn't talking about. As a practical Pennsylvania politician he had found it was sometimes useful to ally with the local [Quakers](#), if this helped him neutralize the Brit influence, and we may observe in the following quotation from his AUTOBIOGRAPHY not only this



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

government's general attitude toward people who have been pacified but also this "antislavery delegate"
Franklin's attitude toward people who have been negrofied:

Ben Franklin's "Autobiography"

One afternoon, in the height of this public quarrel, we met in the street. "Franklin," says he, "you must go home with me and spend the evening; I am to have some company that you will like;" and, taking me by the arm, he led me to his house. In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us, jokingly, that he much admir'd the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of blacks, as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends, who sat next to me, says, "Franklin, why do you continue to side with these damn'd Quakers? Had not you better sell them? The proprietor would give you a good price." "The governor," says I, "has not yet blacked them enough." He, indeed, had labored hard to blacken the Assembly in all his messages, but they wip'd off his coloring as fast as he laid it on, and plac'd it, in return, thick upon his own face; so that, finding he was likely to be negrofied himself, he, as well as Mr. Hamilton, grew tir'd of the contest, and quitted the government.

We can get a glimpse, in the above, of how it would come to be that Dr. Franklin could go off to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 as the designated representative of the civil rights people of his day — and then, precisely 50 years later, when the articles of secrecy the delegates had sworn to had expired, it would be discovered that this politician had betrayed the people he was supposed to be representing by uttering not one single word at any time during that convention in opposition to the "peculiar institution" of chattel slavery.¹⁶³ [James Madison](#) took very detailed minutes throughout the Convention, but they were subject to a secrecy

READ MADISON'S NOTES

conspiracy to keep the electorate in the dark, with a sworn duration period of precisely 50 years, which was adhered to by all participants. Madison had turned over his notes on the Convention to George Washington, who kept them at Mt. Vernon, and Madison's notes would not see the light of day until 1845. No member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 would publish any account of the Convention's important deliberations until two years after the death the last member of the Constitutional Convention, Madison, when the notes of Luther Martin of Maryland and of Robert Yates of New York would be published in 1838 as SECRET PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1787.

NOTES OF ROBERT YATES

163. Yes, children, it was our trusted and revered Founding Father [Benjamin Franklin](#), as much as any single American, who caused the bloodletting of our Civil War. Was the guy on drugs during this convention? —No, we don't know for certain sure that he began his heavy use of opium before the year after this one. The only drug we can be quite certain he was on at this point, besides fatheadedness, was racism.

*Son of so-and-so and so-and-so, this
so-and-so helped us to gain our independence,
instructed us in economy,
and drew down lightning from the clouds.*

Incidentally, in using the trope "peculiar institution" today we tend to make an implicit criticism of enslavement. Not so originally! In its initial usages, to refer to slavery as "peculiar" was not in any way to attack it but rather proclaim it to be defensible. "Peculiar," in this archaic usage, indicated merely that the legitimacy of the system was based not upon any endorsement by a higher or more remote legal authority, but based instead upon the "peculiar conditions and history" of a particular district of the country and a particular society and a particular historically engendered set of customs and procedures and conventions. This trope went hand in hand with the Doctrine of States Rights, and went hand in hand with the persistence of the English common law.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

When Madison's records were opened on schedule, there was the greatest outrage. We felt totally betrayed. A Northern disunion party of sorts originated, and would constitute one of the causes of the frictions leading eventually to the US Civil War. We found out, belatedly, suddenly, that our Franklin had gone to the convention in part as the representative of the anti-slavery position, and —old, terminally ill, possibly already under the influence of opium, desiring some peace in his time— he had simply sold us out. Our guy hadn't even so much as **raised** the central issue of American slavery for **discussion**. We were so surprised, here we've got this slavemaster guy who used to keep the unwanted surplus slaves of his friends and business associates in a pen behind his print shop in Philadelphia, offering their bodies for sale to the highest bidder, and we trust him and we go and send him off to our constitutional convention to be our spokesperson against slavery — and we're so surprised and we feel so betrayed fifty years after the fact! There's now a book out that alleges that Ben more than any other human being was responsible for the American Revolutionary War. Per the book this was allegedly based upon his resentment at having been being fired as the colonial postmaster general, and publicly humiliated and scorned in Whitehall, on irrefutable charges having to do with the stealing of other people's correspondence. Well, I don't know about that issue — but, if I had to select out one American citizen who, more than any other, was responsible for the bloodshed of the US Civil War, I think I'd nominate Founding Father [Benjamin Franklin](#) for the honor. Well, maybe not. Anybody want to attempt to make a case for Nat Turner? Roger Taney?

[Slavery](#) is never directly mentioned in the US Constitution, although the document explicitly regard people coming into the nation from Africa to constitute cargo rather than to constitute prospective citizens. Also,

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. (Art. I, Sec. 2)

This is usually telegraphed by some comment such as “Our founding fathers believed that black people were subhuman, and evaluated them as $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of a human being.” That would have been bad enough, but this section is open to another, more accurate, and more pejorist, interpretation. Consider the key words here, “Representatives ... shall be apportioned” in the light of the end of this paragraph, which assigns the number of representatives each state would have until the first census could be taken, and ask yourself the question “So, how many representatives does each state initially get in the US Congress? The formula that was used is that representation was proportional to population, except that only 60% of the slaves were counted. Representatives represent those who elect and re-elect them. Blacks, free white children, and free white women were not allowed to cast ballots. The proper critical question to ask of this passage would not be, Why were slaves counted at only $\frac{3}{5}$ ths, when free white children and free white women were counted as whole units? The question would be, Why were they counted at all? Their inclusion in the census only served to inflate the representation of the free citizens of the slave-holding states. It certainly did nothing to promote the representation of the slaves in Congress. It could easily be demonstrated that the political interests of the free white men who were casting ballots had a significant amount of overlap in that period with the political interests of free white children and free white women, but it would be significantly harder to demonstrate a significant amount of overlap between the interests of [slaveholders](#) and the interests of their slaves. Of the actual voters in slave-holding states, how many held the same political opinions as the slaves? It might be a good guess that the answer is, close to zero. So why were these voters allowed extra representation, as if they could speak for 60% of the slaves? If we want to make a slogan of it, we shouldn't be saying that the founding fathers considered a slave to be $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of a person. We should be saying that they considered a slave a nonperson who increased someone else's, the possessor's, political worth by 60%. Bear in mind that what we are considering here is an era in which voting rights and property rights were still conceptually entangled — simply because in any event only men of property were entitled to cast a ballot.

Why $\frac{3}{5}$ ths? —Because on an average you can only get about $\frac{3}{5}$ ths as much work out of a slave, through



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

a motivational system primarily consisting of punishments and the threat of punishment, that you can get out of a free person, through a motivational system primarily consisting of rewards and the prospect of rewards! (Also, very practically, because both the North and the South were willing to compromise at $\frac{3}{5}$ ths whereas the northern colonies would never have entered the Union had Southern slaves been weighed at $\frac{5}{5}$ ths and the southern colonies would never have entered the Union had their slave property been weighed at $\frac{0}{5}$ ths.)

On the popular but quite incorrect interpretation of Art. 1 Sec. 2 of the US Constitution, whatever benefit a population received from being counted, the slave population was to receive but $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of that benefit. On a more accurate interpretation, the slave population was to receive no positive benefit at all, or was to receive a negative benefit, from being thus counted, for you will notice that the benefit that accrues from counting $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of the slave population is a benefit which is assigned to the free voting population of the same state, which is thus even more powerful — and even more capable of abusing those being held in captivity.

In a November 9, 2000 op-ed piece in the New York Times, “The Electoral College, Unfair from Day One,” Yale Law School’s Akhil Reed Amar would argue that intent of the Founding Fathers in creating the electoral college which was so perplexing us during the Bush/Gore presidential election, like their intent in creating the $\frac{3}{5}$ ths rule, had been to protect America’s southern white men from the vicissitudes of majority rule:

In 1787, as the Constitution was being drafted in Philadelphia, James Wilson of Pennsylvania proposed direct election of the president. But James Madison of Virginia worried that such a system would hurt the South, which would have been outnumbered by the North in a direct election system. The creation of the Electoral College got around that: it was part of the deal that Southern states, in computing their share of electoral votes, could count slaves (albeit with a two-fifths discount), who of course were given none of the privileges of citizenship. Virginia emerged as the big winner, with more than a quarter of the electors needed to elect a president. A free state like Pennsylvania got fewer electoral votes even though it had approximately the same free population.

The Constitution’s pro-Southern bias quickly became obvious. For 32 of the Constitution’s first 36 years, a white slaveholding Virginian occupied the presidency. Thomas Jefferson, for example, won the election of 1800 against John Adams from Massachusetts in a race where the slavery skew of the Electoral College was the decisive margin of victory.

The system’s gender bias was also obvious. In a direct presidential election, any state that chose to enfranchise its women would have automatically doubled its clout. Under the Electoral College, however, a state had no special incentive to expand suffrage — each got a fixed number of electoral votes, regardless of how many citizens were allowed to vote.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

With the assistance of abolitionist [Quakers](#), in this year the newly freed slaves of the city of Philadelphia formed a Free African Society. The society was intended to enable mutual aid and nourish the development of a cadre of black leaders. The immediate cause of organization of this Free African Society was that in this year the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia had segregated its colored members from its white communicants. Blacks to the back: African worshipers were sent to the church's gallery. One Sunday as the African members knelt to pray outside of their segregated area they were actually tugged from their knees, so they understood that they needed to form this new society — and out of this came an Episcopalian group and a Methodist one. The leader of the Methodist group was Richard Allen, and from his group would derive in 1816 the African Methodist Episcopal denomination.



Pennsylvania enacted a gradual emancipation act providing that no child born in Pennsylvania after March 1, 1780 should be a slave. (It would still be possible to purchase and sell slaves in Pennsylvania after the passage of this act, and in fact we can find frequent sale ads in Pennsylvania newspapers as late as 1820. Pennsylvania slaves could not, however, any longer be legally sold out of the state. Anyone who was a slave prior to the passage of this Gradual Emancipation Act was still a slave for life, even if he or she had been a mere newborn infant as of February 1780. Slaveholders could still sell the time of young people born to slave mothers after 1780, subject to the ban on out-of-state sales, until they reached the [manumission](#) age of 28. Therefore, as late as the 1830 census, Pennsylvania still sported some 400 slaves. There were many conflicts over enforcing the law, including with slaveholders who attempted to transport pregnant slaves to Maryland so that a child would be born a slave rather than born merely a servant until the age of 28. Slaveholders initiated arguments about whether the grandchildren as well as the children of slaves would be bound to serve until age 28. "Sojourning" slaveholders from other states would raise issues of the status of slaves brought into Pennsylvania.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



By this year all members of the New York [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had written and delivered [manumission](#) papers for all their slaves.



THE THIEF IN THE TANYARD¹⁶⁴

'In the House of Love men do not curse nor swear; they do not destroy nor kill any. They use no outward swords or spears. They seek to destroy no flesh of man; but it is a fight of the cross and patience to the subduing of sin.'—HENRY NICHOLAS (circa 1540).

'We have to keep in mind the thought of Christ. To us it seems most important to stop the evil act, hold it down by force, or push off its consequences on to someone else: anything, so long as we get rid of them from ourselves. Christ's thought was to change the evil mind, whatever physical consequences action, directed to this end, might involve.... This is the essence of "turning the other cheek," it is the attitude most likely to convert the sinner who injures us, whether it actually does so or not,—we cannot force him to be converted.' ... 'Those who try this method of love for the sake of the evildoer must be prepared to go down, if necessary, as the front ranks storming a strong position go down, paying the price of victory for those who come after them. This method is not certain to conquer the evil mind: it is the most likely way to do it, and it is that that matters most.'—A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW.

164. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. *A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS*. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



THE THIEF IN THE TANYARD

Knock! knock! knock!

The tremulous sound, three times repeated, disturbed the stillness of an empty street of small wooden houses. The night was very dark, but the square mass of the tanner's house could just be discerned, black and solid against the sky. The rays of a solitary oil lamp straggled faintly across the roadway, and showed a man with a large bundle on his back standing on the doorstep of that house, knocking as if he were afraid of the noise he made.

Knock! knock! knock! He tried once more, but with growing timidity and hesitation. Evidently the inmates of the house were busy, or too far off to hear the feeble summons. No one answered. The man's small stock of courage seemed exhausted. Giving his heavy bundle a hitch back on to his shoulder, he slunk off down the road, to where at a little distance the small oil lamp high up on the wall beckoned faintly in the darkness. The all-pervading smell of a tannery close by filled the air.

When he came directly under the lamp, the man stopped. The light, falling directly upon the package he carried, showed it to be a bundle of hides all ready for tanning. Here he stopped, and drew out a piece of crumpled newspaper from his pocket. Smoothing out the creases as carefully as he could, he held it up towards the lamp, and read once more the strange words that he already knew almost by heart.

This notice was printed in large letters in the advertisement column: 'WHOEVER stole a lot of hides on the fifth day of the present month is HEREBY informed that their owner has a sincere wish to be his friend. If poverty tempted him to this false step the owner will keep the whole transaction secret, and will gladly put him in the way of obtaining money by means more likely to bring him peace of mind.'

'If poverty tempted him to this false step,' the man repeated to himself half aloud. 'Tanner Savery wraps up his meaning in fine words, but their sense is plain enough. If it was being poor that drove a man to become a thief and to steal these hides from the shadow of that dark archway down by the river last Sunday night,—suppose it was poverty, well what then? Friend Savery "will gladly put him in the way of obtaining money by means more likely to bring him peace of mind." Will he indeed? Can I trust him? Is it a hoax? I would rather do without the money now, if only I could get rid of these hides, and of their smell, that sticks to a man's nostrils even as sin does to his memory. But the tanner promises to give me back peace of mind, does he? Well, that's a fair offer and worth some risk. I'll knock once more at his door and see what happens.'

Stuffing the newspaper into his pocket he walked quickly up the road again, back to the square house, and up the sanded steps. Again he lifted the brass knocker, and again 'knock! knock! knock!' rang out on the night air. But this time the knocking was less tremulous, and as it happened the inmates of the house were crossing the hall on their way to bed and heard the sound at once. In less than a minute the door opened, and a square brass candlestick, held high up, threw its light out into the



street. The candlestick was held by a tall man with greyish white hair, whom all the town knew as Tanner Savery. Peeping behind his shoulder appeared his wife's gentle face, surmounted by the clear muslin of a Quakeress's cap. The man on the doorstep never lifted up his eyes to the couple. 'I've brought them back, Mr. Savery,' he mumbled, too much ashamed even to explain what he meant by 'them.' But William Savery needed no explanation. Ever since the hides had mysteriously disappeared from his tanyard a few days before, he had felt sure that this quarrelsome neighbour of his must have taken them.

What was that neighbour's real name? That, nobody knows, or ever will know now. We only know that whatever it may have been it certainly was not John Smith, because when, in after years, Tanner Savery occasionally told this story he always called the stealer of his hides 'John Smith' in order to disguise his identity; so we will speak of John Smith too. 'A ne'er-do-well' was the character people gave him. They spoke of him as a man who was his own worst enemy, sadly too fond of his glass, and always quarrelling with his neighbours. Only William Savery refused to believe that any man could be altogether evil, and he kept a ray of hope in his heart for John Smith, even when his valuable bundle of hides mysteriously disappeared. It was that ray of hope that had made him put the advertisement in the paper, though he knew it would set the town laughing over 'those Quakers and their queer soft ways.' This evening the ray of hope was shining more brightly than ever. More brightly even than the candlelight shone in the darkness of the night, the hope in his heart shone through the brightness of the Tanner's eyes and smile. Yet he only answered cheerily, 'All right, friend, wait till I can light a lantern and go to the barn to take them back with thee.'

There was no trace of surprise in his voice. Those matter-of-fact tones sounded as if it were the most natural thing in the world to go out to the tanyard at 10 o'clock at night instead of going upstairs to bed.

'After we have done that,' he continued, 'perhaps thou wilt come in and tell me how this happened; we will see what can be done for thee.'

A lantern, hanging on its hook in the hall, was soon lighted. The two men picked their way down the sanded steps again, then passing under a high creeper-covered gateway they followed a narrow, flagged path to the tanyard.

All this time William Savery had not said one word to his wife—but the ring of happiness in his voice had made her happy too, and had told her what he would like her to do during his absence from the house. Lifting up the bedroom candlestick from the oak chest on which her husband had set it down, she hastened to the larder, then to the kitchen, where she poked up the fire into a bright glow, put a kettle on, and then went back again through the hall to the parlour, to and fro several times. When the two men returned to the house a quarter of an hour later, the fragrance of hot coffee greeted them. Solid pies and meat were spread out on the dark oak table. Mrs. Savery's pies were famous throughout the town. But besides pies there were cakes, buns, bread, and fruit,—a meal, indeed, to tempt any hungry man.

'I thought some hot supper would be good for thee, neighbour Smith,' said Mrs. Savery in her gentle voice, as she handed him



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

some coffee in one of her favourite blue willow-pattern cups. But John Smith did not take the cup from her. Instead, he turned his back abruptly, went over to the high carved fireplace, and leaning down looking into the glowing coals, said in a choked voice, 'It is the first time I ever stole anything, and I can tell you I have felt very bad about it ever since. I don't know how it is. I am sure I didn't think once that I should ever come to be a thief. First I took to drinking and then to quarrelling. Since I began to go downhill everybody gives me a kick; you are the first people who have offered me a helping hand. My wife is sickly and my children are starving. You have sent them many a meal, God bless you! Yet I stole the hides from you, meaning to sell them the first chance I could get. But I tell you the truth when I say, drunkard as I am, it is the first time I was ever a thief.'

'Let it be the last time, my friend,' replied William Savery, 'and the secret shall remain between ourselves. Thou art still young, and it is within thy power to make up for lost time. Promise me that thou wilt not take any strong drink for a year, and I will employ thee myself in the tanyard at good wages. Perhaps we may find some employment for thy family also. The little boy can, at least, pick up stones. But eat a bit now, and drink some hot coffee; perhaps it will keep thee from craving anything stronger tonight.'

So saying, William Savery advanced, and taking his guest by the arm, gently forced him into a chair. Mrs. Savery pushed the cup towards him, and heaped his plate with her excellent meat-pies. The stranger took up the cup to drink, but his hand trembled so much that he could not put it to his lips. He tried to swallow a small mouthful of bread, but the effort nearly choked him. William Savery, seeing his guest's excited state, went on talking in his grave kind voice, to give him time, and help him to grow calm.

'Doubtless thou wilt find it hard to abstain from drink at first,' he continued, 'but keep up a brave heart for the sake of thy wife and children, and it will soon become easy. Whenever thou hast need of coffee tell my wife, Mary, and she will give it thee.'

Mary Savery's blue eyes shone as she nodded her head; she did not say a word, for she saw that her guest was nearly at an end of his composure. Gently she laid her hand on his rough sleeve as if to try to calm and reassure him. But even her light touch was more than he could bear at that moment. Pushing the food and drink away from him untasted, he laid both his arms on the table, and burying his head, he wept like a child.

The husband and wife looked at each other. 'Can I do anything to help him?' Mary's eyes asked her husband in silence. 'Leave him alone for a little; he will be better when this fit of tears is over,' his wise glance answered back.

William Savery was right. The burst of weeping relieved John Smith's over-wrought feelings. Besides, he really was almost faint with hunger. In a few moments, when the coffee was actually held to his lips, he found he could drink it—right down to the bottom of the cup. As if by magic, the cup was filled up again, and then, very quickly, the meatpies too began to disappear.

At each mouthful the man grew calmer. It was an entirely different John Smith who took leave of his kind friends an hour



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

later. Again they followed him to the door. 'Try to do well, John, and thou wilt always find a friend in me,' William Savery said, as they parted. Mary Savery added no words—she was never a woman given to much talk. Only she slipped her fingers into her guest's hand with a touch that said silently, 'Fare thee well, friend.'

The next day John Smith entered the tanyard, not this time slinking in as a thief in the darkness, but introduced by the master himself as an engaged workman. For many years he remained with his employer, a sober, honest, and faithful servant, respected by others and respecting himself. The secret of the first visit was kept. William and Mary Savery never alluded to it, and John Smith certainly did not, though the memory of it never left him and altered all the rest of his life.

Long years after John Smith was dead, William Savery, in telling the story, always omitted the man's name. That is why he has to be called John Smith, because no one knows now, no one ever will know, what his real name may have been. 'But,' as William Savery used to say when he was prevailed on to tell the story, 'the thing to know and remember is that it is possible to overcome Evil with Good.'



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

‘THE THIEF IN THE TANYARD.’

Historical. The facts and the words of the speakers are taken almost verbatim from Pike's 'HISTORICAL ANECDOTES.' I have only supplied the setting for the story.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 9: From the minutes of the Meetings for Sufferings of New York [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

A party of Indians with two Frenchmen surrounded the house; one of the Indians looking in, withdrew and beckoned with his hand upon which a friend was asked by signs whether there were soldiers there, the Indian shook hands with him and the rest came into the house, they were marked, painted and equipt for War, and it being about the conclusion of the Meeting, they shook hands with Friends, and one Friend having the French tongue could confer with them with the assistance of the two Frenchmen. When they understood Friends were at a Religious Meeting, they went to one of their houses got victuals of which a prisoner with them partook, and they departed.¹⁶⁵

May 22: The twelve founder members of the new nonsectarian Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade were three Anglicans (Granville Sharp, Philip Sansom, and [Thomas Clarkson](#)) and nine [Quakers](#) (William Dillwyn, Samuel Hoare, Jr, George Harrison, John Lloyd, Joseph Woods, John Barton, Joseph Hooper, James Phillips, and Richard Phillips).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Strangely, there is no plaque to mark the spot in London –2 George Yard– at which this movement began:

2 GEORGE YARD

It is almost as if the matter were too shameful to mention.

Influential figures such as John Wesley would give their support to the campaign. Later they would persuade William Wilberforce, the MP for Hull, to be their spokesman in the House of Commons. Thomas Clarkson initially took responsibility for collecting information to support the abolition of the slave trade. This included interviewing 20,000 sailors and obtaining equipment used on the slave-ships such as iron handcuffs, leg-

165. This would have to do, of course, with a fave Quaker kiddie story, “Fierce Feathers.” You might want to study about this because in some respects the tale has expanded and expanded until it has become quite problematic (even, in some tellings, markedly racist).

“FIERCE FEATHERS”

A SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

shackles, thumb screws, instruments for forcing open slave's jaws, and branding irons. In this year he would be publishing a pamphlet, A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND OF THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS ABOLITION.



The work of this anti-slavery movement would continue beyond the ending of the English slave trade in 1807, as slavery still existed. The movement actually would grow substantially after the passing of the Emancipation Act which came into force in 1834. A group of Quakers, including Friend William Allen (not the same person as the William Allen of Concord, Massachusetts) and Friend [Luke Howard](#), would form the African Institution. Recognizing that slavery had destroyed the whole basis of African society, the Institution would seek to improve the lives of African people by means of Christianity and education and would survive until 1827.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES...”: All the great geniuses of the British senate, Fox, Pitt, Burke, Grenville, Sheridan, Grey, Canning, ranged themselves on its side; the poet Cowper wrote for it: Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, in this country, all recorded their votes.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Josiah Wedgwood, another influential member of the Society—which was, it must be noted, despite the best



efforts of the abolitionist Sharp in that direction, decidedly not a society the aim of which was to abolish slavery—, produced the jasperware cameo “an African in Chains in a Supplicating Posture” at his pottery factory. The design was by William Hackwood or Henry Webber:



Black servants or supplicants typically knelt in the art of this period, a period in which the upper classes did not kneel while praying, so the above image conflates themes of humility and of gratitude and of conversion from heathenism with the concept of emancipation from foreign servitude. Curiously, the primary impact of such a depiction would be to confirm the common white perception of Negro inferiority, and this supplicant posture for black figures would persist long after the abolition of slavery as a standard feature of Western art.

In this year efforts began to repatriate black people back to Sierra Leone in Africa:

[Paul Cuffe](#) likely heard of Sierra Leone as early as 1787. In



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

that year, a British philanthropist, Granville Sharp, sent three shiploads of former American slaves, since living in London and known as the "black poor of London," to West Africa to establish a "Province of Freedom." Sharp spoke out strongly against the institution of slavery and the horrors of the famed "Middle Passage" through which most slaves destined for the colonies traveled. News of Sharp's endeavor spread quickly among the Society of Friends. Cuffe, however, did not initially agree with the idea of emigration. He believed that the United States, and particularly Massachusetts, was his province of freedom. It was not until 1808 that Cuffe began seriously entertaining the idea of traveling to West Africa.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In the individual efforts of the various colonies to suppress the African slave-trade there may be traced certain general movements. First, from 1638 to 1664, there was a tendency to take a high moral stand against the traffic. This is illustrated in the laws of New England, in the plans for the settlement of Delaware and, later, that of Georgia, and in the protest of the German Friends. The second period, from about 1664 to 1760, has no general unity, but is marked by statutes laying duties varying in design from encouragement to absolute prohibition, by some cases of moral opposition, and by the slow but steady growth of a spirit unfavorable to the long continuance of the trade. The last colonial period, from about 1760 to 1787, is one of pronounced effort to regulate, limit, or totally prohibit the traffic. Beside these general movements, there are many waves of legislation, easily distinguishable, which rolled over several or all of the colonies at various times, such as the series of high duties following the Assiento, and the acts inspired by various Negro "plots."

Notwithstanding this, the laws of the colonies before 1774 had no national unity, the peculiar circumstances of each colony determining its legislation. With the outbreak of the Revolution came unison in action with regard to the slave-trade, as with regard to other matters, which may justly be called national. It was, of course, a critical period, – a period when, in the rapid upheaval of a few years, the complicated and diverse forces of decades meet, combine, act, and react, until the resultant seems almost the work of chance. In the settlement of the fate of slavery and the slave-trade, however, the real crisis came in the calm that succeeded the storm, in that day when, in the opinion of most men, the question seemed already settled. And indeed it needed an exceptionally clear and discerning mind, in 1787, to deny that slavery and the slave-trade in the United States of America were doomed to early annihilation. It seemed certainly a legitimate deduction from the history of the preceding century to conclude that, as the system had risen, flourished, and fallen in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, and as South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland were apparently following in the same legislative path, the next generation would in all probability witness the last throes of the system on our soil.

To be sure, the problem had its uncertain quantities. The motives of the law-makers in South Carolina and Pennsylvania were dangerously different; the century of industrial expansion was slowly dawning and awakening that vast economic revolution



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in which American slavery was to play so prominent and fatal a rôle; and, finally, there were already in the South faint signs of a changing moral attitude toward slavery, which would no longer regard the system as a temporary makeshift, but rather as a permanent though perhaps unfortunate necessity. With regard to the slave-trade, however, there appeared to be substantial unity of opinion; and there were, in 1787, few things to indicate that a cargo of five hundred African slaves would openly be landed in Georgia in 1860.

June 27: Credentials of the members of the Federal Convention: State of New Hampshire.

[Thomas Say](#) was born in Philadelphia, son of the [disowned](#) “Free [Quaker](#)” physician, [Dr. Benjamin Say](#), who in this year was co-founding the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.¹⁶⁶

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

October 31: Friend [Moses Brown](#) and four other [Quakers](#) prevailed at a meeting of the General Assembly in [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). By a vote of 44 over 4 their long-sought ban on participation in the [international slave trade](#) was enacted. Governor John Collins and his ten assistants quickly signed this into effect.

“An act to prevent the slave trade and to encourage the abolition of [slavery](#).” This act prohibited and censured trade under penalty of £100 for each person and £1,000 for each vessel. Bartlett, INDEX TO THE PRINTED ACTS AND RESOLVES, p. 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9.

ANTISLAVERY

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that “Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignnes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.”¹⁶⁷

This law was for a time enforced,¹⁶⁸ but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.¹⁶⁹ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for

166. Thomas was a great-grandson of Friend John Bartram, and during his boyhood would frequently take his butterfly and beetle specimens to his great-uncle Friend William Bartram. Refer to Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Ziebler’s THOMAS SAY: EARLY AMERICAN NATURALIST (Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois and Baltimore, Maryland, 1931) or Patricia Tyson Stroud’s THOMAS SAY: NEW WORLD NATURALIST (U of Pennsylvania P, Philadelphia, 1992).

167. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

168. Cf. letter written in 1681: NEW ENGLAND REGISTER, XXXI. 75-6. Cf. also Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, I. 240.

169. The text of this act is lost (COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 34; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 31). The Acts of Rhode Island were not well preserved, the first being published in Boston in 1719. Perhaps other whole acts are lost.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

twenty years.¹⁷⁰ From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.¹⁷¹ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.¹⁷² "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."¹⁷³

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."¹⁷⁴ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.¹⁷⁵ The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.¹⁷⁶ Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.¹⁷⁷ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.¹⁷⁸ This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," — a law which

170. E.g., it was expended to pave the streets of Newport, to build bridges, etc.: RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 191-3, 225.

171. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 55-60.

172. Patten, REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL HOPKINS (1843), page 80.

173. Hopkins, WORKS (1854), II. 615.

174. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

175. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 131-5, 138, 143, 191-3.

176. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.

177. Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 304, 321, 337. For a probable copy of the bill, see NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 299.

178. A man dying intestate left slaves, who became thus the property of the city; they were freed, and the town made the above resolve, May 17, 1774, in town meeting: Staples, ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE (1843), page 236.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; – Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."¹⁷⁹ In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,¹⁸⁰ and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.¹⁸¹ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.¹⁸²

November 8: The [Quakers](#) weighed in on the proposed new federal constitution of the United States of America. It was for the further importation of slaves from Africa, and they were opposed to that.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: When the proposed Constitution was before the country, the slave-trade article came in for no small amount of condemnation and apology. In the pamphlets of the day it was much discussed. One of the points in Mason's "Letter of Objections" was that "the general legislature is restrained from prohibiting the further importation of slaves for twenty odd years, though such importations render the United States weaker, more vulnerable, and less capable of defence."¹⁸³ To this Iredell replied, through the columns of the State Gazette of North Carolina: "If all the States had been willing to adopt this

179. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 251-2.

180. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 329; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 444; RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VIII. 618.

181. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 506.

182. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9. The number of slaves in Rhode Island has been estimated as follows: –

In 1708, 426. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 59.

In 1730, 1,648. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 19, pt. 2, page 99.

In 1749, 3,077. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1756, 4,697. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1774, 3,761. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 253.

183. P.L. Ford, PAMPHLETS ON THE CONSTITUTION, page 331.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

regulation [i.e., to prohibit the slave-trade], I should as an individual most heartily have approved of it, because even if the importation of slaves in fact rendered us stronger, less vulnerable and more capable of defence, I should rejoice in the prohibition of it, as putting an end to a trade which has already continued too long for the honor and humanity of those concerned in it. But as it was well known that South Carolina and Georgia thought a further continuance of such importations useful to them, and would not perhaps otherwise have agreed to the new constitution, those States which had been importing till they were satisfied, could not with decency have insisted upon their relinquishing advantages themselves had already enjoyed. Our situation makes it necessary to bear the evil as it is. It will be left to the future legislatures to allow such importations or not. If any, in violation of their clear conviction of the injustice of this trade, persist in pursuing it, this is a matter between God and their own consciences. The interests of humanity will, however, have gained something by the prohibition of this inhuman trade, though at a distance of twenty odd years."¹⁸⁴

"Centinel," representing the Quaker sentiment of Pennsylvania, attacked the clause in his third letter, published in the Independent Gazetteer, or The Chronicle of Freedom, November 8, 1787: "We are told that the objects of this article are slaves, and that it is inserted to secure to the southern states the right of introducing negroes for twenty-one years to come, against the declared sense of the other states to put an end to an odious traffic in the human species, which is especially scandalous and inconsistent in a people, who have asserted their own liberty by the sword, and which dangerously enfeebles the districts wherein the laborers are bondsmen. The words, dark and ambiguous, such as no plain man of common sense would have used, are evidently chosen to conceal from Europe, that in this enlightened country, the practice of slavery has its advocates among men in the highest stations. When it is recollected that no poll tax can be imposed on five negroes, above what *three* whites shall be charged; when it is considered, that the imposts on the consumption of Carolina field negroes must be trifling, and the excise nothing, it is plain that the proportion of contributions, which can be expected from the southern states under the new constitution, will be unequal, and yet they are to be allowed to enfeeble themselves by the further importation of negroes till the year 1808. Has not the concurrence of the five southern states (in the convention) to the new system, been purchased too dearly by the rest?"¹⁸⁵

Noah Webster's "Examination" (1787) addressed itself to such Quaker scruples: "But, say the enemies of slavery, negroes may be imported for twenty-one years. This exception is addressed to the quakers, and a very pitiful exception it is. The truth is, Congress cannot prohibit the importation of slaves during that period; but the laws against the importation into particular states, stand unrepealed. An immediate abolition of slavery would bring ruin upon the whites, and misery upon the blacks, in the southern states. The constitution has therefore wisely left each state to pursue its own measures, with respect to this article of legislation, during the period of twenty-one

184. *Ibid.*, page 367.

185. McMaster and Stone, PENNSYLVANIA AND THE FEDERAL CONVENTION, pages 599-600. Cf. also page 773.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

years.”¹⁸⁶

The following year the “Examination” of Tench Coxe said: “The temporary reservation of any particular matter must ever be deemed an admission that it should be done away. This appears to have been well understood. In addition to the arguments drawn from liberty, justice and religion, opinions against this practice [i.e., of slave-trading], founded in sound policy, have no doubt been urged. Regard was necessarily paid to the peculiar situation of our southern fellow-citizens; but they, on the other hand, have not been insensible of the delicate situation of our national character on this subject.”¹⁸⁷

From quite different motives Southern men defended this section. For instance, Dr. David Ramsay, a South Carolina member of the Convention, wrote in his “Address”: “It is farther objected, that they have stipulated for a right to prohibit the importation of negroes after 21 years. On this subject observe, as they are bound to protect us from domestic violence, they think we ought not to increase our exposure to that evil, by an unlimited importation of slaves. Though Congress may forbid the importation of negroes after 21 years, it does not follow that they will. On the other hand, it is probable that they will not. The more rice we make, the more business will be for their shipping; their interest will therefore coincide with ours. Besides, we have other sources of supply – the importation of the ensuing 20 years, added to the natural increase of those we already have, and the influx from our northern neighbours who are desirous of getting rid of their slaves, will afford a sufficient number for cultivating all the lands in this state.”¹⁸⁸

Finally, The Federalist, No. 41, written by James Madison, commented as follows: “It were doubtless to be wished, that the

READ THE FULL TEXT

power of prohibiting the importation of slaves had not been postponed until the year 1808, or rather, that it had been suffered to have immediate operation. But it is not difficult to account, either for this restriction on the General Government, or for the manner in which the whole clause is expressed. It ought to be considered as a great point gained in favor of humanity, that a period of twenty years may terminate forever, within these States, a traffic which has so long and so loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy; that within that period, it will receive a considerable discouragement from the Federal Government, and may be totally abolished, by a concurrence of the few States which continue the unnatural traffic, in the prohibitory example which has been given by so great a majority of the Union. Happy would it be for the unfortunate Africans, if an equal prospect lay before them of being redeemed from the oppressions of their European brethren! “Attempts have been made to pervert this clause into an objection against the Constitution, by representing it on one side as a criminal toleration of an illicit practice, and on another, as calculated to prevent voluntary and beneficial

186. See P.L. Ford, PAMPHLETS ON THE CONSTITUTION, page 54.

187. P.L. Ford, PAMPHLETS ON THE CONSTITUTION, page 146.

188. “Address to the Freemen of South Carolina on the Subject of the Federal Constitution”: *Ibid.*, page 378.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

emigrations from Europe to America. I mention these misconstructions, not with a view to give them an answer, for they deserve none; but as specimens of the manner and spirit, in which some have thought fit to conduct their opposition to the proposed Government."¹⁸⁹

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

189. Published in the New York Packet, Jan. 22, 1788; reprinted in Dawson's Foederalist, I. 290-1.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1788

More of former [Quaker Benjamin West](#)'s pornography of violence, in "Edward III crossing the Somme":



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

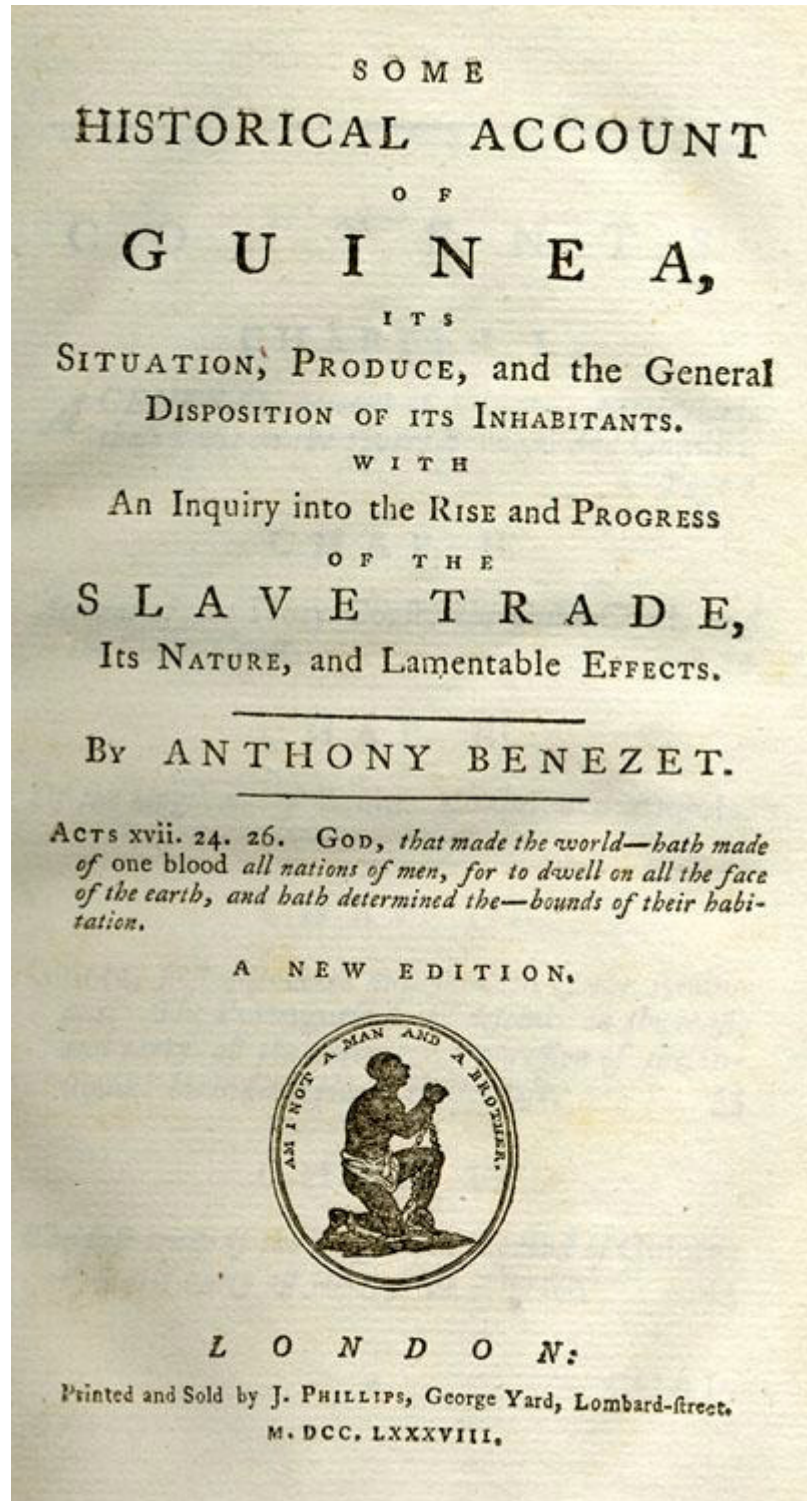
18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Benjamin West](#)'s "King Lear":



[Friend Anthony Benezet](#)'s SOME HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF GUINEA, ITS SITUATION, PRODUCE, AND THE GENERAL DISPOSITION OF ITS INHABITANTS. WITH AN INQUIRY INTO THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE [SLAVE](#) TRADE, ITS NATURE, AND LAMENTABLE EFFECTS (London: J. Phillips, George Yard, Lombard-freet.)¹⁹⁰

190. [Olaudah Equiano](#)'s detailed account of his early life in Africa, although it is more substantial than what was offered by any similar black writer of the period, is such that it could have been fabricated out of mere borrowings from various published pieces of travel writing, and from white antislavery texts like those by [Anthony Benezet](#). This is not to say that Equiano's account is a fabrication; it is only to say that there is no detail in it that might be granted any probative weight. If, for instance, a person came into a police station to attempt to confess to a currently unsolved murder, but was able to provide the police only with details of the crime that had already been published in the news media and with no accurate further details (this does rather often happen), although the police would collect such testimony a competent District Attorney would not automatically on such a basis bring a charge of murder or discount other possible explanations.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

At Jericho on Long Island, a [Friends](#) meetinghouse was erected:



378 members of disowned [Jemimah Wilkinson](#)'s Society of Universal Friends, but not as yet she herself, arrived at the middle of the west shore of Seneca Lake in upstate New York to found a settlement which they would name New Jerusalem.



QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Andrew Jackson followed the Cumberland Road to the rude frontier settlement of Nashville, carrying with him his appointment papers as a public prosecutor for this transmountain "western district of [North Carolina](#)."

The curate [John Newton](#)'s THOUGHTS UPON THE [AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE](#).

With our ships, the great object is, to be full. When the ship is there, it is thought desirable she should take as many as possible. The cargo of a vessel of a hundred tons, or little more, is calculated to purchase from two hundred and twenty to two hundred and fifty slaves. Their lodging-rooms below the deck, which are three (for the men, the boys, and the women), besides a place for the sick, are sometimes more than five feet high, and sometimes less; and this height is divided towards the middle, for the slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, on



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

each side of the ship, close to each other, like books upon a shelf. I have known them so close that the shelf would not, easily, contain one more. And I have known a white man sent down, among the men, to lay them in these rows to the greatest advantage, so that as little space as possible might be lost. Let it be observed, that the poor creatures, thus cramped for want of room, are likewise in irons, for the most part both hands and feet, and two together, which makes it difficult for them to turn or move, to attempt either to rise or to lie down, without hurting themselves, or each other. Nor is the motion of the ship, especially her heeling, or stoop on one side, when under sail, to be omitted; for this, as they lie athwart, or cross the ship, adds to the uncomfortableness of their lodging, especially to those who lie on the leeward or leaning side of the vessel.

Dire is the tossing, deep the groans. —

The heat and smell of these rooms, when the weather will not admit of the slaves being brought upon deck, and of having their rooms cleaned every day, would be almost insupportable to a person not accustomed to them. If the slaves and their rooms can be constantly aired, and they are not detained too long on board, perhaps there are not many who die; but the contrary is often their lot. They are kept down, by the weather, to breathe a hot and corrupted air, sometimes for a week: this added to the galling of their irons, and the despondency which seizes their spirits when thus confined, soon becomes fatal. And every morning, perhaps, more instances than one are found, of the living and the dead, like the captives of Mezentius, fastened together.

Epidemical fevers and fluxes, which fill the ship with noisome and noxious effluvia, often break out, and infect the seamen likewise, and thus the oppressors, and the oppressed, fall by the same stroke. I believe, nearly one-half of the slaves on board, have, sometimes, died; and that the loss of a third part, in these circumstances, is not unusual. The ship, in which I was mate, left the coast with two hundred and eighteen slaves on board; and though we were not much affected by epidemical disorders, I find by my journal of that voyage (now before me), that we buried sixty-two on our passage to South Carolina, exclusive of those which died before we left the coast, of which I have no account.

I believe, upon an average between the more healthy, and the more sickly voyages, and including all contingencies, one fourth of the whole purchase may be allotted to the article of mortality: that is, if the English ships purchase sixty thousand slaves annually, upon the whole extent of the coast, the annual loss of lives cannot be much less than fifteen thousand.

[William Cowper](#)'s "The Negro's Complaint" — an attempt, necessarily unsatisfactory, to grasp how life must seen when experienced from the perspective of the "ultimate other," one's victim and servant:

Forc'd from home and all its pleasures,
Afric's coast I left forlorn;
To increase a stranger's treasures,
O'er the raging billows borne;
Men from England bought and sold me,
Paid my price in paltry gold;
But though theirs they have enroll'd me

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Minds are never to be sold.
 Still in thought as free as ever,
 What are England's rights, I ask,
 Me from my delights to sever,
 Me to torture, me to task?
 Fleecy locks and black complexion
 Cannot forfeit nature's claim;
 Skins may differ, but affection
 Dwells in white and black the same.
 Why did all-creating Nature
 Make the plant for which we toil?
 Sighs must fan it, tears must water,
 Sweat of ours must dress the soil.
 Think, ye masters iron-hearted,
 Lolling at your jovial boards;
 Think, how many backs have smarted
 For the sweets your cane affords.
 Is there, as ye sometimes tell us,
 Is there one who reigns on high?
 Has he bid you buy and sell us,
 Speaking from his throne, the sky?
 Ask him, if your knotted scourges,
 Fetters, blood-extorting screws,
 Are the means that duty urges
 Agents of his will to use?
 Strewing yonder sea with wrecks,
 Wasting towns, plantations, meadows,
 Are the voice with which he speaks.
 He, foreseeing what vexations
 Afric's sons should undergo,
 Fix'd their tyrants' habitations
 Where his whirlwinds answer — No.
 By our blood in Afric wasted,
 Ere our necks receiv'd the chain;
 By the mis'ries which we tasted,
 Crossing in your barks the main;
 By our suff'rings since ye brought us
 To the man-degrading mart;
 All sustain'd by patience, taught us
 Only by a broken heart:
 Deem our nation brutes no longer
 Till some reason ye shall find
 Worthier of regard and stronger
 Than the colour of our kind.
 Slaves of gold! whose sordid dealings
 Tarnish all your boasted pow'rs,
 Prove that you have human feelings,
 Ere you proudly question ours.

You've presumably gathered from the above ruminations that the poet [Cowper](#) was generally opposed to human [slavery](#). —But the devil is, as always, in the details.

Which is worse, enslavement to another human being by virtue of leg irons and handcuffs, or enslavement to Satan through an attachment to sin? For this British poet, in his poem "Charity," clearly it would be the latter rather than the former which would constitute far the worse condition, and the conclusion to this comparison, Whitey, is as plain as the nose on your face: although it would be horrific for a black African to be enslaved to some cruel and un-Christian master who would lead him into sin and temptation, it might be on the other hand beatific, a true freeing, for that black African to be enslaved instead to some gentle and tolerant white Christian master who would only by example and by teaching be raising up that African into a true appreciation of the glories of our Christ Jesus. In fact if the black man is enslaved to a true Christian, then "one flash of heav'nly day" will "heal his heart and melt his chains away"! See, the thing is, "slaves by truth enlarg'd are doubly freed." His service to you would be something done out not out of fear and obligation, but out of "gratitude and love," and it would be "sweet" to him, and he would be "submissive at thy feet" out of this sweet gratitude and sweet love! For you the provident white slavemaster had delivered him "out of hopeless night."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

You had bought his body — but only to give his soul light. He had previously been held fast by chains of sin and ignorance, and now you were merely binding him with chains and shackles of iron while your lips might have the opportunity to “shed instruction as the dew” and teach him “what path to shun, and what pursue.” Truly, in service to a benefactor such as you, although nominally enslaved he would be truly freed, and while not torn away from such a master, he would consider himself to be at his “best home”!

Here is a plan of each deck and the allowable “tight packing” aboard the slaver *Brookes* engaging quite properly and legally in the [international slave trade](#) under improved conditions dictated by the parliamentary Act of this year.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: In 1788, the House of Commons voted Parliamentary inquiry. In 1791, a bill to abolish the trade was brought in by Wilberforce, and supported by him, and by Fox, and Burke, and Pitt, with the utmost ability and faithfulness; resisted by the planters, and the whole West Indian interest, and lost. During the next sixteen years, ten times, year after year, the attempt was renewed by Mr. Wilberforce, and ten times defeated by the planters. The king, and all the royal family but one, were against it. These debates are instructive, as they show on what grounds the trade was assailed and defended. Every thing generous, wise, and sprightly is sure to come to the attack. On the other part, are found cold prudence, barefaced selfishness, and silent votes. But the nation was aroused to enthusiasm. Every horrid fact became known.

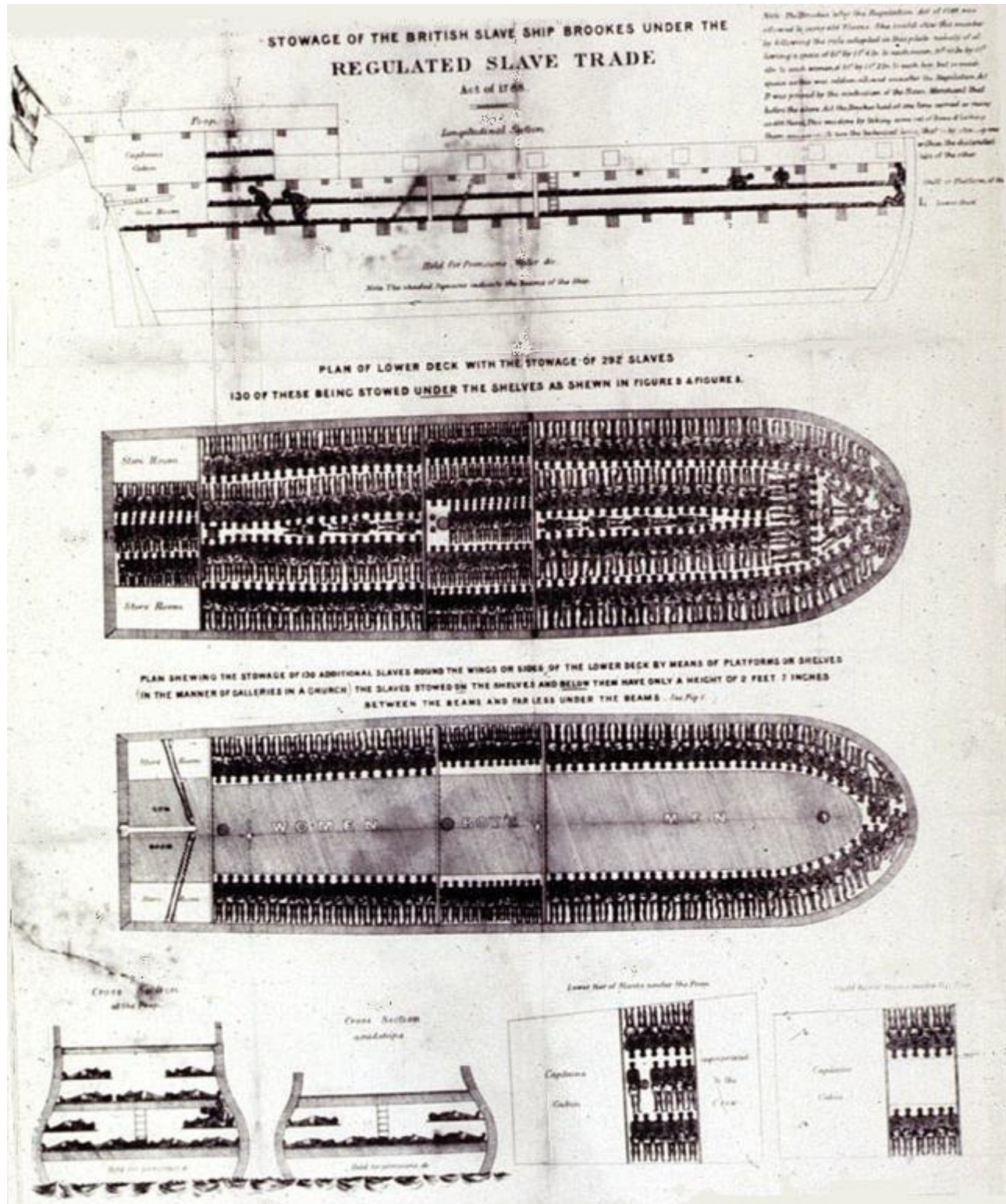
Under the new limitations, the *Brookes* would be allowed to carry on its cross-Atlantic voyages only up to 454 slaves as depicted on the following screen (in the broadside collection of the Rare Book Room, Library of Congress, Portfolio 282-43, Lot 4422A; LC-US Z 62-44000).¹⁹¹

The image “an African in Chains in a Supplicating Posture” bearing the “Am I Not a Man and a Brother?” motto was used on the cover of a London pamphlet addressed to Parliament, and on the cover of a publication

191. There are more images of this sort available at <<http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery>>.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

about a voyage to Guinea.



In about this year, according to William Chauncey Fowler's LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED; AND THE HISTORICAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO, IN CONNECTICUT, ETC. (Albany, 1872, and New Haven, 1875, page 125), "one or two" negrero vessels were being fitted out in Connecticut.



The [Underground Railroad](#) and the Manumission and Colonization Society of [North Carolina](#) were both tools of the Guilford County [Quakers](#). At Wells Meeting in Perquimans County, the Quaker yearly meeting was held with representatives from [North Carolina](#), South Carolina, and Georgia, and a minute was made of their progress or lack of progress against their previously agreed goal of cleaning all Quaker hands of slave holding:

As it appears that all Friends have not yet cleansed their hands of slave holding this meeting directs the inferior meetings to put the former advices of our yearly meeting in practice such who continue to hold them as slaves and hand up a report of their service to next yearly meeting to be held at Centre Meeting in Guilford County for further trial with which this meeting concurs.

The old committee was discharged and a new committee appointed made up of 24 prestigious [North Carolina Friends](#) — a lifetime commitment for each and every of them:

- Zacharias Dick
- David Vestal



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- Jeremiah Reynolds
- Thomas Winslow
- John Talbot
- Obediah Harris
- Jesse Coffin
- Strangeman Stanley
- John Carter
- Joseph Cloud
- John Beals
- Samuel Millikan
- Hezekiah Sanders
- Tristain Barnard
- William Coffin, Jr.
- John Hackett
- John Davis
- Samuel Chambers
- Issac Beeson
- Benjamin Coffin
- John Sanders
- Seth Coffin
- Thomas Thornborough
- William Tomlinson

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The slave-trade was hardly touched upon in the Congress of the Confederation, except in the ordinance respecting the capture of slaves, and on the occasion of the Quaker petition against the trade, although, during the debate on the Articles of Confederation, the counting of slaves as well as of freemen in the apportionment of taxes was urged as a measure that would check further importation of Negroes. "It is our duty," said Wilson of Pennsylvania, "to lay every discouragement on the importation of slaves; but this amendment [i.e., to count two slaves as one freeman] would give the *jus trium liberorum* to him who would import slaves."¹⁹² The matter was finally compromised by apportioning requisitions according to the value of land and buildings.

After the Articles went into operation, an ordinance in regard to the recapture of fugitive slaves provided that, if the capture was made on the sea below high-water mark, and the Negro was not claimed, he should be freed. Matthews of South Carolina demanded the yeas and nays on this proposition, with the result that only the vote of his State was recorded against it.¹⁹³

On Tuesday, October 3, 1783, a deputation from the Yearly Meeting of the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware Friends asked leave to present a petition. Leave was granted the following day,¹⁹⁴ but no further minute appears. According to the report of the Friends, the petition was against the slave-trade; and "though the Christian rectitude of the concern was by the Delegates generally acknowledged, yet not being vested with the powers of legislation, they declined promoting any public remedy against the gross national iniquity of trafficking in the persons of fellow-men."¹⁹⁵

192. Elliot, *DEBATES* (1861), I. 72-3. Cf. Article 8 of the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

193. *JOURNALS OF CONGRESS*, 1781, June 25; July 18; Sept. 21, 27; November 8, 13, 30; December 4.

194. *JOURNALS OF CONGRESS*, 1782-3, pages 418-9, 425.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The only legislative activity in regard to the trade during the Confederation was taken by the individual States.¹⁹⁶ Before 1778 Connecticut, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia had by law stopped the further importation of slaves, and importation had practically ceased in all the New England and Middle States, including Maryland. In consequence of the revival of the slave-trade after the War, there was then a lull in State activity until 1786, when North Carolina laid a prohibitive duty, and South Carolina, a year later, began her series of temporary prohibitions. In 1787-1788 the New England States forbade the participation of their citizens in the traffic. It was this wave of legislation against the traffic which did so much to blind the nation as to the strong hold which slavery still had on the country.

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) boarding school that Friend [Moses Brown](#) had established in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) in 1784 at this point was discontinued due to cash flow problems (although the rents from Point Estates in [Newport](#) had been promised as tuition, due to the general economic distress in New England during this year the renters there had fallen behind in their monthly payments).¹⁹⁷

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

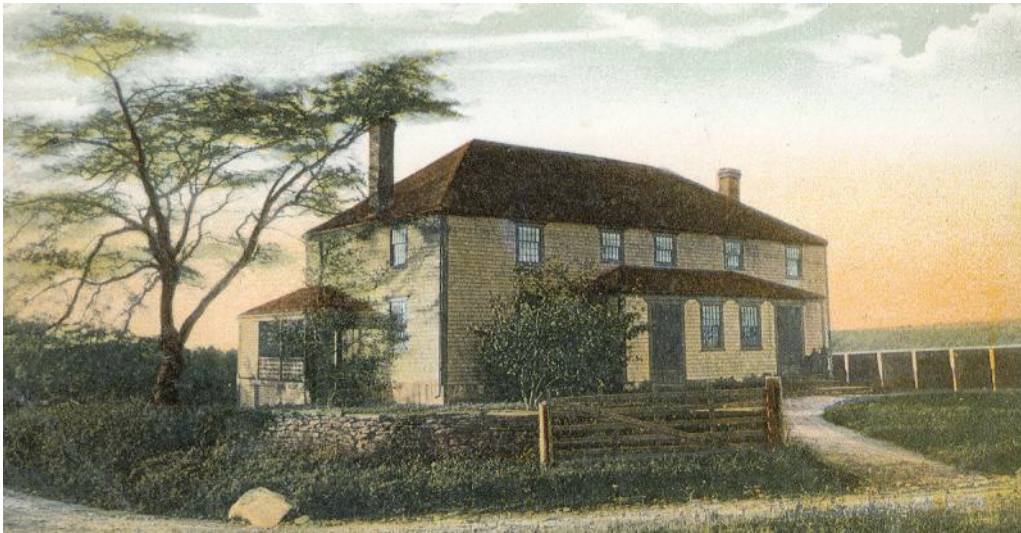
195. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 1st Congress 2d session, page 1183.

196. Cf. above, Chapters ii., iii., iv.

197. After a hiatus of two decades, in 1808, Friend Moses would revive this school board, and after more than another decade of planning, the school would begin anew in 1819, this time atop College Hill in [Providence](#).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July 3: Dr. [John Cuming](#) of Concord died at the age of 60 after being bled over his objections by the physician of neighboring Chelmsford, and was buried in the Old Hill Burying Ground beneath a headstone carved by Thomas Park (this isn't it).



Dr. Cuming left some clothing and some military equipment to [Waldo Emerson](#)'s father, the Reverend [William Emerson](#) of Boston. He left £300 pounds sterling to Harvard College, the income from which was to endow a chair of physics (medicine), that would be useful as seed money for the establishment of Harvard Medical School with Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse and Surgeon John Warren as its 1st professors. In addition, he left £150 sterling to benefit the Town School in Concord, and £150 sterling to be distributed among the poor. He also left behind a small sum to ease the anxieties of the Selectmen, with which they could care for Bristo and Jem, his two former slaves, should they ever become a burden upon the town.

BRISTER FREEMAN

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS

His benevolent and liberal disposition was manifest in the judicious disposition of his estate. Beside many other legacies, he bequeathed "for the use of the town of Concord three hundred pounds sterling, one moiety thereof to be equally distributed

for the benefit of the private schools in the town of Concord, and to be especially under the direction of the Selectmen for the time being; the other moiety thereof to be annually disposed of among the poor of said town, at the discretion of the minister and Selectmen of the town of Concord for the time being – the use of the above sum of money to be for the above purposes and for no other under any pretence whatever.” He also made it the residuary legatee of one quarter of his real estate undisposed of at the death of his wife. The whole amounted to £500 lawful money or \$1,666.66. He gave “to the church of Concord, fifty pounds sterling, to be laid out in silver vessels to furnish the communion table” and also twenty five pound sterling to be forever kept as a fund to be disposed of by the minister and deacons for the benefit “of the poor communicants”; and also £20 to the Rev. Dr. Ripley.

He bequeathed “to the University in Cambridge three hundred pounds sterling, the income of the same to be appropriated for a professor of physic” and also made it a residuary legatee in the same manner as he did the town of Concord.¹⁹⁸

Another class of donations has been made to the town for the relief of the *silent* poor, – those individuals who are needy, but do not wish to throw themselves on the town for support. They are as follows; from

Peter Wright ¹⁹⁹	\$277.42	Abel Barrett ²⁰⁰
	\$500.00	
John Cuming	833.33	Jonathan Wheeler ²⁰¹
		500.00

The town of Concord has also a fund of \$833.33 given by John Cuming, Esq., for the benefit of the “private schools,” in the language of his Will, which has been distributed in all the districts but the centre one. Another donation now amounting to \$744.92 was given by John Beaton, Esq.,²⁰² for the support of schools and the poor.²⁰³

198. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835

199. PETER WRIGHT was a weaver, son of Captain Edward Wright, and died January 15, 1718, aged 53. He bequeathed all his real estate, after the death of his wife and Cousin Elizabeth Hartwell, to the poor of Concord, to be under the direction of the selectmen, and of the minister, who is “to have a double vote to any of the selectmen.” What belonged to the town was sold, in 1731, for £500 currency.

200. ABEL BARRETT was brother to Humphrey Barrett just mentioned. He commenced the mercantile business in Concord, but afterwards removed to Boston. He died in Liverpool, England, January 12, 1803.

201. JONATHAN WHEELER was the son of Ephraim Wheeler, and was successively a merchant in Concord, Boston, Baltimore, and England. He died, September 4, 1811, in the city of New York, ten days after his arrival from Europe.

202. JOHN BEATON, Esq. was a native of Scotland, and emigrated to this town, where he acquired a respectable estate as a merchant. He was remarkable for his honesty, integrity, and Christian virtues, and had the unlimited confidence of his fellow citizens. “As honest as John Beaton,” was long a current saying, expressive of the character of a strictly honest man. He was Town Treasurer 17 years from 1754, and appointed justice of the peace by the crown, June 6, 1765. He died without issue, June 9, 1776, aged 47.

203. Ibid.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

WALDEN: Down the road, on the right hand, on Brister's Hill, lived Brister Freeman, "a handy Negro," slave of Squire Cummings once, -there where grow still the apple-trees which Brister planted and tended; large old trees now, but their fruit still wild and ciderish to my taste. Not long since I read his epitaph in the old Lincoln burying-ground, a little on one side, near the unmarked graves of some British grenadiers who fell in the retreat from Concord, -where he is styled "Sippio Brister,"- Scipio Africanus he had some title to be called, -"a man of color," as if he were discolored. It also told me, with startling emphasis, when he died; which was but an indirect way of informing me that he ever lived. With him dwelt Fenda, his hospitable wife, who told fortunes, yet pleasantly, -large, round, and black, blacker than any of the children of night, such a dusky orb as never rose on Concord before or since.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

(Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, a [Quaker](#), would later be dismissed as a Professor at the Harvard Medical School on account of his principled opposition to war ([the Quaker Peace Testimony](#)) and because he persisted in administering inoculations against the small pox.



However, below, in a depiction dating to 1783, is the righteous surviving professor, Surgeon John Warren, no deluded Quaker, who righteously **did** believe in war and righteously **did not** believe in vaccination — and was therefore entitled to teach Harvard men to become physicians.)





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

March 8: [Abraham Redwood](#) died on the island of Aquidneck. His body would be buried in the Coggeshall family plot on Coggeshall Avenue in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), next door to the stables of the Preservation Society. In the latter stages of his life, Friend Abraham had been labored with unsuccessfully by his fellow [Quakers](#), to persuade him to renounce his reliance upon human slavery.²⁰⁴ The will of this Quaker slavemaster and philanthropist provided £500 to be used toward the establishment of a Friends' School and £500 to be used toward the establishment of a [College of Rhode Island](#), provided that said college would be located in his home town of Newport. Did his money have blood on it? No, the wonderful thing about money (like the wonderful thing about a dirty little boy) is that it's infinitely washable.

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL

BROWN UNIVERSITY

August 2: [Joseph John Gurney](#) was born at Earlham Hall near Norwich, England, the 10th son of [Friend](#) John Gurney, a partner at the Gurney Bank. He would become a prominent Quaker minister and author, as well as following in his father's footsteps as a banker in Norwich. He was a younger brother to Friend Elizabeth Gurney Fry.

Winter: [Friends Moses Brown](#) and Samuel Emlin (a traveling public Friend visiting from Philadelphia) went to the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) home of the premier slavetrader, Cyprian Sterry, were invited to enter, and had there an extended conversation with that businessman. Some 6 negro vessels were leaving the Narragansett Bay during that season bound for the shores of Africa, and in the harbor at [Newport](#), Sterry was in the process of fitting out one of these six. The Quakers warned Sterry that if he violated the new law about the engagement of Rhode Islanders in the [international slave trade](#), they would see to it that he was prosecuted. Sterry took refuge in the standard lie — he was sending, he averred, his ship to Africa after ivory and gold rather than, Heaven forbid, after black [slaves](#).

1789

For several years, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been paying off its [slaveholders](#) for the [manumission](#) of their slaves (allow us to assist you with the financial burden of this).



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



— Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

204. Eventually the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) disowned him — but their record, now at the Rhode Island Historical Society, neglects to state the reason why this action was taken.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In [Rhode Island](#), Arthur Fenner was in charge.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The Reverend Jesse Lee, with two other Methodist ministers, entered George Whitefield's tomb to view the evangelist's quiet repose.



In 1784 the Methodist Church had taken a staunch position against the sale or imbibing of ardent spirits with a qualification, “unless in cases of extreme necessity.” In this year this qualification was deleted. A similar platform was adopted by the Presbyterian Synod of Pennsylvania and by the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

January 4: [Benjamin Lundy](#) was born in Sussex County, [New Jersey](#), in a [Quaker](#) family.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

February 20, Friday: At the meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the corner of Towne and Meeting Streets in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade came into being and selected its first officers. David Howell (January 1, 1747-July 21, 1824) would be president, Friend [Moses Brown](#) would be treasurer, and Friend Thomas Arnold would be recording secretary. Also involved in the creation of this Society were the Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#), minister of the 1st Congregational Church at [Newport](#), Friend William Rotch, prominent merchant of New Bedford, etc. The new society would function as a sort of non-official “District Attorney,” or “Special Prosecutor,” dedicated to bringing before the bar of justice any violators of the ban that had been enacted by the General Assembly in 1787 against taking part in the [international slave trade](#).



ANTISLAVERY



MOSES BROWN

According to Mack Thompson’s *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, pages 195-6):

He already had a plan, drawn up in 1786, modeled after similar organizations in America and England. There were many people in the state eager to emulate their friends in New-York and Philadelphia. Meetings were held in Providence during January 1789, and on February 20, in the Friends’ meetinghouse, the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was officially organized with ex-Congressman David Howell as president, Thomas Arnold, merchant and Friend, as secretary, and Moses Brown as treasurer.²⁰⁵ Samuel Hopkins sent his congratulations but objected to the title given the society as being “too confined. It should, at least, be extended to the whole state. And I think it ought not to be confined to the Abolition of the Slave Trade. It ought to promote the freedom of those now in slavery, and to assist those who are free, as far as may be, to the enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, and the comforts of life....”²⁰⁶

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Meantime, in spite of the prohibitory State laws, the African slave-trade to the United States continued to flourish. It was notorious that New England traders carried on a large traffic.²⁰⁷ Members stated on the floor of the House that “it was much to be regretted that the severe and pointed statute against the slave trade had been so little regarded. In defiance of its forbiddance and its penalties, it was well known that citizens and vessels of the United States were still engaged in that traffic.... In various parts of the nation, outfits were made for slave-voyages, without secrecy, shame, or apprehension.... Countenanced by their fellow-citizens at home, who were as ready to buy as they themselves were to collect and to bring to market, they approached our Southern harbors and inlets, and clandestinely disembarked the

205. See the announcements in the [United States Chronicle](#), February 5, 12, 19, 26, 1789

206. The Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#) to Friend [Moses Brown](#), March 7, 1789, *MOSES BROWN PAPERS* (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Volume VI, page 57)

207. Cf. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT*, etc., page 126.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

sooty offspring of the Eastern, upon the ill fated soil of the Western hemisphere. In this way, it had been computed that, during the last twelve months, twenty thousand enslaved negroes had been transported from Guinea, and, by smuggling, added to the plantation stock of Georgia and South Carolina. So little respect seems to have been paid to the existing prohibitory statute, that it may almost be considered as disregarded by common consent."²⁰⁸

These voyages were generally made under the flag of a foreign nation, and often the vessel was sold in a foreign port to escape confiscation. South Carolina's own Congressman confessed that although the State had prohibited the trade since 1788, she "was unable to enforce" her laws. "With navigable rivers running into the heart of it," said he, "it was impossible, with our means, to prevent our Eastern brethren, who, in some parts of the Union, in defiance of the authority of the General Government, have been engaged in this trade, from introducing them into the country. The law was completely evaded, and, for the last year or two [1802-3], Africans were introduced into the country in numbers little short, I believe, of what they would have been had the trade been a legal one."²⁰⁹ The same tale undoubtedly might have been told of Georgia.

208. Speech of S.L. Mitchell of New York, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress, 1st Session, page 1000. Cf. also speech of Bedinger: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, pages 997-8.

209. Speech of Lowndes in the House, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress,, 1st Session, page 992. Cf. Stanton's speech later: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress, 2d Session, page 240.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

December 2: In [Providence](#) and [Pawtucket](#), [Rhode Island](#), [cotton](#) from the slave plantations of the American South and from the slave plantations of the West Indies was being woven into cloth for resale to its growers.

The operation, run by the merchant [Moses Brown](#), was on a small scale. On this date [Samuel Slater](#), a young



man recently arrived from England after working in cotton spinning mills, applied for a job with Brown. Slater alleged an intimate knowledge of the British thread-spinning machinery: "I flatter myself that I can give the greatest satisfaction in making machinery, making as good yarn, either for stocking or twist, as any that is made in England."



Samuel [Slater] was a stalwart, handsome, rosy-cheeked youth of twenty-one when he came to America. Moses Brown sent him to [Oziel Wilkinson](#)'s, in Pawtucket, as a suitable place for him to board. When he entered Wilkinson's house Hannah and another of Oziel's daughters were working in the kitchen. Seeing a stranger, girl-like, they fled to an inner room; but Hannah, with maidenly curiosity, looked through a hole in the door and was favorably impressed with the young Englishman's appearance. Samuel saw the eyes and resolved to win them. The young people were both smitten, but the Wilkinsons were [Friends](#) and did not approve of Hannah's marrying a man of another faith. They proposed to send her away to school, but Samuel declared he would follow the girl to the ends of the earth if need be. The parents wisely concluded to withdraw their opposition and the lovers were allowed to marry. In the words of Slater's biographer, Hannah was a "lodestone" that kept him in Pawtucket. Had it not been for her influence and sympathy, he might have given away to discouragement at the many difficulties he was obliged to encounter in making the new machines and running them successfully. In telling the story of Slater we must not forget the woman who assisted him in winning his great success. The machines are supposed to have been started up temporarily in October, 1790, but the first record of their work commences with



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

December 20, 1790.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

1790

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London considered it necessary to point out that the Quaker Peace Testimony was incompatible not only with any [Quaker](#) bearing arms or engaging in fighting, but also with other matters even more indirectly connected with the war spirit, such as the manufacture of arms, the sale of arms, or even making loans of money or equipment to those who do engage in such worldly pursuits. The answers to all of the above are no, no, and no, and we must publicly disown any who cannot grasp that the answers to all of the above are no, no, and no:

If any be concerned in fabricating or selling instruments of war, let them be treated with love; and if by this unreclaimed, let them be further deal with as those whom we cannot own. And we entreat that when warlike preparations are making, Friends be watchful lest any be drawn into loans, arming or letting out their ships or vessels, or otherwise promoting the destruction of the human species.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

The Reverend [James Manning](#) requested to be relieved of his duties as President of the College of [Rhode Island](#). (He would die before a successor would be appointed.)



During this decade the father of [George W. Benson](#), George Benson (1752-1836), a [Providence](#) merchant active in the [Rhode Island](#) Peace Society who would become a founding member and then the secretary of the Providence Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, was transiting from being a [Baptist](#) to becoming a convinced member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

After the Quaker school in the upstairs room of the meetinghouse in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) had been closed for some two years because of the failure of the lot renters in Newport to keep up their rents, the Newport monthly meeting made official inquiry to the Meeting for Sufferings as to whether the school would ever be opened again, and if not, what was going to happen to these rent moneys if they accumulated. They requested “a reconveyance” in which the title to this property would revert to them. This reconveyance was made, and to top up the amount, the Meeting for Sufferings added “a reimbursement for sundry expenses in preparing a part of the Portsmouth meeting-house for the use of the school in 1784.”

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) nevertheless minuted that despite the release of the scholars of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) for a vacation of “one year or longer” due to shortage of funds, the school fund “should not be diverted to any other purpose.” Friends who had subscribed to support this fund might therefore continue to do so “in perfect freedom,” aware that their contributions would be diverted to no purpose other than Quaker education. The Meeting for Sufferings was to reopen this school as soon as the general financial situation had sufficiently improved.

February 4: Friend [Moses Brown](#) had been going from Quaker meeting to Quaker meeting in [Rhode Island](#), attempting to persuade [Quakers](#) to accept [the US Constitution](#), explaining that “it is now only to be first adopted before we can attempt any amendments” and that “the time is come when our acceptance of the new government will be better for us than to any longer stand out being alone.” Ratification would be in the best interests of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, “this poor, divided, lonely state.” Once a Bill of Rights set of amendments is passed, he pointed out, this new federal government would be “the best and the most peaceably founded, perhaps in all the world.”

February 11: In New-York, [James Madison](#) addressed the federal congress in regard to the funding proposals of Alexander Hamilton.

The federal congress was petitioned by the [Religious Society of Friends](#), as the Continental Congress had been petitioned, to end our nation’s participation in the [international slave trade](#).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: It is doubtful if Congress of its own initiative would soon have resurrected the matter, had not a new anti-slavery weapon appeared in the shape of urgent petitions from abolition societies. The first petition, presented February 11, 1790,²¹⁰ was from the same interstate Yearly Meeting of Friends which had formerly petitioned the Confederation Congress.²¹¹ They urged Congress to inquire “whether, notwithstanding such seeming impediments, it be not in reality within your power to exercise justice and mercy, which, if adhered to, we cannot doubt, must produce the abolition of the slave trade,” etc. Another Quaker petition from New York was also presented,²¹² and both were about to be referred, when Smith of South Carolina objected, and precipitated a sharp debate.²¹³ This debate had a distinctly different tone from that of the preceding one, and represents another step in pro-slavery doctrine. The key-note of these utterances was struck by Stone of Maryland, who “feared that if Congress took any measures

210. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 1st Congress, 2d Session, pages 1182-3.

211. JOURNALS OF CONGRESS, 1782-3, pages 418-9. Cf. above, pages 56-57.

212. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 1st Congress, 2d Session, page 1184.

213. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, pages 1182-91.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

indicative of an intention to interfere with the kind of property alluded to, it would sink it in value very considerably, and might be injurious to a great number of the citizens, particularly in the Southern States. He thought the subject was of general concern, and that the petitioners had no more right to interfere with it than any other members of the community. It was an unfortunate circumstance, that it was the disposition of religious sects to imagine they understood the rights of human nature better than all the world besides."

In vain did men like Madison disclaim all thought of unconstitutional "interference," and express only a desire to see "If anything is within the Federal authority to restrain such violation of the rights of nations and of mankind, as is supposed to be practised in some parts of the United States." A storm of disapproval from Southern members met such sentiments. "The rights of the Southern States ought not to be threatened," said Burke of South Carolina. "Any extraordinary attention of Congress to this petition," averred Jackson of Georgia, would put slave property "in jeopardy," and "evinced to the people a disposition towards a total emancipation." Smith and Tucker of South Carolina declared that the request asked for "unconstitutional" measures. Gerry of Massachusetts, Hartley of Pennsylvania, and Lawrence of New York rather mildly defended the petitioners; but after considerable further debate the matter was laid on the table.

The very next day, however, the laid ghost walked again in the shape of another petition from the "Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery," signed by its venerable president, [Benjamin Franklin](#). This petition asked Congress to "step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men."²¹⁴ Hartley of Pennsylvania called up the memorial of the preceding day, and it was read a second time and a motion for commitment made. Plain words now came from Tucker of South Carolina. "The petition," he said, "contained an unconstitutional request." The commitment would alarm the South. These petitions were "mischievous" attempts to imbue the slaves with false hopes. The South would not submit to a general emancipation without "civil war." The commitment would "blow the trumpet of sedition in the Southern States," echoed his colleague, Burke. The Pennsylvania men spoke just as boldly. Scott declared the petition constitutional, and was sorry that the Constitution did not interdict this "most abominable" traffic. "Perhaps, in our Legislative capacity," he said, "we can go no further than to impose a duty of ten dollars, but I do not know how far I might go if I was one of the Judges of the United States, and those people were to come before me and claim their emancipation; but I am sure I would go as far as I could." Jackson of Georgia rejoined in true Southern spirit, boldly defending slavery in the light of religion and history, and asking if it was "good policy to bring forward a business at this moment likely to light up the flame of civil discord; for the people of the Southern States will resist one tyranny as soon as another. The other parts of the Continent may bear them down by force of arms, but they will never suffer themselves to be divested of their property without a struggle. The gentleman

214. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 1st Congress, 2d Session, pages 1197-1205.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

says, if he was a Federal Judge, he does not know to what length he would go in emancipating these people; but I believe his judgment would be of short duration in Georgia, perhaps even the existence of such a Judge might be in danger." Baldwin, his New-England-born colleague, urged moderation by reciting the difficulty with which the constitutional compromise was reached, and declaring, "the moment we go to jostle on that ground, I fear we shall feel it tremble under our feet." Lawrence of New York wanted to commit the memorials, in order to see how far Congress might constitutionally interfere. Smith of South Carolina, in a long speech, said that his constituents entered the Union "from political, not from moral motives," and that "we look upon this measure as an attack upon the palladium of the property of our country." Page of Virginia, although a slave owner, urged commitment, and Madison again maintained the appropriateness of the request, and suggested that "regulations might be made in relation to the introduction of them [i.e., slaves] into the new States to be formed out of the Western Territory." Even conservative Gerry of Massachusetts declared, with regard to the whole trade, that the fact that "we have a right to regulate this business, is as clear as that we have any rights whatever."

Finally, by a vote of 43 to 11, the memorials were committed, the South Carolina and Georgia delegations, Bland and Coles of Virginia, Stone of Maryland, and Sylvester of New York voting in the negative.²¹⁵ A committee, consisting of Foster of New Hampshire, Huntington of Connecticut, Gerry of Massachusetts, Lawrence of New York, Sinnickson of New Jersey, Hartley of Pennsylvania, and Parker of Virginia, was charged with the matter, and reported Friday, March 5. The absence of Southern members on this committee compelled it to make this report a sort of official manifesto on the aims of Northern anti-slavery politics. As such, it was sure to meet with vehement opposition in the House, even though conservatively worded. Such proved to be the fact when the committee reported. The onslaught to "negative the whole report" was prolonged and bitter, the debate *pro* and *con* lasting several days.²¹⁶

April 24: About this time, outbreaks of cholera were sweeping New-York and [Quakers](#) were occupied in raising funds to relieve intense suffering in that metropolis. On this day President George Washington, completing his tour of Paumanok Long Island, breakfasting with the miller Hendrick Onderdonck at Roslyn and touring his host's grist and paper mills. He stopped for his midday meal at Flushing, visiting the [Friends](#) meetinghouse there, and continued on to Brooklyn, where he caught the ferry to Manhattan Island.

215. HOUSE JOURNAL (reprinted 1826), 1st Congress, 2d Session, I. 157-8.

216. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 1st Congress, 2d Session, pages 1413-7.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

May 24-29: During this year, the 1st US national census would be reporting 68,824 people in [Rhode Island](#), 6,380 of whom were in [Providence](#).

The governing figures in the state had been defying the instructions of the nascent federal government and instead of staging a representative convention of delegates had conducted a democratic popular referendum on the new US constitutional document. Since this referendum had been boycotted by the Federalists, it had defeated the constitution by a vote of 2,708 over 237. Finally, however, in mid-January 1790, the requisite convention of delegates had been called together, and an initial inconclusive convention had been held in [South Kingstown](#) on March 1-6, and a second convention of delegates was staged in [Newport](#) on May 24-29, and a ratification tally of 34 votes over 32 votes was obtained when [Providence](#) threatened to secede from the state and unite itself either with Connecticut or with Massachusetts — and, finally, on May 29th, by the slimmest of margins, two votes, Rhode Island became the 13th of the original 13 states to ratify [the Constitution](#):



The Reverend [Isaac Backus](#) had offered to his friends for consideration a Bill of Rights for incorporation somehow into the document. His 2d item read as follows:

As God is the only worthy object of all religious worship, and nothing can be true religion but a voluntary obedience unto His revealed will ... every person has an unalienable right to act in all religious affairs according to the full persuasion of his own mind, where others are not injured thereby....

Might it be said that, in holding out in this way against a new federal union between slaveholding colonies and nonslaveholding colonies, these Rhode Island [Quakers](#) were anticipating the civil war which would destroy so many American lives three or four human generations into the future? (By way of radical contrast, the people in the other American colonies were in effect saying to them, “Hey, don’t let a little thing like human slavery bother you so much!”) Well, you could say that if you believe that Rhode Islanders are by their very nature pure of heart. However, some historians have alleged that the issue can be better understood by observing the Watergate rule, “follow the money” — Rhode Island, they suggest, had needed to uphold state sovereignty in order for its paper money to retain value.

RATIFICATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

December 8, 1787	Delaware	YES= 30	NO= 0
December 12, 1787	Pennsylvania	YES= 46	NO= 23



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

December 18, 1787	New Jersey	YES= 38	NO= 0
January 2, 1788	Georgia	YES= 26	NO= 0
January 8, 1788	Connecticut	YES=128	NO= 40
February 6, 1788	Massachusetts	YES=187	NO=168
April 28, 1788	Maryland	YES= 63	NO= 11
May 23, 1788	South Carolina	YES=149	NO= 73
June 21, 1788	New Hampshire	YES= 57	NO= 47
June 25, 1788	Virginia	YES= 89	NO= 79
July 26, 1788	New York	YES= 30	NO= 27

JOINING LATER IN ADHERENCE TO THE US CONSTITUTION: 12 & 13

November 21, 1789	North Carolina	YES=194	NO= 77
May 29, 1790	Rhode Island	YES= 34	NO= 32

READ THE FULL TEXT

1790. A State convention at Newport, in May, voted, to adopt the Federal Constitution; and this State came into the Union, the last of the original thirteen; and the event was commemorated by great public demonstrations of joy. The population of the town was 6380. President Washington again visited this town, with several distinguished public men in his suite. His arrival was announced by a discharge of artillery and the ringing of bells. A procession of citizens was formed, and he was conducted to the Golden Ball Inn, kept by Henry Rice, now the Mansion House. He was complimented by a public dinner, at which three hundred citizens attended. A very respectful and cordial address was made to him by a Committee appointed by the town, to which he suitably replied, and departed in the evening.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1791

[Friend](#) Isaac Collins of Burlington, New Jersey published a BIBLE, one of the first American printings of the entire BIBLE and now noted for its accuracy. Like other major printing projects of the time, the initial publication was financed by advanced subscriptions — in this case with the active involvement of the Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and [Baptists](#). Part of the discussion between Collins and the various religious bodies interested in the project to publish an American edition of the King James version of the BIBLE were whether to include the Apocrypha, a concordance, and, as a sort of appendix, a commentary by a Jean Frederick Ostervald. The objections made to including the APOCRYPHA and any non-Biblical material came from the Baptists. The decision that was reached was to make the edition available in three forms, a full edition, an edition lacking the extra-biblical commentary, and an edition lacking the Apocrypha. The story of the “Collins Bible” may be pursued in Richard F. Hixon’s ISAAC COLLINS: A QUAKER PRINTER IN 18TH CENTURY AMERICA, Rutgers UP, 1968. Here the appropriate question would be, what translation and what edition of the BIBLE was available to Henry David Thoreau?

July 12: [Eliza Ware Rotch](#) was born at Dunkirk on the coast of Flanders, a daughter of Friends Benjamin Rotch and Elizabeth Barker Rotch of [New Bedford](#), Massachusetts. The parents were [Quakers](#) originating on the whaling island of [Nantucket](#), who had emigrated to France in order to participate in the establishment of a tax-free whaling port. This family would need to escape to England due to the Reign of Terror, and so Friend Eliza would be educated in England.

1792

[William Howitt](#) was born in Nottingham, England in a Quaker family.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

There were so many [Quakers](#) by this point on [Nantucket Island](#) that it was clear it was going to be necessary to construct a 2d meetinghouse, at the island’s northern end.

Due to its weakness, the Boston Preparative Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was discontinued, and all families in membership were transferred to the Lynn Preparative Meeting. This was a paper change, for the Boston Quakers continued to meet for worship, and in the same place in Boston. The only real change was that, for business meetings, the attenders boarded a carriage that was supplied, and travelled to Lynn or Salem.

Spring: A female member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) having been at the old York Asylum since 1791, Friends had been turned away when they attempted to visit her. Shortly after, she had died. Friend William Tuke proposed to a meeting of the Society of Friends, held in York, that they establish an institution for the care of those who “laboured under that most afflictive dispensation – the loss of reason” that would operate, under the control of the Society, without secrecy.

PSYCHOLOGY

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October 26: [Isaac T. Hopper](#) was accepted as a Quaker by the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).



26th of the 11th month: After [Friend Job Scott](#) had ministered extensively to various Quaker meetings in the United States, he sought a certificate of the traveling ministry from his Monthly Meeting in [Smithfield](#), and from the Quarterly Meeting for [Rhode Island](#). Having obtained such, on this day “he took a solemn leave of his family and friends at home” — and departed to minister in Europe.

5th of the 12th month: [Friend Job Scott](#) sailed from Boston, for Dunkirk in France. “On the passage the ship sprung a leak, and had a severe gale of wind; but it appears this our friend was preserved ‘resigned and stayed through all,’ while the mariners on board were tossed with amazement and terror.” (Since he had recorded in advance in his journal a prophesy that this was going to happen, he considered, when indeed it did happen, that the Lord had granted to him a power to foresee future events.)

1793



Publication in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) of [Friend Job Scott](#)’s tract ON SALVATION BY CHRIST.

SALVATION BY CHRIST

[Friend](#) Charles Brockden Brown gave up the law to pursue a literary career in Philadelphia and New-York.

January 3: On [Nantucket Island](#), [Friend](#) Lucretia Coffin received her membership in the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (that is, she was born on this date as a “birthright” member of a [Quaker](#) family).

*A native of the Island of Nantucket, — of the Coffins and Macys
on the father’s side, and of the Folgers on the mother’s; through*

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

them related to Dr. Franklin.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Born in 1793. During childhood was made actively useful to my mother, who, in the absence of my father, on a long voyage, was engaged in mercantile business, often going to Boston and purchasing goods in exchange for oil and candles, the staple of the island. The exercise of women's talents in this line, as well as the general care which devolved upon them in the absence of their husbands, tended to develop their intellectual powers and strengthen them mentally and physically.

LUCRETIA MOTT

AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY

5th of the 1st month: [Friend Job Scott](#) landed at Dunkirk in France. He would proceed almost immediately to England, and visit Quaker meetings in Kent, in London, in Wales, at Carmathan, and in Bristol, and back to London before embarking at Liverpool and passing over to Ireland.

➡ June: Friend [Elias Hicks](#) of Long Island visited the monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#).²¹⁷

This was part of [Friend](#) Elias's 14th ministry journey. That summer he was traveling with the young [James Mott, Jr.](#), future bridegroom of the newborn Lucretia Coffin.

LUCRETIA MOTT



On this long journey, he had gone from the Jericho meetinghouse on *Paumanok* Long Island (still extant, pictured above) across the sound to Port Chester meeting, up the Connecticut shore to Stamford meeting, on up the shore to Stonington meeting, into [Rhode Island](#) to the [Westerly](#) meeting, up to the meetings in and around [Providence](#) and Taunton, back down and round through the [Newport](#) meeting and the [New Bedford MA](#) meeting to the Falmouth meeting, and at this point out to the meeting on [Nantucket Island](#). He would continue back up across Cape Cod to the Sandwich meeting and on up along the South Shore to the Scituate

217. Other famous-name visitors to [Nantucket Island](#): John Easton, former [Rhode Island](#) deputy governor, [Metacom](#), sachem of the [Wampanoag](#), Frederick Douglass, and Henry Thoreau.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

meeting, and on to the Boston area and the Salem meeting, and north to the Newburyport MA and Hampton and Dover NH meetings, and on to the Portland ME meeting, and beyond that crossing the “great river Kennebeck” twice and reaching to the Fairfield and Winthrop meetings, and then the Pittsfield NH meeting, and then back down into Massachusetts and to Boston, visiting again some meetings already preached at and attending New England [Yearly Meeting](#), and then striking west presumably through Concord, over to the North Adams meeting in the north-west corner of Massachusetts, and up through Vermont to the Sharon, Hanover, and Vergennes meetings, and up across Lake Champlain to the Grand Isle meeting, and then back down through Vergennes again to the meetings in Saratoga and Albany and Hudson NY, and then back home to Jericho by way of the Brooklyn meeting of New-York. Total mileage they would put on their horses during this traveling season: 2,283 miles. During this absence his child Sarah would be born, and the two traveling ministers by November had spoken at about 123 meetings.

It was at some point during this year that Friend Elias’s young orphaned relative, [Edward Hicks](#) who had been taken into the Quaker household of David and Elizabeth Lewis Twining, having reached the age of 13, was being put out as an apprentice to the Tomlinson brothers, coachmakers in Attleborough.

14th of the 11th month: [Friend Job Scott](#), in Ballitore, Ireland, indicated in a dictated letter that he was in the throes of the small-pox. After providing some advice for his children as to their education, etc., he asked that if he should succumb, he be granted a “plain and simple” interment.

22d of the 11th month: [Job Scott](#) died of the small-pox at the home of Elizabeth Shackleton in Ballitore, Ireland in the 43d year of his age. (His children would become Swedenborgians and when one of them would get married with a [Quaker](#), that Quaker would be disowned.)

1794

The seaman [David Orrok, Sr.](#), a [Quaker](#), and his wife [Sarah Tillet Orrok](#) (who may have been of [Huguenot](#) descent) had a son they named [David Orrok, Jr.](#) This son would of course be a “birthright” Quaker.

Friend Richard Tapper [Cadbury](#) came to Birmingham having trained as a draper with his friend and fellow [Quaker](#) Joseph Rutte (Joseph would, after 4 years, leave the business). Friend Richard Cadbury would become a respected citizen in Birmingham: he would be put on the town council and would be deeply involved in public affairs, would serve on the boards of the General Hospital, the Eye Hospital, and the Institutions, and would actively promote the development of railways.

CHOCOLATE

[Friend Moses Brown](#) and [Friend](#) Samuel Rodman presented to President George Washington and Vice-President John Adams a memorial in opposition to the [international slave trade](#). The federal Congress passed an act prohibiting the trans-Atlantic trade. (When officials of the [Newport](#) customs district would begin to enforce this law in the subsidiary port of [Bristol](#), this would interfere with the nefarious activities of [Rhode Island](#) slavetraders [James DeWolf](#) and Shearjashub Bourne. The [slavetraders](#) would lobby the government for the establishment of Bristol as a separate customs district and no longer subject to these out-of-control officials of the Newport customs district — who were actually daring to enforce this new law.)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Of the twenty years from 1787 to 1807 it can only be said that they were, on the whole, a period of disappointment so far as the suppression of the slave-trade was concerned. Fear, interest, and philanthropy united for a time in an effort which bade fair to suppress the trade; then the real weakness of the constitutional compromise appeared, and the interests of the few overcame the fears and the humanity of the many.



The DeWolf Crest

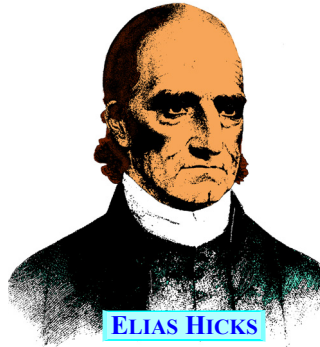
A [Quaker](#) organization was established on *Paumanok* "Long Island,"

*"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."*

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Friend Elias subscribed an initial \$50.⁰⁰ 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.



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](#)).

2d day 9th month: The [Quaker](#) families of Friends Peter and Martha Davis and Friend Joseph Healy (Healey) lived near Hopkinton, [Rhode Island](#). Friend Peter had been born in like 1712 and had become quite elderly while Friend Joseph was a widower with ten children, still in his 40s. Joseph had become a Quaker by convincement. Peter’s 1st wife Content had been born in like 1717 and had died in 1781. His 2d wife Martha had been born in like 1721. After Friend Peter had married this 2d wife, she had begun bearing children despite being in her 60s. At some point for some reason it began to be suspected that there was an ongoing sexual liaison between fecund Martha and this nearby lonely widower. Therefore, on this day Friend Joseph Healy legally bequested, upon two daughters of Friend Martha Davis of Wefterly named Mary (born the 11th day of 4th month, 1782 with the mother at the age of about 61 and the daughter at this point 11 years of age, who in the future would be known as Mary Davis Healy) and Martha (born the 4th day of 3rd month, 1790 with the mother at the age of about 69 and the daughter at this point 4 years of age, who in the future would be known as Martha Healy), the princely sum of £300. Furthermore, Friend Joseph was declaring that this woman, although she was married to another man, Friend Peter Davis, and although she was decades older than him, had the standing of “his intended wife.” Furthermore, he was “about to Intermarry With the afore said Martha Davis Mother to the aforesaid two Children Infants aforesaid” — yes, Intermarry, an unusual word choice. Further, “all their said Ten Children” were going to be considered “Eql in their portions in the Whole of the Estate” — and so were any additional children that might in the future be born to their union.

Were any more children born of this union? Yes, incredibly, this Quaker record book ([South Kingstown Monthly Meeting, Births, Deaths, Marriages 1740-1820](#), on file in the records of the New England Yearly Meeting stored at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island) shows that a Peter Davis Healy was born to Joseph and Martha on the 11th day of the 8th month, 1795 —when Martha had reached the age of about 74— and then, incredibly, a Hannah Healy was born to Joseph and Martha on the 3d day of the 10th month, 1798 — when Martha had attained the ripe old age of about 77 (birth and death dates are routinely recorded elsewhere in this same volume)!²¹⁸

Friend Peter Davis would die on the 22d day of the 12th month 1812 at more than 100 years of age and his body would interred in the burying ground of the Friends in Richmond alongside the bodies of his 1st wife Content and his 2d wife Martha (Friend Joseph Healy is not buried in this graveyard, but in Hopkinton).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

KNOW all men by thefe preafants that I Jofep Healy of Hopkinton in the County of Wafhington yeoman am holden and firmly bound unto Mary Davis & Martha Davis Infants and Daughters of Martha Davis of Wefterly in the County afore said in the penal Sum of Three Hundred pounds Lawful money to be paid to the Said Mary Davis and Martha Davis the Infants aforesaid or to their Certain attorney Heirs Executors Administrators or afsigns for the Which payment Well and truly to be maid I bind my Self my heirs Executors and Administrators and Every of them firmly by thefe prefents Sealed With my Seal Signed With my hand and Dated this Second Day of the Ninth Month in the Year of our Lord one Thoufand Seven Hundred and Ninety four 1794 [flourish]

THE CONDITION of the above Obligation is Such that Whereas the said Jofeph Healy is about to Intermarry With the afore said Martha Davis Mother to the aforesaid Two Children Infants aforesaid Who have agreed that What Eftate they have both Rail and perfonal Shall be occupied and improved by the said Jofeph Healy and the said Martha Davis his Intended Wife During their Natural Lives if they think beft and as the said Jofeph Healy hath Eight Children and the said Martha Davis alfo the before named two it is agreed that all their said Ten Children and if they Shall have any More Shall be made Equal in their portions in the Whole of the Eftate of the said Jofeph Healy and of the said Martha Davis his intended Wife With What they may Add Except the Houfe hold goods viz What She now hath and What he now hath her part if any remains after their Dearth to be and belong to her Children only and his part of the houfehold Goods if any Shall remain after his Dearth to be and belong to his Children only

NOW if the said Jofeph Healy his Heirs Executors or administrators Shall Well and truly keep and perform said agreement at all times both before and at his deceas then the above obligation Shall be Void and of no Effect but in Default thereof to be and Remain in full force and virtue in Law [flourish]

Jofeph Healy {seal}

Signed and Sealed in preafants of [flourish]

Jofeph Collins }

Simeon Perry }

It is Concluded that the above Written bond be Recorded in friends book of Records belonging to South Kingston Monthly Meeting for the advantage of the above Named Two Children in Case the original Should be Loft or Miflaid
Jofep Healy

218. Searching the internet for records of the oldest woman known to have a baby, I have found a record of a 66-year-old woman from Romania, Adriana Iliescu. However, she gave birth in 2004 by C-section and had undergone fertility treatment for nine years before becoming pregnant by artificial insemination (the baby weighed only three pounds at birth, and required intensive care). Previously, the oldest known woman to give birth had been a 65-year-old Indian woman, Satyabhama Mahapatra from Nayagarh in Orissa, who gave birth in 2003 after being impregnated with an egg from her 26-year-old niece that had been fertilized by her husband.

If this doesn't seem plausible, then perhaps there is another woman, a younger one, named Martha Davis, who somehow has gone unrecorded. A possibility would be that this Martha Davis was a daughter of Friend Peter Davis with his 1st wife, Friend Content Davis — except that there is no such child on the record. Another possibility would be that the Davis family had a young Narragansett female slave back in the kitchen, that they had assigned the name “Martha Davis” or “Indian Martha” or something, a person whose existence nobody really wanted to acknowledge — the word “intermarry” would fit in with this last possibility.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1795

Through a series of interlocking treaties backed by what historian Charles Allen has called “bullying, bribery, and military prowess,” the Honourable East India Company started spreading British procedural law throughout India. This was less gunpowder diplomacy than the fact that the Company was the only cohesive force in India. British officers often served as advisers to allied maharajahs, and through their efforts, disputing Indian rulers started using wrestling pits, polo games, and courtrooms as surrogate battlefields.

➡ By this point (possibly already in the previous year), [Robert Voorhis](#), the man who would wind up his life as a [hermit](#) in [Rhode Island](#), had escaped from his [enslavement](#) in Charleston by hiding away on a ship that had a [Quaker](#) master. He made it from Boston to Charlestown MA to Lynn to Salem, where he enlisted as a common seaman aboard a ship bound for [India](#). He would be a seaman for approximately the following nine years. During this time, while in home port, he evidently would get a girl in the family way and would need to marry with her, for he would say in regard to his marriage before Justice Putnam of Danvers that he was being “strongly urged so to do by those who undoubtedly had the authority to use compulsory means had I declined.” –However, upon his return from his next voyage, to and from Canton, [China](#), for whatever reasons his bride would no longer feel affection for him.



ROBERT THE HERMIT.

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

Whereas M.H. hath been guilty of appointing meetings and preaching to the people contrary to the good order used among friends, for which conduct of his we disown him from being a

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

member of our society untill he comes to a sense of his error so as to make suitable satisfaction for the same, which that he may is desired for him.²¹⁹

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Friend Joseph Drinker of Philadelphia expressed regret that prominent [Quakers](#) were objecting to the admission of nonwhite persons, preferring that they “fold by themselves” as though Christ had said “there should be one fold for black sheep and other fold for white sheep.” He commented that Friends in spite of their broad principles “are the only People I know who make any objections to the Blacks or People of Color joining them in church Fellowship.”²²⁰ He went on, however, to acknowledge that for him this was a mere moot issue, since:

I know of none that I believe are fit objects for such recognition at present.

[Friend](#) Joseph Storrs Fry patented a technique for using the Watts steam engine in the grinding of [cocoa](#) beans.

September 18: At a silent worship, [Friend Isaac T. Hopper](#) and Friend Sarah Tatum celebrated their wedding ceremony in the manner of the Quakers.

December 23: [Friend Isaac T. Hopper](#) was accepted as a member by the South District Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.



219. BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING, pages 60-61.

220. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury's “Negro Membership in the Society of Friends” in The Journal of Negro History, Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.

1796

Impressed by the writings of [Friends Penn and Fox](#), [Stephen Grellet](#) joined the Religious Society of Friends. He would involve himself in [Quaker](#) missionary work across North America and most of the countries of Europe, and would obtain hearings with many rulers and dignitaries, including Pope Pius VII, Czar Alexander I, and the Kings of Spain and Prussia. He would become an advocate of improvement of conditions in prisons and hospitals.





HOW A FRENCH NOBLE BECAME A FRIEND²²¹

Sentences from 'No Cross, No Crown,' by WILLIAM PENN.

'Come, Reader, hearken to me awhile; I seek thy salvation; that is my plot; thou wilt forgive me.'

'Thou, like the inn of old, hast been full of guests; thy affections have entertained other lovers; there has been no room for thy Saviour in thy soul ... but his love is after thee still, & his holy invitation continues to save thee.'

'Receive his leaven, & it will change thee; his medicine and it will cure thee; he is as infallible as free; without money and with certainty.... Yield up the body, soul & spirit to Him that maketh all things new: new heavens & new earth, new love, new joy, new peace, new works, a new life & conversation....'

'The inward, steady righteousness of Jesus is another thing than all the contrived devotion of poor superstitious man.... True worship is an inward work; the soul must be touched and raised in its heavenly desires by the heavenly Spirit.... So that souls of true worshippers see God: and this they wait, they pant, they thirst for.'

'Worship is the supreme act of man's life.'

Now we come to a Saint who had a life so full of adventures that a book twice as big as this one would be needed to contain the stories that might be told about him alone.

Unlike any of the other 'Quaker Saints' in this book, he was by birth a Frenchman and came of noble family. His name was Etienne de Grellet. He was born nearly a century after the death of George Fox; but he probably did not know that such a person had ever existed, never even heard Fox's name, until long after he was grown up. If Etienne de Grellet, the gay young nobleman of the French court, had been told that his story would ever be written in a book of 'Quaker Saints' he would, most likely, have raised his dark eyebrows and have looked extremely surprised.

'Quakère? Qu'est-ce que c'est alors, Quakère? Quel drôle de mot! Je ne suis pas Quakère, moi!' he might have answered, with a disdainful shrug of his high, narrow, aristocratic French shoulders. Yet here he is after all!

Etienne de Grellet was born at Limoges in France, in the year 1773. His childhood was passed in the stormy years when the cloud was gathering that was to burst a little later in the full fury of the French Revolution. His father, Gabriel de Grellet, a wealthy merchant of Limoges, was a great friend and counsellor of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. As a reward for having introduced into the country the manufacture of finer porcelain than had ever before been made in France he was ennobled by the king, whom he often used to attend in his private chapel. Limoges china is still celebrated all over the world; and at that time

221. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the most celebrated of its china-makers was M. de Grellet, the king's friend.

Naturally the sons of this successful merchant and nobleman were brought up in great luxury. Etienne and his brothers were not sent to a school, but had expensive tutors to teach them at home. Their parents wanted their children to be well educated, honourable, straightforward, generous, and kind; to possess not only accomplishments but good qualities. Yet Etienne felt, when he looked back in later days, that something had been left out in their education that was, perhaps, the most important thing of all.

When he was quite a little boy he was taken to visit one of his aunts who was a nun in a convent near Limoges. The rules of this convent were so strict that the nuns might not even see their relations who came to visit them. They might only speak to them from the other side of two iron gratings, between the bars of which a thick curtain was hung. The little boy thought it very strange to be taken from his beautiful home, full of costly furniture, pictures, and hangings, and to be brought into the bare convent cell. Then he looked up and saw an iron grating, and heard a voice coming through the folds of a thick curtain that hung behind it. He could hear the voice, but he might never see the face of the aunt who spoke to him. At night at home, as he lay in his comfortable bed, he used to think of his aunt and the other nuns 'rising three times in the night for prayer in the church, from the hard boards which formed their couch, even the luxury of a straw pallet being denied them.' 'Which is the real life,' he used to ask himself, 'the easy comfortable life that goes on round me every day, or that other, difficult life hidden behind the folds of the thick curtain?'

Child though he was, Etienne felt that his aunt loved him, although he had never seen her. This helped him to feel that, although unseen, God was loving him too. As he grew older he wondered: 'Perhaps everything we see here is like the bars of a grating, or a thick curtain. Perhaps there is some one on the other side who is speaking to us too.'

Etienne was only about five or six years old when he made the great discovery that GOD IS THERE, hidden behind the screen of visible things all round us. After this, he longed to be able to speak to God and to listen to God's voice, as he was able to listen to his unseen aunt's voice speaking to him from behind the curtain in the convent.

No one ever taught him to pray; but presently he discovered that too for himself. One day, when he was only six years old, his tutor gave him a Latin lesson to learn that was much too difficult for him. Etienne took the book up to his bedroom, and there, all alone, he read it over and over and did his very best to learn it. But the unfamiliar Latin words would not stay in his memory. At last he closed the book in despair and went to his bedroom window and looked out. He gazed over the high roofs of the city, away over the wide plain in which Limoges lay, to the distant mountain, blue against the sky. Everything looked fair and peaceful. As he gazed, the thought came to him, 'God made the plain and the river and the mountains. God made this whole beautiful world in which I live. If God can create all these things, surely He can give me memory also.' He knelt down at the foot of his bed and prayed, for the first time in his



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

life, that his Unseen Friend would help him to master the difficult lesson. Taking up the book again, he read the hard Latin words once more, very attentively. This time the words stayed in his memory and did not fade away. Often afterwards, he found that if he prayed all his lessons became easier. He could not, of course, learn them without effort, but after he had really prayed earnestly, he found he could remember things better. Then one day he learned the Lord's prayer. Long years after, when he was an old man, he could still recall the exact spot in his beautiful home where, as a little boy, he had first learned to say, 'Our Father.' Etienne and his family belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. On Sundays they went to the great cathedral of Limoges; but the service there always seemed strange and far away to Etienne.²²² The music, the chanting, the Latin words that were said and sung by bishops and priests in their gorgeous robes, did not seem to him to have anything to do with the quiet Voice that spoke to the boy in the silence of his own heart.

When Etienne and his brothers were old enough they were sent to several different colleges and schools. Their last place of instruction was the celebrated College of the Oratorians at Lyons. Among other things, the students of this College were taught to move so quietly that fifty or a hundred boys went up or down the stone steps of the College all together, without their feet making the least noise.

Etienne tells us in his diary: 'as we were educated by Roman Catholics and in their principles we were required to confess once a month,' that is, to tell a priest whatever they had done that was wrong, and receive the assurance of God's forgiveness from him.

The priest to whom Etienne regularly made his confession was 'a pious, conscientious man,' who treated him with fatherly care. When the boy told him of his puzzles, and asked how it could be necessary to confess to any man, since God alone could forgive sins, he received a kind, helpful answer. 'Yet,' he says, 'my reasoning faculties brought me to the root of the matter; from created objects to the Creator—from time to eternity.' After he was confirmed at College he hoped that his heart would be changed and made different; but he found that he was still much the same as before. Before leaving the College he and the other students who were also departing received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Mass. This was to Etienne a very solemn time. But, he says, as soon as he was out in the world again, the remembrance of it faded away. He settled that he had no use for religion in his life, and determined to live for pleasure and happiness alone. 'I sought after happiness,' his diary says, 'in the world's delights. I went in pursuit of it from one party of pleasure to another; but I did not find it, and I wondered that the name of pleasure could be given to anything of that kind.' In his dissipated life after leaving College, he gave up saying his prayers, and gradually he lost his belief that GOD WAS THERE. He read unbelieving books, which said that God did not exist, and that the Unseen world was only a delusion and a dream. For a time Etienne gave himself up to doubt and denial as well as to dissipation. He was in this restless state when the French

222. 'From my earliest days,' he writes, 'there was that in me that would not allow me implicitly to believe the various doctrines I was taught.'



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Revolution broke out and caught him, like a butterfly in a thunderstorm. New questions surged over him. 'If there is a God after all, why should He allow these horrors to happen?' But no answer came. Or perhaps he had forgotten how to listen.

'Towards the close of 1791,' he writes, 'I left my dear Father's house, and bade him, as it proved, a lasting farewell, having never seen him since.' At this time, Etienne accompanied his brothers and many other nobles into Germany, to join the French Princes who were endeavouring to bring about a counter-revolution and restore the king, Louis XVI.

On this dangerous journey the young men met with many narrow escapes. Courage came naturally to Etienne. 'I was not the least moved,' he writes in his diary, 'when surrounded by people and soldiers, who lavished their abuses upon us, and threatened to hang me to the lamp-post. I coolly stood by, my hands in my pockets, being provided with three pairs of pistols, two of which were double-barrelled. I concluded to wait to see what they would do, and resolved, after destroying as many of them as I could, to take my own life with the last.'

Happily the necessity for extreme courses did not arise. He was, he says, 'mercifully preserved,' and no violent hands were laid upon him, though he and his companions suffered a short detention, after which they succeeded in safely joining the French Princes and their adherents at the city of Coblenz on the Rhine. Here Etienne spent the following winter and spring surrounded, he tells us, by many temptations.

'I was fond of solitude,' continues the diary, 'and had many retired walks through the woods and over the hills. I delighted to visit the deserted hermitages, which formerly abounded on the Rhine. I envied the situation of such hermits, retired from the world, and sheltered from its many temptations; for I thought it impossible for me to live a life of purity while continuing among my associates. I looked forward wishfully to the time when I could thus retire; but I saw also that, unless I could leave behind me my earthly-mindedness, my pride, vanity, and every carnal propensity, an outward solitude could afford me no shelter.'

'Our army entered into France the forepart of the summer of 1792, accompanied by the Austrians and Prussians. I was in the King's Horse Guards, which consisted mostly of the nobility. We endured great hardships, for many weeks sleeping on the bare ground, in the open air, and were sometimes in want of provisions. But that word honour so inflamed us, that I marvel how contentedly we bore our privations.'

Towards the approach of winter, owing to various political changes, the Princes' army was obliged to retire from France, and soon after was disbanded. 'Etienne had been present at several engagements; he had seen many falling about him, stricken by the shafts of death; he had stood in battle array, facing the enemy ready for the conflict; but, being in a reserve corps, he was preserved from actually shedding blood, having never fought with the sword, or fired a gun.'

In after years, he was thankful to remember that although he had been perfectly willing to take life, he had never actually done so in his soldier days. After the retreat of the French army, he and his brothers set out for Amsterdam. On the way, however, they were made prisoners of war, and condemned to be shot. 'The



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

execution of the sentence was each moment expected, when some sudden commotion in the hostile army gave them an opportunity to make their escape.' Their lives thus having been spared a second time they reached Holland in safety.

The young men were puzzled what to do next. They could not bear to leave their beloved parents at distant Limoges, and yet it was impossible to reach them or to help them in any way. France was a dangerous place for people with a 'de' in their names in those days, and for young men of military age most dangerous of all. Finally, Etienne and his brother Joseph settled to go to South America. 'Through the kind assistance of a republican General, a friend of the family, they obtained a passage on board a ship bound for Demerara, where they arrived in the First month of 1793, after a voyage of about forty days.'

Unfortunately this long voyage had not taken them away from scenes of violence. The Revolution in France was terrible, but the horrors of slavery in South America were, if possible, even worse. The New World seemed no less full of tragedy than the Old. Etienne saw there husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters torn apart, most cruelly beaten, often sold like cattle to tyrannical masters, never to see each other's faces again.

Amid such scenes Etienne grew more than ever full of despairing thoughts, more than ever inclined to believe that there could not be a God ruling a world where these evils were allowed to go unpunished.

'Such was the impression made upon Etienne by the scenes of cruelty and anguish he witnessed, that, many years after, the sound of a whip in the street would chill his blood, in the remembrance of the agony of the poor slaves; and he felt convinced that there was no excess of wickedness and malice which a slave-holder, or driver, might not be guilty of.'

Etienne and Joseph stayed in Demerara for more than two years. In the spring of 1795 they left South America and settled in Long Island near New York. There, they made friends with a certain Colonel Corsa, a man who had served in the British army, and who had a daughter who spoke French. As the two brothers at this time knew no English it was a great cheer to them in their loneliness to be able to visit at this hospitable house. One day Colonel Corsa happened to speak of William Penn. Etienne had already heard of the Quaker statesman, George Fox's friend, and when the young girl said she possessed Penn's writings Etienne asked to borrow them. He took back to his lodgings with him a large folio book, intending, with the help of a dictionary, to translate it in order to improve his English. Great was his disappointment when he found that the book contained nothing about politics or statesmanship. It was about religion; and at this time Etienne thought that religion was all a humbug and delusion. Therefore he shut up the book and put it away, though he did not return it to its owner. One evening, about this time, as he was walking in the fields alone, suddenly the Voice he had heard in his childhood spoke to him once more, close by and terribly clear: 'ETERNITY, ETERNITY, ETERNITY.' These three words, he says, 'reached my very soul,—my whole man shook,—it brought me, like Saul, to the ground.' The sinfulness and carelessness of his last few years passed before him. He cried out, 'If there is no God, doubtless there is a hell.'



His soul was almost in hell already, for hell is despair, and Etienne was very nearly despairing at that moment. Only one way out remained, the way of prayer, the little mossy pathway that he used to tread when he was a child, but that he had not trodden, now, for many years. Tangled, mossy, and overgrown that path was now, but it still led out from the dark wood of life where Etienne had almost lost his way and his hope.

Etienne took that way. With his whole heart he prayed for mercy and for deliverance from the sin and horror that oppressed him. When no answer came at once he did not stop praying, but continued day and night, praying, praying for mercy. Perhaps he scarcely knew to whom his prayer was addressed; but it was none the less a real prayer.

He expected that the answer to it would come in some startling form that he could recognise the first minute and say: 'There! Now God is answering my prayer!'

Instead, the answer came far more simply than he had expected. God often seems to choose to answer prayers in such a gentle, natural fashion, that His children need to watch very carefully lest they take His most radiant messengers, His most wonderful messages, almost as a matter of course. Only if they recognise God's Love in all that comes, planning how things shall happen, they can see His hand arranging even the tiniest details of their lives, fitting them all in, and making things work out right. Then they understand how truly wonderful His answers are.

The answer to Etienne's prayer came through nothing more extraordinary than that same old folio book which he had borrowed from his friend Miss Corsa, and had put away, thinking it too dull to translate. He took it out again, and opened upon a part called 'No Cross, No Crown.' 'I proceeded,' he says, 'to read it with the help of my dictionary, having to look for the meaning of nearly every word.'

When he had finished, he read it straight through again. 'I had never met with anything of the kind before,' and all the time he was reading the Voice inside his heart kept on saying, 'Yes, Yes, Yes, that is true!'

'I now withdrew from company, and spent most of my time in retirement, and in silent waiting upon God. I began to read the Bible, with the aid of my dictionary, for I had none then in French. I was much of a stranger to the inspired records. I had not even seen them before that I remember; what I had heard of any part of their contents, was only detached portions in Prayer Books.

'Whilst the fallow ground of my heart was thus preparing, my brother and myself, being one day at Colonel Corsa's, heard that a Meeting was appointed to be held next day in the Friends' Meeting-house, by two Englishwomen, to which we were invited. The Friends were Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young. The sight of them brought solemn feelings over me; but I soon forgot all things around me; for, in an inward silent frame of mind, seeking for the Divine presence, I was favoured to find in me, what I had so long, and with so many tears, sought for without me. My brother, who sat beside me, and to whom the silence, in which the forepart of the meeting was held, was irksome, repeatedly whispered to me, "Let us go away." But I felt the Lord's power in such a manner, that a secret joy filled me, in that I had found Him after whom my soul had longed. I was as one nailed to



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

my seat. Shortly after, one or two men Friends in the ministry spoke, but I could understand very little of what they said. After them Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young spoke also; but I was so gathered in the temple of my heart before God, that I was wholly absorbed with what was passing there. Thus had the Lord opened my heart to seek Him where He is to be found.

'My brother and myself were invited to dine in the company of these Friends, at Colonel Corsa's. There was a religious opportunity after dinner, in which several communications were made. I could hardly understand a word of what was said, but, as Deborah Darby began to address my brother and myself, it seemed as if the Lord opened my outward ear, and my heart. She seemed like one reading the pages of my heart, with clearness describing how it had been, and how it was with me. O what sweetness did I then feel! It was indeed a memorable day. I was like one introduced into a new world; the creation, and all things around me, bore a different aspect, my heart glowed with love to all.... O how can the extent of the Lord's love, mercy, pity, and tender compassion be fathomed!'

After the visit of the two Friends had made this change in his life Etienne decided to give up his French name and title, and to be no longer Etienne de Grellet, the French nobleman, but plain Stephen Grellet, the teacher of languages. Later on, he was to become Stephen Grellet the Quaker preacher; but the time for that had not yet come. After Deborah Darby's visit he went regularly to the Friends' Meetings in Long Island, but they were held for the most part in complete silence, and sad to say not one of the Friends ever spoke to him afterwards. He missed their friendliness all the more because the people he was lodging with could not bear his attending Quaker Meetings, and tried to make him give up going to such unfashionable assemblies. His brother, Joseph, also could not understand what had come to him, and both Joseph and the lodging-house people teased poor Stephen about his Quaker leanings, till he, who had been brave enough when his life was in danger, was a coward before their mockery. He did not want to give up going to his dear Meeting, but he hated to be ridiculed. At first he tried to give up Meeting, but this disobedience gave him, he says, 'a feeling of misery.' When the next Sunday came he tried another plan. He went to the Meeting-house by roundabout ways 'through fields and over fences, ashamed to be seen by any one on the road.' When he reached the Meeting-house by these by-lanes, the door was closed. No Meeting was to be held there that day. The Friends happened to have gone to another place. Stephen, therefore, sat down, 'in a retired place and in a very tried state,' to think the whole question over again, with much humility. He decided that henceforth, come what might, he would not be a coward; and he kept his resolution. The next Sunday he went to Meeting 'though it rained hard and I had about three miles to walk.' Henceforward he attended Meeting regularly, and at last his brother ceased reproaching him for his Quakerism, and one Sunday he actually came to Meeting too. This time Joseph also enjoyed the silence and followed the worship. 'From that time he attended meetings diligently, and was a great comfort to me. But, during all that period,' Stephen continues, 'we had no intercourse with any of the members of the religious Society of Friends.' These Friends still took no notice of the two strangers. They seem to have been Friends only



in name.

About this time bad news came from France. 'My dear mother wrote to me that the granaries we had at our country seat had been secured by the revolutionary party, as well as every article of food in our town house. My mother and my younger brother were only allowed the scanty pittance of a peck of mouldy horse-beans per week. My dear father was shut up in prison, with an equally scanty allowance. But it was before I was acquainted with the sufferings of my beloved parents, that the consideration of the general scarcity prevailing in the country led me to think how wrong it was for me to wear powder on my head, the ground of which I knew to be pride.' He gave up powder from this time. It would not be much of a sacrifice nowadays, but it was a very real one then, when powder was supposed to be the distinguishing mark of a gentleman. The two brothers were now obliged to learn to support themselves. All their estates in France had been seized. 'Our means began to be low, and yet our feelings for the sufferings in which our beloved parents might be involved, caused us to forget ourselves, strangers in a strange country, and to forward them a few hundred dollars we had yet left.'

It was no easy matter to find employment. The brothers went on to New York, and there at last the Friends were kind: Friends in deed and not in name only. They found a situation for Joseph in New York itself, and arranged for Stephen to go to Philadelphia, where he was more likely to find work.

And at Philadelphia the Friends were, if possible, even kinder to him than the Friends at New York. They were spiritual fathers and mothers to him, he says, and seemed to know exactly what he was feeling. 'They had but little to say in words, but I often felt that my spirit was refreshed and strengthened in their company.' At Philadelphia, he had many offers of tempting employment, but he decided to continue as a teacher of languages in a school. He gave his whole mind to his school work while he was at it, and out of school hours wandered about entirely care free. But although he was a teacher of languages and although the English of his Journals is scrupulously careful, it has often a slight foreign stiffness and formality. He was often afraid in his early years of making mistakes and not speaking quite correctly. There is a story that long afterwards, when he was in England and was taking his leave of some schoolgirls, he wished to say to them that he hoped they might be preserved safely. But in the agitation of his departure he chose the wrong words. His parting injunction, therefore, never faded from the girls' memory: 'My dear young Friends, may the Lord pickle you, His dear little muttons.'

If, even as an old man, Stephen was liable to fall into such pitfalls as this, it is easy to understand that in his earlier years the fear of making mistakes must have been a real terror to him, especially when he thought of speaking in Meeting. Very soon after he became a Friend he felt, with great dread, that the beautiful, comforting messages that refreshed his own soul were meant to be shared with others. Months, if not years, of struggle followed, before he could rise in his place in Meeting and obey this inward prompting. But directly he did so, his fears of making a mistake, or being laughed at, vanished utterly away. After agony, came joy. 'The Lord shewed me how He is mouth, wisdom and utterance to His true and faithful ministers; that



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

it is from Him alone that they are to communicate to the people, and also the when and the how.' At that first Meeting, after Stephen had given his message and sat down again, several Friends, whose blessing he specially valued, also spoke and said how thankful they were for his words. Among those present that day was that same William Savery, who, in the last story, had a bundle of valuable hides stolen from his tanyard, and punished the thief, when he came to return the hides, by loading him with kindness and giving him a good situation.

Certainly William Savery would not tell the story of 'the man who was not John Smith' to Stephen Grellet on that particular day; for Stephen was so filled with the thankful wonder that follows obedience, that he had no thought for outside things. 'For some days after this act of dedication,' he says, 'my peace flowed as a river.' In the autumn of this year (1796), Stephen Grellet, the French nobleman, became a Friend. About two years later, he was acknowledged as a Minister by the Society.

'In those days,' he writes, 'my mind dwelt much on the nature of the hope of redemption through Jesus Christ.... I felt that the best testimony I could bear was to evince by my life what He had actually done for me.'

Henceforth Stephen's life was spent in trying to make known to others the joy that had overflowed his own soul. He did indeed 'put the things that he had learned in practice,' as he journeyed over both Europe and America, time after time, visiting high and low. His life is one long record of adventures, of perils surmounted, of hairbreadth escapes, of constant toil and of much plodding, humdrum service too. His message brought him into the strangest situations, as he gave it fearlessly. He sought an interview with the Pope at Rome in order to remonstrate with him about the state of the prisons in the Papal States. Stephen gave his message with perfect candour, and afterwards entered into conversation with the Pope. Finally, he says, 'As I felt the love of Christ flowing in my heart towards him, I particularly addressed him.... The Pope ... kept his head inclined and appeared tender, while I thus addressed him; then rising from his seat, in a kind and respectful manner, he expressed his desire that "the Lord would bless and protect me wherever I went," on which I left him.'

Not satisfied with that, though it seems wonderful enough, Stephen another time induced the Czar of all the Russias, Alexander I., to attend Westminster Meeting. Both these stories are well worth telling. But there is one story about Stephen, better worth telling still, and that is how the Voice that guided him all over the world sent him one day 'preaching to nobody' in a lonely forest clearing in the far backwoods of America.

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

[According to the author, this story "HOW A FRENCH NOBLE BECAME A FRIEND" is "Entirely historical. All the facts are taken from the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF STEPHEN GRELLET."]

April 4: [Friend Isaac T. Hopper](#) was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.



April 20: A minute was made at the Men's Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in Rahway, New Jersey and Plainfield Monthly Meeting in regard to the acceptability of an older woman of color as a full-fledged member of the society. This person had, it was noted, been worshipping with their Women's Meeting for some two decades.²²³

Women Friends...inform us that Cynthia Miers, a Mulatto woman, had also requested to be joined in membership with Friends, but this being a case of a singular nature amongst us the meeting thinks it best to proceed very cautiously and therefore appoints to take the subject into their serious consideration and report to the next meeting - John Haydock (and eleven other men.)

May: In the case of Cynthia Miers, the older Mulatto woman who had been worshipping with the Women's Meeting, the general group accepted a committee suggestion that some of the male [Quakers](#) "join women Friends in a visit to her, they to report their sense of her disposition of mind to our next meeting."²²⁴

223. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury's "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends" in [The Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.

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LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

June: The male and female [Quakers](#) who had visited the older mulatto woman Cynthia Miers reported that they believed “*her to be convinced of the principles of Truth as professed by us and desirous of walking agreeable thereto,*” and nevertheless the meeting merely forwarded the case “*to the Quarterly Meeting for their advice and direction herein.*” A Scotch Friend present in this monthly meeting, John Wigham, described this in his journal.²²⁵

The case of a Mulatto woman, who had applied for membership with Friends, came before the meeting: a committee had been appointed to visit her, and reported their satisfaction as to her convincement but thought it unsafe to receive her on account of her colour! After much discussion it was at last concluded to refer the matter to the Quarterly Meeting. How hard it is to overcome old prejudices.

The Quarterly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) adopted the following course:

From Rahway and Plainfield Monthly Meeting, we are informed that Cynthia Myers, a Mulatto woman, had applied to be received into membership with them, had been visited by a committee from their meeting, who made a favorable report respecting her, yet as they could not fully unite in judgment in her case, it was referred to this Meeting where claiming our solid attention, and many friends expressing their sentiments thereon, it was thought best to refer it to the [Yearly Meeting](#) as friends here could not unite in the propriety of receiving The (sic) without the concurrence of that meeting.

December: The general question of the admitting of Negroes as full members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was raised in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The matter originated with the application for membership of the mulatto woman Cynthia Miers of Rahway, New Jersey. The [Yearly Meeting](#) appointed a committee to consider the question, to which both women Friends and visitors from other parts were admitted. Their report was made in writing and accepted by the Yearly Meeting, to the effect that they were united in believing that the Friends Discipline already established relative to receiving persons into membership was not limited with respect to nation or color, and recommended therefore that applicants for membership should be investigated as to their views and practices and when satisfied monthly meetings might in their freedom receive such with propriety without respect of persons or color.²²⁶

7th of Twelfth Month: At the Peel Meeting, Friend [Luke Howard](#) and Friend Mariabella²²⁷ Eliot were wedded according to the manner of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). He was 24, she 27. The couple’s first child, Mary, who would become an invalid and would die during the spring of 1816, would be born during Eleventh Month, 1797. Their second child, Robert, would be born in 1801. Their third child, Elizabeth, would be born during First Month, 1803. Their fourth child, Rachel, would be born during Seventh Month, 1804. Their fifth child, John Eliot, would be born in 1807. An infant Mariabella would die of whooping cough at eighteen months. Their youngest, Joseph, would be born in 1811.

President George Washington’s Eighth Annual Message to Congress.

225. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury’s “Negro Membership in the Society of Friends” in [The Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.

226. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury’s “Negro Membership in the Society of Friends” in [The Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.

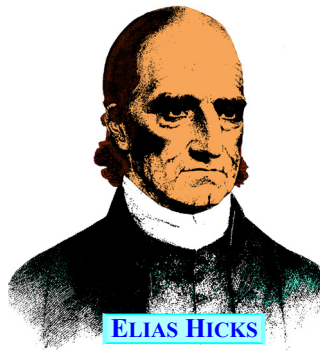
227. Because Mariabella had a cousin who also was named Mariabella, the cousin was customarily referred to as “Maria” while she was customarily referred to as “Bella.”

1797

Most of [Paul Cuffe](#)'s life would be spent in [Westport MA](#), a [Quaker](#) enclave in southwestern Massachusetts where in this year he agreed to purchase a farm for \$3,500. He had earned his fortune from whaling and trade in the Americas and Europe. He would own shares, over a period of time, in up to 10 ships, and the financial probity of the Friends and their doctrine would figure in his success as a businessman. They captained some of his ships. Cuffe's faith was a factor in his building of a schoolhouse, on behalf of the "African Benevolent Society," when the community failed to do so — at some point in the late 1790s, deciding that he needed to establish a school for the 15 children of his immediate and extended family, he invited his white neighbors to send their children to this school as well. White people were reluctant to send their children to the so-called "Cuff's School" to mingle with their racial inferiors there on a basis of parity, but in some cases they had no real alternative. The school educated Cuffe's family plus a diverse group of Westport children — de facto making itself one of the first racially integrated schools in the United States of America. The charity school in town included black students but was taught only by white teachers; this Cuff's School included white students but was taught only by black teachers.

QUAKER EDUCATION

Friend Elias went out on his third really lengthy ministerial journey, with Joseph Cooper as companion. They were away over five months visiting 143 meetings (by the record) in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Total mileage they put on their horses: 1,600 miles.



ELIAS HICKS



ANECDOTE OF ELIAS HICKS.

BY LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

The following anecdote was told to me by a member of the Society of Friends. It made a strong impression on my mind, because it shows so clearly the excellence of a bold meekness and Christian firmness in the discharge of duty; because it adds another fact to prove that he who trusts in moral power hath ever a brave indifference to threats of physical violence.

When Elias Hicks was preaching in Virginia, many years ago, he took occasion to bear a powerful testimony against the sin of slavery. Among the large audience collected together by the fame of his eloquence were several planters; and they, of course, were sorely aggrieved by his remarks. One in particular was so filled with wrath, that he swore vehemently he would blow out the preacher's brains, if he ventured near his plantation.

When this threat was repeated to Elias, he quietly put on his hat and proceeded straightway to the forbidden spot. In answer to his inquiries, a slave informed him that his master was then at dinner, but would see him in a short time.

The preacher seated himself, and waited quietly until the planter entered the room. In serene tones he addressed him thus: "Friend, I understand thou hast threatened to blow out the brains of Elias Hicks, if he comes near thy plantation. I am Elias Hicks!"

What could brute force do in a dilemma like this? To have taken pistols and deliberately shot an unresisting guest would have been too assassin-like. It would have been a deed of ill appearance; and moreover it could not be done, by reason of a restraining power within. Earnestly, as the planter might wish the preacher in heaven, he could not, under such circumstances, help to send him thither. He did the best he could to sustain his position. He stammered forth, in surly tones, an acknowledgment that he did make use of such a threat; and he considered it perfectly justifiable when a man came to preach rebellion to his slaves.

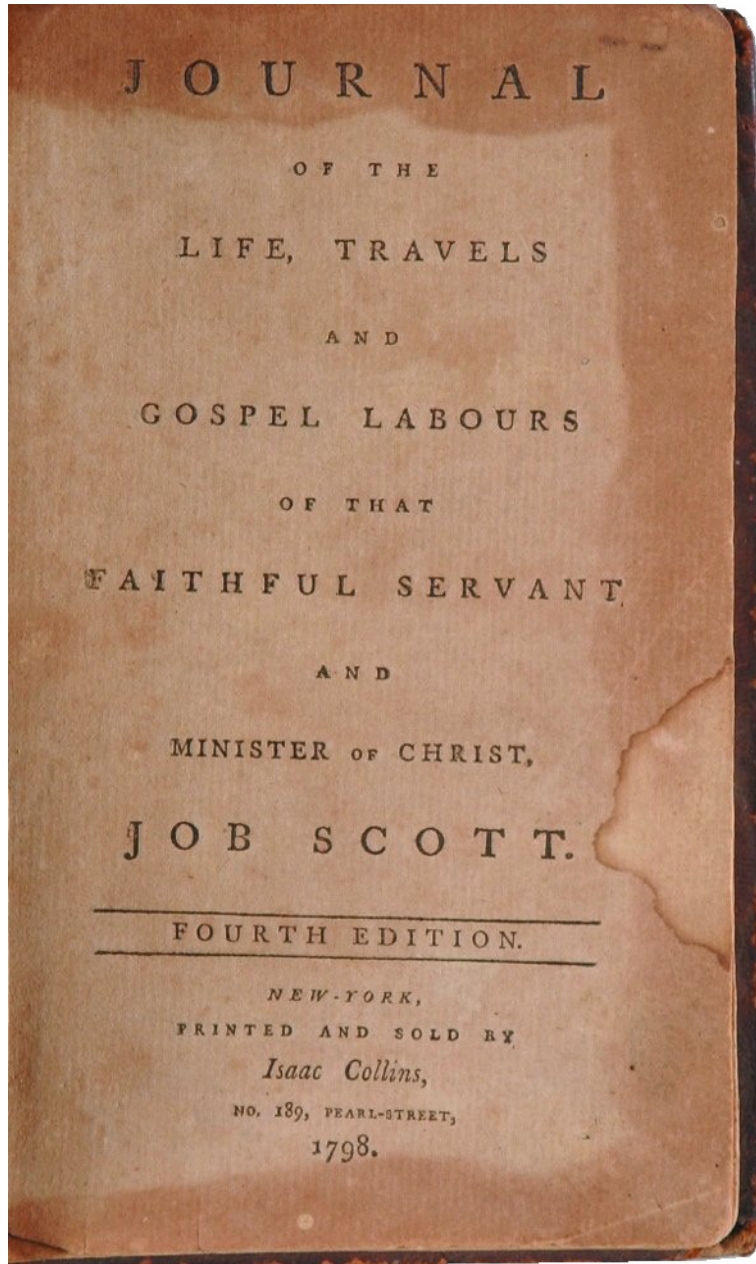
"Friend," replied Elias, "I came to preach the Gospel, which inculcates forgiveness of injuries upon slaves, as well as upon other men; but tell me, if thou canst, how this Gospel can be truly preached without showing the slaves that they are injured, and without making a man of thy sentiments feel as if they were encouraged in rebellion."

This led to a long argument, maintained in the most friendly spirit. At parting, the slaveholder cordially shook hands with the Quaker, and begged him to come again. His visits were renewed; and six months after, the Virginian emancipated all his slaves.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The journal of the late Friend [Job Scott](#) was published. He had urged a less worldly, more inward or mystical/spiritual practice of the [Quaker](#) faith, but his disparagement of militant materialism had grown so strident that he had fallen afoul of conservative and wealthy Friends in Philadelphia.



Friend [Hannah Barnard](#), a [Quaker](#) minister of Hudson Monthly Meeting in New York, felt a concern to travel among Friends and others in the British Isles. Her monthly meeting therefore issued a travelling minute which was duly endorsed by the Quarterly Meeting and by New York [Yearly Meeting](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London in this year chose to celebrate our Quaker Peace Testimony, and express gratification at the manner in which it was assisting Friends to abstain from the spirit of contention which led to the bearing of arms and to engaging in fighting and to doing harm to other humans:

We feel not inclined, though war yet continues to desolate the earth, to repeat our advices on that head, or to resume the subject further than to remark how thankful we ought to be, in that we are still permitted to meet together, as we have done at this time, in brotherly fellowship and mutual condescension; whilst the world around us is tossed with the tempest of discord. O Friends, may be consider it as an incitement to suffer everything which tends to contention to be eradicated from our hearts; and, under the influence of the heavenly Husbandman, to cultivate, with unwearied assiduity and patience, all those dispositions which make for peace; things whereby we may edify one another; yea, things by which we may evince to our fellow-men at large, that we are really redeemed from the spirit of contests, and truly the disciples of a merciful Redeemer, whose holy, pure, and undefiled religion is a system of universal love!

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

January: The minutes of Rahway and Plainfield Monthly Meeting show that in the next month the case of the older mulatto worshiper Cynthia Miers was resumed, and in the following month she was received into membership. Friend John Hunt, who served on the committee, wrote of the decision as having been held back 20 years though there had never been anything to prevent her acceptance other than the color of her skin.²²⁸

There was that felt which raised the testimony in this respect, over all opposition, although the spirit of prejudice which had been imbibed on account of colour, had kept it back above twenty years within which time, [many or] divers black and mulatto people have requested to have a right among Friends, but till now have been [rejected and] put by, on account of their colour.

Among those who spoke in favor of admission were two foreign [Quakers](#), Martha Routh of England and Jean de Marsillac of France. Friend Martha described the event as follows:

At this season the further consideration of admitting black people into membership with friends, was revived; and a large committee was appointed wherein concerned women friends were admitted. Their weighty deliberations felt to me evidently owned of Truth; the result whereof was, that no distinction of colour should be an objection when such as requested to be joined to us, appeared to be convinced of the principle we profess. This being spread before the [Yearly Meeting](#) was united in, without a dissenting voice.

Here is a Silhouette of Public Friend Martha Routh (1743-1817), as she appeared when she was visiting the New World:



Friend [Stephen Grellet](#) of France, later to become well known, was 23 years of age and attending annual

228. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury's "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends" in *The Journal of Negro History*, Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

meeting for the first time, having just joined the Society. He wrote in his characteristic evangelical language:

The [Yearly Meeting](#) came to the conclusion that any people of colour, becoming convinced of our principles, and making application to be received as members of our society, ought to be treated as white persons, without any distinction on account of colour, seeing that there is none with God, who has made all nations of the earth of one blood and that Jesus Christ has died for all, and is the saviour of all who believe in Him, of whatever colour or nation they may be.



Evidently there had been other cases of applicants of color and evidently these also had been delayed for many years. Not very many Negro members were immediately accepted on the basis of this [Yearly Meeting](#) ruling once it was embodied in the Book of Discipline. For nearly a century, rather than being generally distributed, this had been a mere manuscript kept by one member of each Monthly Meeting; in this year, however, arrangements were made for printing it, and so in the first printed form of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Discipline the outcome of the decision on Cynthia Myers came to be embodied in a paragraph under “Convinced Persons” ending “The said meetings are at liberty to receive such (persons) into membership, without respect to nation or color.” This paragraph would remain in the Discipline not only until the separation of 1828 but in each branch of Friends in every edition for nearly a century longer, and would then mysteriously disappear.

August 5: There was a preliminary appearance in federal court in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on this day, in preparation for the trial of [John Brown](#) on charge of being engaged in the [international slave trade](#).

Per Jay Coughtry, Associate Professor of History at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas:

On August 5, 1797, [John Brown](#), the premier merchant and first citizen of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), reluctantly entered federal district court in his hometown and became the first American to be tried under the U.S. Slave Trade Act of 1794. After months of out-of-court wrangling with the plaintiffs, officers of a state abolition society, it appeared that Brown would now stand trial for fitting out his ship *Hope* for the African [slave trade](#). The voyage had concluded profitably in Havana, Cuba, with the sale of 229 [slaves](#) a year earlier.²²⁹ Brown’s accusers included his younger brother, [Moses](#), a tireless opponent of both slavery and the slave trade since his conversion, on the eve of the American Revolution, from the family’s [Baptist](#) faith to the [Society of Friends](#). A founding

229. Jay Coughtry, *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE* (Philadelphia, 1981), pages 214-215.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

member and officer of the Abolition Society, chartered in 1789, [Moses Brown](#) had been fighting Rhode Island slave traders, including brother John, for a decade, since the passage of the largely ineffective state statute of 1787 that prohibited the trade to state residents.²³⁰

In this instance, the society's traditional tactic -cajoling a pledge from the accused to forswear slaving in the future in exchange for dropping the suit- had failed. Even so, as Moses had pointedly reminded John before trial, the charges thus far were limited, involving only the comparatively mild first section of the three-year-old federal statute. A conviction would therefore require nothing more than forfeiture of the vessel, an aging one at that. What John should most fear, Moses advised, were "larger prosecutions" should he further provoke the Abolition Society by refusing to settle out of court.²³¹

Ultimately, the elder Brown ignored his brother's mediation efforts and offered only an eleventh hour plea for a continuance to haggle over milder pledge terms. Its patience exhausted, the Abolition Society flatly rejected that ploy whereupon the case proceeded swiftly to trial. As predicted, the district court judge had little choice but to assent to the arguments and evidence in the prosecution's narrowly defined case. Consequently, [John Brown](#) lost his vessel at a local auction in late August, thereby closing the forfeiture case. When the Abolition Society again sought Brown's promise to abandon his African commerce, he refused, quickly prompting the "larger prosecutions" Moses had warned him about.²³²

Meanwhile, Moses had become suspicious of John's continuing recalcitrance. It seemed premeditated in his younger brother's view, perhaps a deliberate strategy devised by John's "friends at [Newport](#)" (i.e., slave traders) to guarantee further suits over the illegal sale of the slaves. Such litigation, while potentially more costly, would also require a jury trial, and the slave traders assumed that local juries would not convict one of their own. They were right. Within six months [John Brown](#) announced his court victory over the "Wicked and Abominable Combination I mean the Abolition Society."²³³

This insiders' view of the foregoing case of the ship *Hope* is documented, along with numerous other key prosecutions, in the correspondence of John and especially Moses Brown, now available in this microfilm series, PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE: SELECTIONS FROM THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Moreover, Moses Brown's letters reveal not only the Abolition Society's formal legal stratagems but also its traditional policy of intense but informal negotiating with slave traders who often yielded to the group's demands without a court fight. Cyprian Sterry, for example, the principal slave trader in Providence during the 1790s with fifteen voyages to the African coast in 1794 alone, fully succumbed to the society's persistent pressure. He escaped

230. NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE, chapter 6. See also Mack Thompson, [MOSES BROWN](#): RELUCTANT REFORMER (Chapel Hill, 1962), pages 175-190.

231. [Moses Brown](#) to [John Brown](#), March 15, 1797, [MOSES BROWN](#) PAPERS, vol. 9, no. 29, Rhode Island Historical Society; [Moses Brown](#) to [John Brown](#), *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 32.

232. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), July 29, 31, 1797, [MOSES BROWN](#) PAPERS, vol. 9, nos. 43 and 44, Rhode Island Historical Society. See also NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 215.

233. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), July 31, 1797, [MOSES BROWN](#) PAPERS, vol. 9, no. 44, Rhode Island Historical Society and Moses Brown to [John Brown](#), November 17, 1797, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 49; [John Brown](#) to James Brown, June 21, 1798, [John Brown](#) Papers, box D, Rhode Island Historical Society



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

prosecution (along with his captain, Samuel Packard) for an African voyage involving the ship *Ann* by signing a written pledge to leave the [slave trade](#) forever.²³⁴

Despite occasional successes in and out of court, in general the campaign against the slave traders in the wake of federal prohibition was proceeding haltingly at best. Moses Brown continued to monitor the efforts of customs officials in the Rhode Island district for the Abolition Society, which increasingly relinquished its early prosecutorial role to the U.S. Attorney's office. Congress bolstered the federal district attorney's legal arsenal with amendments to the 1794 statute in 1800 and again in 1803. Meanwhile, an aggressive secretary of the treasury appointed a special prosecutor for the district in 1801. The new laws closed the most obvious loopholes in the original act while the appointment of a resident special prosecutor provided a full-time federal agent who could focus exclusively on the escalating volume of vessels clearing state ports for Africa.²³⁵

Documentation for these events not only reveals the growing docket of slaver cases but also regularly exposes the personal and political dimensions of enforcement and evasion. By century's end, for example, it had become clear that slavers had rendered nearly null the local auctions designed to separate owners from their slaving vessels. African merchants and their influential supporters simply intimidated all potential bidders and then repurchased their ships for a fraction of their assessed value. To end such bogus sales-at-auction, the government in 1799 sent Samuel Bosworth, surveyor of the port of [Bristol](#), to bid for the D'Wolf family's recently condemned schooner *Lucy*. Twice within twenty-four hours of the scheduled sale, [John Brown](#) and two D'Wolf brothers, the country's largest slave traders, visited Bosworth at home to dissuade him from his duty. Despite a threatened dunking in [Bristol](#) harbor, Bosworth "with considerable fear and trembling" arrived at the wharf on auction morning where he was met by a party of local "Indians" in unconvincing native garb and with faces blackened. No [Bristol](#) version of the patriotic tea party ensued, fortunately. Instead, Bosworth's captors hustled him aboard a waiting sailboat and deposited him two miles down the bay at the foot of Mount Hope. The government never employed that strategy again.²³⁶

Such an outrage was not the limit of "the trade's supporters" arrogance, however. Soon, Special Prosecutor John Leonard would personally feel the wrath of Rhode Island's African merchants. Even his limited success in libeling several of their vessels under the anemic section one was enough to prompt an attack on his person. They apparently feared that Leonard's February 1801 victory in prosecuting a D'Wolf captain caught redhanded by a U.S. Navy cruiser would set a costly precedent. Consequently, several overzealous supporters of the [slave trade](#) assaulted Leonard on the steps of the federal courthouse in Washington.²³⁷ Even [John Brown](#) thought this response somewhat extreme, especially as he was then involved in concocting a federal

234. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), [MOSES BROWN](#) PAPERS, vol. 9, no. 43. See also NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 213-214.

235. NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 216-222.

236. Samuel Bosworth to Oliver Wolcott, August 1799, Shepley Papers, vol. 9, no. 8, Rhode Island Historical Society; Jonathan Russell to Albert Gallatin, March 18, 1804, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 7. George Howe tells the tale of the *Lucy* in his MOUNT HOPE: A NEW ENGLAND CHRONICLE (New York, 1959), 107-108.

237. [John Brown](#) to Benjamin Bourn, February 1801, Peck MSS, vol. 11, no. 66, Rhode Island Historical Society.

legislative solution to his slaving constituents' problem. During the hectic months between Thomas Jefferson's election and inauguration as president, Brown successfully spearheaded a move in Congress to create a separate customs district for the port of [Bristol](#). Following passage of the requisite legislation late in February 1801 and the eventual appointment of customs officers amenable to the slave traders' needs, the effort to stop the [slave trade](#) in the courts permanently stalled. The end of Rhode Island participation in illegal African commerce would begin only years later with the implementation of the Anti-Slave Trade Act of 1807 on January 1, 1808. This now constitutional statute outlawed all foreign slave trading by American citizens in any capacity. By the time violations of this new law carried the death penalty in 1819, Rhode Islanders, along with other New Englanders, had found new markets for their commerce and textile factories for their surplus capital. The brief revival of the slave trade in clipper ships of the antebellum era from ports such as Baltimore would proceed without them.²³⁸

December: Friend [Isaac T. Hopper](#) was delegated by his Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) to "extend counsel and admonition to such of our members who continue to trade in or make unnecessary use of distilled spiritous liquors and to endeavor through brotherly love to dissuade them from such practice."



238. [John Brown](#) to James D'Wolf and Shearjashub Bourn (n.d. but 1800), [JOHN BROWN PAPERS](#), Rhode Island Historical Society; [John Brown](#) to Shearjashub Bourn, February 1801, Peck MSS, box 11, no. 66, Rhode Island Historical Society. The full story of the separate district issue and the eventual end of slave trading from [Rhode Island](#) is detailed in NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 225-229 and 233-237.

1798

At the age of 13, [Oliver Hazard Perry](#) entered the navy as a midshipman, and his first assignment was in the Caribbean under the command of his [Quaker](#) father, Captain Christopher Raymond Perry, aboard the sloop-of-war *General Greene*.



[Friend](#) Charles Brockden Brown's first novel, *WIELAND*, about how easy it is to lose one's mental balance through being unsettled by strange experiences. The father of the young protagonist of this novel died by spontaneous combustion, apparently for violating a vow to God, and then the son, misled by a ventriloquist, is driven by the prompting of an "inner voice" to murderize his wife and children. Coming to his senses, he then kills himself.

An attitude expressed in this year by [Friend](#) Catherine Phillips, toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: "Soon after I appeared in the ministry, I dropped my pen in regard to verses. I do not say it was a sacrifice required; but the continuing of the practice might have proved a snare some way: it might have engaged my attention too much, or tended to make me popular, which I have ever guarded against, perhaps too much so in some points."²³⁹

239. JOURNAL, 1798, pages 20-21, as quoted in Howard Brinton's *QUAKER JOURNALS; VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AMONG FRIENDS* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1972), page 17



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Arriving in the British Isles with her female traveling companion, the minister [Friend Hannah Barnard](#) would spend ten months visiting and preaching, travelling more than 2,000 miles. Many Methodists would attend her public meetings, particularly in Cornwall. A controversy would develop, and Friend Chuck Fager has analyzed the controversy in the following manner:

[A]t the 1799 session of London Yearly Meeting, [Friend Hannah Barnard](#) and a delegation of women Friends urged the yearly meeting hierarchy to permit the occasional use of meetinghouses by ministers of other denominations in exchange for similar use of churches by Friends. When the (male) elders nixed the idea, Barnard defended it with what the clerk considered "uncommon tenacity," to the point where she and her delegation were told to leave the session. Some historians believe it was from this confrontation, over a seemingly minor item of practice, that her later troubles over doctrine sprang. The London Quaker establishment was then taking on an evangelical version of orthodoxy that would hold sway there for over half a century. This establishment did not welcome challenges to its dicta, on matters small or large, from anyone, and particularly from women. But having already taken the elders on in a matter of practice, Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) was soon embroiled in controversy on matters of doctrine. The new conflict emerged after Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) moved on to visit Ireland. There she found Friends debating matters of war, peace and the Bible. Specifically, the question put to her was: Did God indeed command the ancient Israelites to make war (of a genocidal sort in several cases) on their enemies, as recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures? This way of posing the issue was probably not accidental. Just a year before there had been a peasant uprising against English overlords, which British troops had put down very brutally. Many Irish Friends, as people of substance, were likely on the side of this imperial form of "law and order," and pointing to the scriptural massacres as justification for official violence was not a new form of rationalization. But there were Irish Friends who saw matters differently. They were a group of incipient liberals who rejected such literalist readings of the Bible, especially where the texts contradicted such central Quaker convictions as the peace testimony. These internal dissenters -sometimes referred to as "New Lights"- also became increasingly persuaded that it was un-Quakerly to make such doctrinal correctness a central part of Quaker faith in the first place. They thereby challenged a key assumption of the new establishment, namely the importance of correct evangelical doctrine, especially regarding the Bible. Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) joined with the "New Lights," and traveled among Irish Friends advocating their views in a spirited, articulate fashion, again meeting also with many non-Friends. When she finished her tour, Dublin Yearly Meeting gave her a certificate that said she had ministered "to general satisfaction," and expressed the hope that she might be "favoured to continue" her religious labors. In pursuit of this objective, Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) returned to London and applied to the Meeting of Ministers and Elders for a certificate to continue her travels in Germany. But other reports, of her work and message, from alarmed evangelicals, had also made their way to London, and in May, 1800, the elders rejected her request. She was soon directed "desist from preaching" and to return home as soon as possible. They even



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

offered to pay for her passage, which she indignantly refused. The chief charge against [Friend Hannah Barnard](#) was that she denied the full truth and authority of scripture. Informally she was accused of all manner of heresies. Barnard fought the charges, insisting that her conclusions were in harmony with the original Quaker conviction that the leadings of the spirit within and not outward scripture, however interpreted, was the final measure of truth for Friends. "Nothing is revealed truth to me, as doctrine," she declared, "until it is sealed as such in my mind, through the illumination of ... the word of God, the divine light, and intelligence, to which the Scriptures ... bear plentiful testimony." Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) spoke her convictions with great vigor. For instance, when asked about a verse in the First Epistle of John ("For there are three that bear record in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one." 1John 5: 7), she recalled that, "I felt not the slightest hesitation in saying I believed it to be a corrupt interpolation, for the very purpose of establishing the absurd and pernicious doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, some ages after the first promulgation of the gospel." (Incidentally, almost all modern biblical scholars agree that the verse is a late interpolation, and most recent translations omit it.) Even one of her critics grudgingly admitted she was "remarkably voluble and eloquent in delivery." But her appeals were rejected, and finally she boarded a ship for New York. The London elders were not finished, however. They sent copies of their indictment ahead of her, and by the time Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) arrived home in Hudson, in late 1801, she found that disciplinary proceedings against her were underway there too. Again Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) defended herself stoutly, and again her very assertiveness was added to the charges against her. When a weighty male Friend noted regretfully her willingness to challenge opponents of whatever stature, she replied that she was indeed ready "to meet any person, or even the whole world, while I felt conscious innocence." Again, though, [Friend Hannah Barnard](#) lost, and by mid-1802 had been disowned for showing a "a Caviling, contentious disposition of mind." She remained unrepentant, writing to a British supporter that "under the present state of the Society I can with humble reverent thankfulness rejoice in the consideration that I was made the Instrument of bringing their Darkness to light." Such banishment, however, did not bring an end to her ministry.

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in London in this year chose to emphasize all the elaborate implications of [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#), such as that it not only necessitated the refusal of all active compliance with warlike measures, but also of any participation in the war economy:

We desire afresh to press upon all our members, the necessity of a peaceful and innocent demeanor amongst men; and especially, let all be careful not to seek or accept profit by any concern in the preparations so extensively making for war: for how reproachfully inconsistent would it be, to refuse all active compliance with warlike measures; and, at the same time, not to hesitate to enrich ourselves by the commerce and other circumstances dependent on war_!

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Friend Elias Hicks](#), attempting to deal with some [Quakers](#) in a little town near Goose Creek in the Blue Ridge region of northern Virginia, people who had been reading Thomas Paine's THE AGE OF REASON, became distressed at their spiritual condition, at this "darkness spreading over the minds of many as a thick veil." That night, after his testimony, he had the third of the three visions of his life. In this vision he saw that the earth was shrouded in darkness, but then there came a bright rainbow which spanned the heavens from northwest to southwest.

[Friend Isaac T. Hopper](#) was delegated by his Philadelphia monthly meeting to "treat with Ellis Green for engaging as an officer on Board a ship of war." He was also in this year appointed to the Committee of Twelve, the Quaker arm that took care of the poor.



1799

January 26: [Samuel George Morton](#) was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a birthright [Quaker](#). He would be educated in the strictest school of orthodox Friends (which is to say, the anti-Hicksites) but in mid-life would turn Episcopalian (we don't know whether he turned Episcopalian before, at the same time as, or after he turned racist).

March 12: Mary Botham was born at Coleford, Gloucestershire, a daughter of Friend Samuel Botham.

MARY HOWITT

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In Philadelphia, [Friend Isaac T. Hopper](#) became an overseer of the school for black children.



The Westtown School in Chester County was established for secondary education of [Quaker](#) young people of rural Pennsylvania.

QUAKER EDUCATION

His second wife Mary Olney Brown having died during the previous year, in this year [Friend Moses Brown](#) remarried with the widow Phebe Waterman Lockwood.

In Philadelphia, [Friend](#) Elizabeth Drinker had a shower (presumably some sort of bucket arrangement) set up in her back yard. She commented, "I bore it better than I expected, not having been wet all over at once, for 28 years past."

Charles-Gaspard de la Rive visited a new establishment for the insane, a mile from York, England, created by "The worthy Society of Friends" by voluntary subscription for the benefit of "those of its members who might have the misfortune to lose their reason without a sufficient fortune to resort to expensive establishments all the resources of medicine and all the comforts of life compatible with their state." He found that the house did not at all resemble a prison, in that instead of there being bars and grills on the windows, the house was situated inside "a great walled garden." It is to be noted that this institution was for the [Quaker](#) insane only, as its purpose was to avoid mixing them with the general run of non-Quakers to be found in a conventional asylum. [Friend](#) Samuel Tuke would explain: "This often seems to leave an unprofitable effect upon the patients' minds after they are restored to the use of their reason, alienating them from those religious attachments which they had before experienced; and sometimes, even corrupting them with vicious habits to which they had been strangers.... To encourage the influence of religious principles over the mind of the insane is considered of great consequence, as a means of cure."

PSYCHOLOGY

BUTLER HOSPITAL



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) bought 140 additional acres along the shore on the Acoaxet River in [Westport MA](#). By this point, through general audacity as well as hard work, his assets had reached five figures, \$10,000 (this would have given him, in that era, the aura we now assign to “He’s a millionaire”). He had, for instance, acquired a shipment of Indian corn for sale in Vienna, Maryland, and had arrived there, in full view of that place’s black slaves, with various credentials reassuring to the white folks. In slave territory this [Quaker](#) of color had comported himself “with candour, modesty and firmness” and had successfully transacted business. He was, we may guesstimate, the wealthiest black man in America.

At this point, in London, the [Quaker](#) establishment was acquiring the sort of evangelical tilt that would obtain there for over half a century. At London Yearly Meeting, the traveling minister Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) from the United States and a delegation of women Friends urged the yearly meeting hierarchy to agree to an exchange: occasional use of Quaker meetinghouses by ministers of other denominations in exchange for similar access to their churches by ministering Friends. When the all-male group of elders attempted to turn aside this plan, Friend Barnard defended it with such “uncommon tenacity” that she and her delegation were shown the door. Barnard then visited Ireland, finding the Friends there debating matters of war, peace, and the authority of the BIBLE. Specifically, the question the Irish wanted to put to her was: Did God actually command the ancient Israelites to make war on their enemies in the genocidal manner recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures? In the previous year a peasant uprising against English overlords had been suppressed with much bloodshed by the British army. Irish Friends who were people of substance probably favored this imposition of “law and order” despite its imperial flavor, and likely had been pointing at the scriptural massacres as justification for official violence, but other Irish Friends who were not so fortunate were not so bloodthirsty. These incipient liberals wanted to repudiate those literalist readings of the BIBLE where the texts were in conflict with central

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Quaker convictions such as the Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

These “New Lights” were persuading themselves that it had been a mistake to make doctrinal correctness central to [Quaker](#) faith. They thereby challenged the authority of the new establishment, which was based upon propounding top-down the meaning of BIBLE passages. Barnard joined with the New Lights and traveled among Irish Friends and non-Friends advocating their views. When she was ready to return to the USA,



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Dublin Yearly Meeting certified that she had ministered “to general satisfaction” and petitioned that she might be “favoured to continue” her religious labors. Barnard returned to London and applied to the Meeting of Ministers and Elders for a certificate to continue into Germany. Other, hostile reports of her work and message, from the evangelicals, had also been forwarded to London.

Friends visiting Boston had observed that, where once Friends had been so important that they were “carted from town to town, and whipped severely, on account of their religion,” their religious zeal and faithfulness had departed under “the cares of the world, the deceitfulness of riches, and the unlawful love of other things.” Due to the advanced age of the remaining members and due to lack of attendance at [Quaker](#) meeting for worship, the Boston meeting of Quakers was formally discontinued and the remaining Boston Friends were advised to travel to Lynn MA or Salem for their First Day worship. “[C]ontrary to the advice of the Monthly Meeting,” however, Boston Quakers would continue to observe the silence in their own meetinghouse.

[Friend](#) Charles Brockden Brown’s novels ORMOND and EDGAR HUNTLY.

[Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#) began sending off their children for a guarded education in their faith, at the Nine Partners boarding school in the Hudson River valley.

QUAKER EDUCATION



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

June 6: At Red Hill Plantation VA, Patrick Henry died.

He had been a founding father of American freedoms, and of course he died like one! On the general topic of human slavery, he had once lamented “*I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them.*” He really did not want human slavery. Human slavery was unfortunate. Such things should not exist, and in a perfect world, they would not exist. He had commented once on [slavery](#) and the [Religious Society of Friends](#) that “*Believe me; I shall honor the Quakers for their noble efforts to abolish slavery.*” He had commented once that “*Slavery is detested — we feel its fatal effects — we deplore it with all the earnestness of humanity.*”

(On his deathbed Pat freed a certain number of his [slaves](#) — that certain number of course being, to the nearest round number, **zero**. Like many another white American hypocrite, Pat was opposed to human slavery — but not nearly so opposed to human slavery as he was to his being in any way personally inconvenienced. :-)

August 1: [Friend Elizabeth Fry](#) wrote in her journal about a visit the Quaker school at Ackworth:

Ackworth: 1st, August, 1799: We dined with a very large party in the boy's dining-room at the school. We examined the bedrooms, which I thought in good order, and talked a little to Hannah Barnard. The writing, ciphering, working, mending, spinning, knitting and sewing, all which I liked much, and thought upon the whole they did very well indeed. I went to hear the girls spell, which I was pleased with, but should have liked to have questioned them more myself.

CONTINUE TO READ CHRONOLOGICALLY



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



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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: August 20, 2012

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, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

18TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which 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 your requests with <Kouroo@brown.edu>.
Arrgh.