

## FRIEND ELIAS AND THE SENSIBILITIES

OF

HENRY DAVID THOREAU<sup>1</sup>

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



1. What I will mean by use of a strange term such as “closure” in an analysis of a perceived similarity in mindset between two such separate individuals as Elias Hicks and Henry David Thoreau is rather complicated to explain but I must of course attempt to explain this. As a first approximation, please consider that there were a lot of people floating around then, as there are now, with an agenda to unscrew the inscrutable. Hicks and Thoreau simply weren’t of that ilk. This particular discrimination between types of person, I would offer, is a most important and fundamental one. The fact that neither Hicks nor Thoreau were attempting to unscrew the inscrutable makes them most definitely brothers under the cloth, and fundamentally different from another type of person represented here by the Unitarian Universalists and the New Lights.

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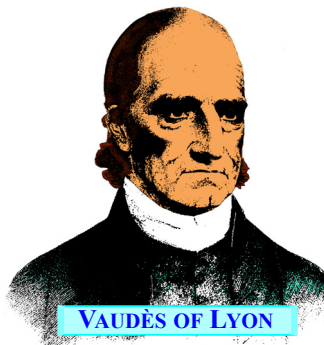
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1170

HISTORY OF  
THE BIBLE

At this time France was the most heavily populated area of Europe, and Lyon the second-largest city in France. The man whom we now refer to as “Peter Waldo” or as “Pierre Vaudès”, who seems to have been known as Vaudès<sup>2</sup> of Lyon—a prosperous merchant whose surname might well have seemed to have meant “of the forest,” as in the Latin *Rex Nemorensis*, but did not, as it actually merely indicated that the town of his nativity had been Waldum or Vaux, which had been in that era a town near Lyon (no longer in existence as any name similar to this)—attempted to obtain the translation of the BIBLE into the language of the people. In his 30th year, he hired two priests to translate the BIBLE into common French. He then accepted the invitation of LUKE 18:23 to sell all he had and give the proceeds to the poor. He joined a movement already then in existence, and came to lead it in a campaign of publicity to the effect that the “church of Rome was in a state of apostasy from the true faith of the gospel; that she was the harlot of Babylon, and the barren fig-tree which our Lord cursed; that we are not bound to obey the pope, who is not the true head of the church; that monasticism is like corrupt carrion and has the mark of the beast; and that masses and purgatory, the dedication of temples, and the worship of the saints are inventions of the devil.” No quotations are extant from the teachings of Pierre Waldo/Vaudès of Lyon, and likewise no pictorial depictions have survived the Inquisition; therefore I have employed as a substitute for such lost historical material a 19th-Century engraving of Friend [Elias Hicks](#), and a very [Waldensian](#) quotation from one of Friend Elias’s sermons:

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



The Waldo family is said to be descended from one Thomas Waldo of Lyon, who was also identified with these Waldensians, and who was perhaps Vaudès’s brother. Peter himself apparently never married. Another brother of Peter became a galley slave.

The followers of Peter Waldo were known as *Waldenses*, as well as *Leonists* (poor of Lyon) and *Sabatati* or *Insabatati* (wearers of *sabots*, that is, of the wooden shoes of the peasantry, the first *saboteurs* being people who threw their wooden shoes into the gears of a machine and brought it to a halt), and *Humiliatists* (professors of humility) — and [Henry Thoreau](#) was descended from them. Therefore when, in [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE](#)

2. The given name “Peter” for this man Vaudès is a name that first would appear in any extant record a full century and a half after that man’s death. A century and a half amounts to some six generations. In other words, the faithful of the 14th Century would be hypothesizing about a Founding Father of the 12th Century who actually was of roughly the generation of their great-great-grandparents. The given, or Christian, name they selected for this eponymous daddy may well have been selected to be identical with Peter the founder of the Roman church. Because of this, it is the unanimous opinion now, of Waldensian historians, that we can have no idea whatever, what the given name of the founder of this movement in Lyon, France in 1170 CE might actually have been.



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[WOODS](#), Thoreau plays around with strange and fanciful derivations of “Walden Pond” such as an eponymous “Squaw Walden,” and “Walled-In Pond,” and “Saffron Walden” in England (182-3), he is mentioning **by implication** a religious tradition with obvious similarities to his own manner of life, a tradition that was persecuted and virtually exterminated by the true believers of those dark ages. Even if we are scholars we must acknowledge the irony of such silence. It is a wink and a nod directed at others who may desire to live such a life, so incomprehensible to good Christians in Christendom. He is writing a book about how to lead that religious life in the midst of American progress and prosperity. Yet has anyone pointed to this association with the name “Walden” to you before? Hey, all you have to do is look in a good old dictionary, it’s not a big job of research.<sup>3</sup>

These Waldenses are predecessors of St. Francis, and predecessors of the Protestant movement, perhaps springing out of such earlier dissenting sects as the Albigensians or Cathari (against the heresy of which the Waldensians preached with great fervor), the Patarenes, and the Henricans. The main area of their persistence is the Cottian Alps south-west of Turin.

Waldo is a copse between Lavant and Goodwood in Sussex, England. We can establish that the root of this word is *weald*, *wold*, *wald*, *walt*, “a wood,” in Anglo-Saxon. That final “o” would be approximately equivalent to the definite article “the,” as for instance in *haelo* meaning the whole, health, what is integral, and *maenego* meaning the many, the multitude, what is made up of many members.

Those who embraced this religious discipline were also variously termed *Pauperes* or “poor ones,”<sup>4</sup> *Picards* or “those who read the Bible for themselves,”<sup>5</sup> *Waldenses*,<sup>6</sup> *Vaudois* and *Valdese* or “those who live in the valleys,” and finally [Huguenots](#) or people who are of no worldly worth because they have made a religious covenant, people who have “sought individual perfection apart from the Roman Church, rejected the official clergy, abstained from oaths and the use of force, and attempted in general to reintroduce primitive Christian fellowship and apostolic simplicity of living.”

The sociologist Henri Desroches has termed this *les religions de contraband*. The eight centuries between AD313, when Constantine (280?-337CE) began to transform the Christian Church into a mere apparatus of the state and Lactantius (240-320CE) began to accommodate its belief system to this new regime of power,<sup>7</sup> and the middle of the 1170s when Pierre Valdès began to teach that we should utilize the life of Jesus as the prime moral example for our own lives, were dark and wicked ages indeed, or at least, they were dark and wicked in Christendom.

3. Interestingly, although our annotated editions of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) in the English language talk about the newspaper receipt on the blank side of which Thoreau originally jotted down this word, and although they talk about Walden Street in Waltham, Massachusetts, the only edition of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) that I know of, that presents this information about Thoreau’s connection with the “Poor of Lyon” explicitly and bluntly, is the Spanish edition by Carlos Sánchez-Rodrigo and Parsifal Ediciones of Barcelona in 1989: *O Pobres de Lyon. Sociedad religiosa fundada por Pierre de Valdo a fines del siglo XII, que aspiraba a restituir la pobreza evangélica a la iglesia.*

4. The entire subject of the first chapter of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#).

5. Thus Thoreau’s “pickerel” metaphor.

6. To get this reference into his text, Thoreau pretends that “Waldenses” is merely a plural form for “Walden” like the more obvious “Waldens,” whereas in point of fact “Waldenses” is not a plural but a collective term.

7. According to the standard story, a document termed the “Donation of Constantine,” the Emperor donated the Roman state to the Christian church. However, in the 15th Century this document was discovered to be an 8th-Century forging. As usual in such cases, the official lie had been constructed by exact inversion: what had happened was that the Christian church had been donated to the Roman state.



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1748

March 19, Saturday (1747, Old Style): [Elias Hicks](#) was born on the Hempstead Plain of *Paumanok* “Long Island,” on “nineteenth day of Third month.” (I wouldn’t myself have a clue whether that meant Saturday, March 19th in 1747 according to the Old Style for which New Year’s Day was March 25th, or Sunday, June 19th of the year 1748, but *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* indicates that it meant 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 convincement” 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.”*

8. 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.”



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**1755**

On *Paumanok* “Long Island,” birthright Friend Elias, age 7, had a “night vision” 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 some eight feet in diameter. Elias’s father appeared outside the fire and requested him to be still. He awoke safe in bed. In later years, he often described this dream in his sermons as a revelation of the goodness of God, especially when speaking to young people:



**ELIAS HICKS**

*“Heaven is everywhere  
God is.”*



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**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.






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**1761**

 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."*

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**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 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):

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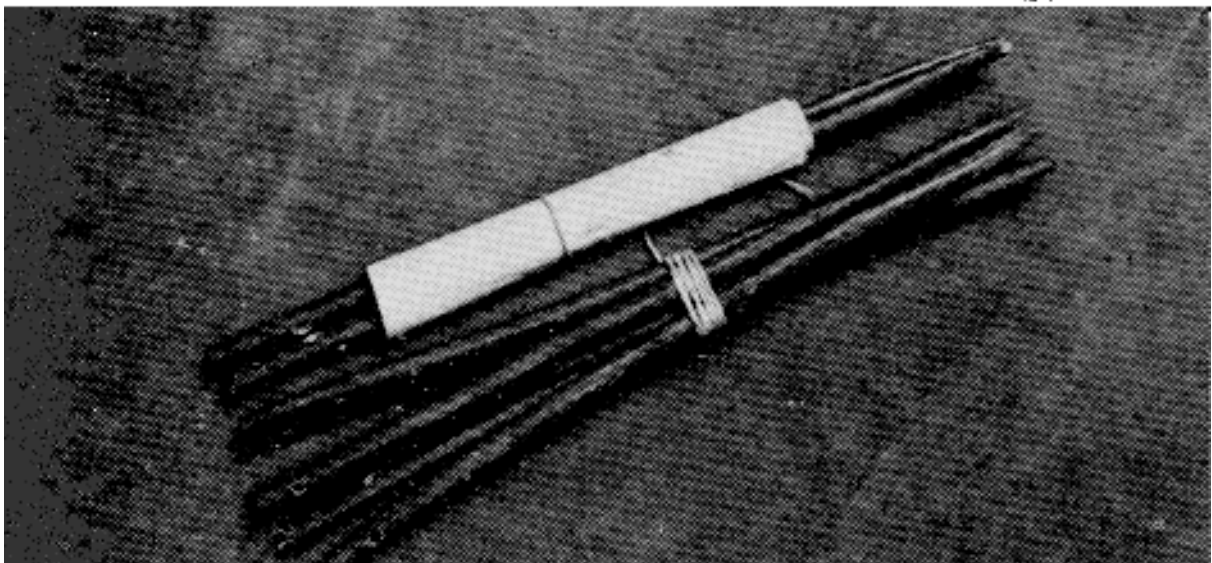
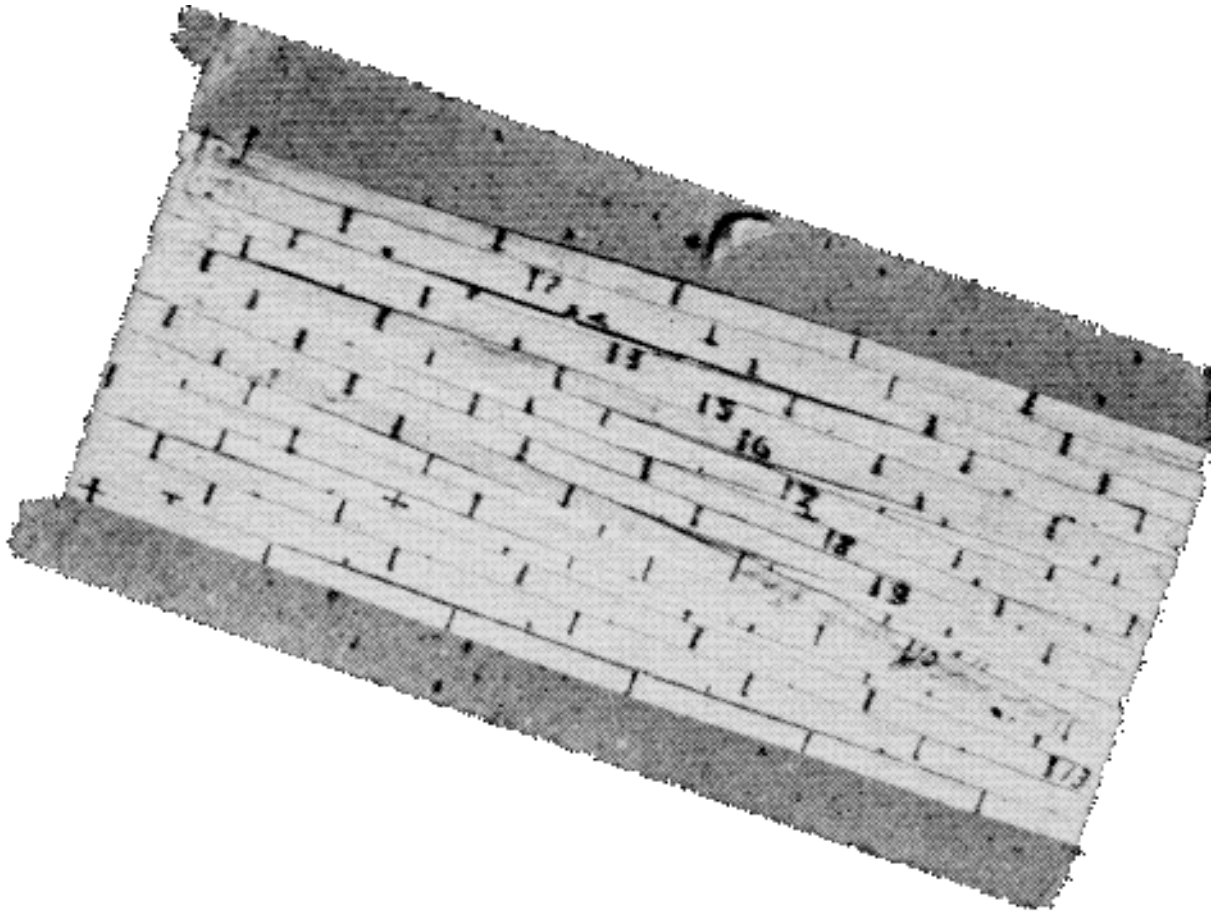
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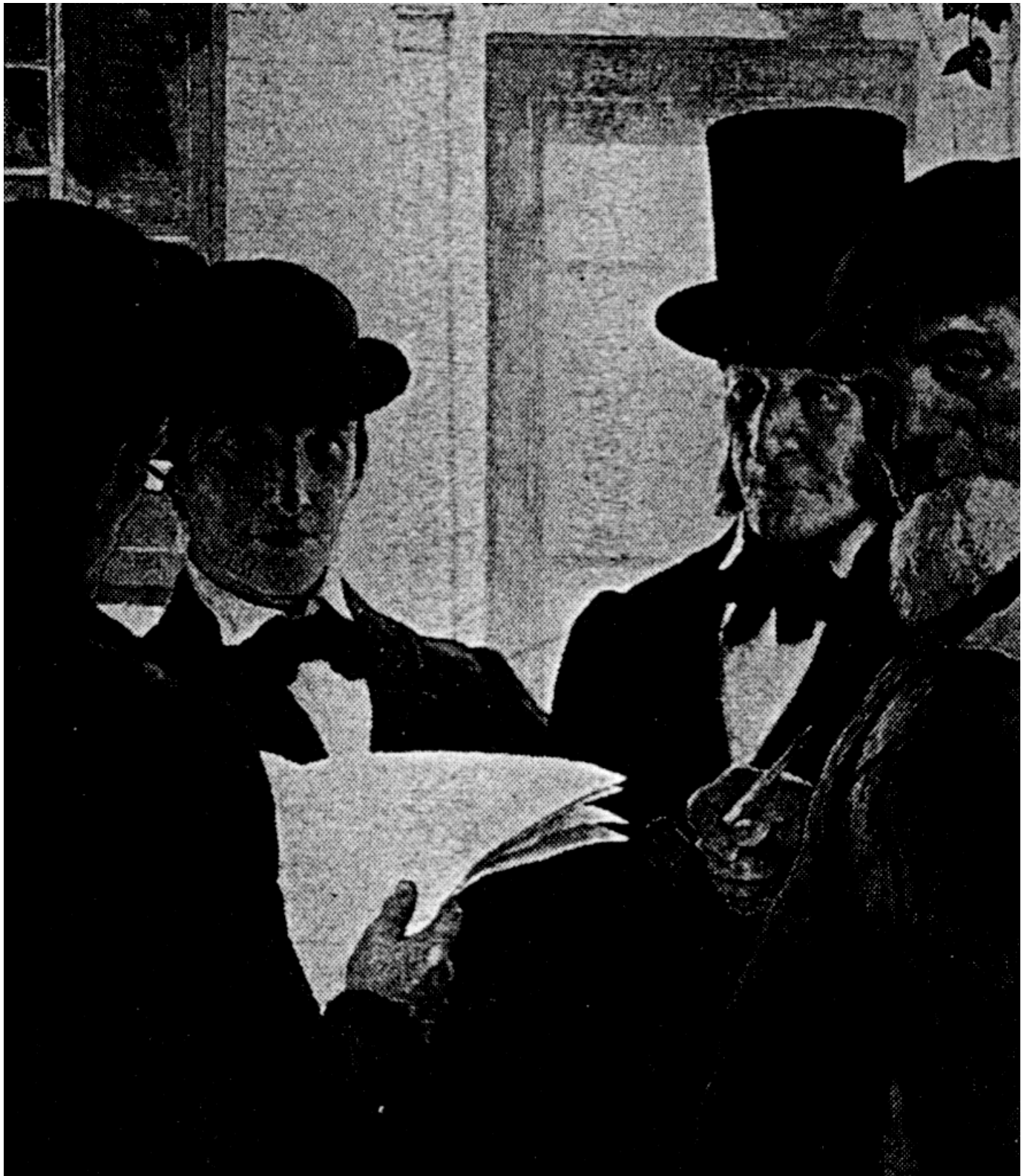
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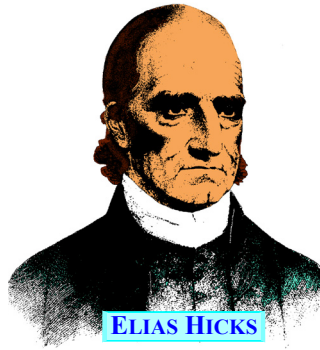
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**1773**

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.”*



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**1774**

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

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

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

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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



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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 inlist 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





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conduct shall render me worthy. J.L.”<sup>9</sup>

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.**

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9.These are per Morse, BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING, page 59.

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September: Friend [Elias Hicks](#) refused to participate in what was being termed the “American Revolution” or to

*“use any coercive force  
or compulsion  
by any means whatever;*



*not being overcome  
by evil,  
but overcoming  
evil  
with the good.”*



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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 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.**

On the honor system, Quakers everywhere were to free their slaves, and committees were organized to monitor the progress of the noncompliant.

**CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT**



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1778

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."<sup>10</sup>

"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 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

10. Quoted in Ruth M. Pitman, "Structures of Accountability," *QUAKER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT* #60 (Summer 1985), page 34.



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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. '11<sup>11</sup>

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

11. Quoted in Ezra Michener, A RETROSPECT OF EARLY QUAKERISM (Philadelphia: Zell, 1860), pages 191-192.



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1781

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

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

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

SHE COULD NEITHER READ NOR WRITE,  
YET IN HER OWN SPHERE  
SHE HAD NO SUPERIOR OR EQUAL...  
GOOD MOTHER FARE WELL.<sup>12</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

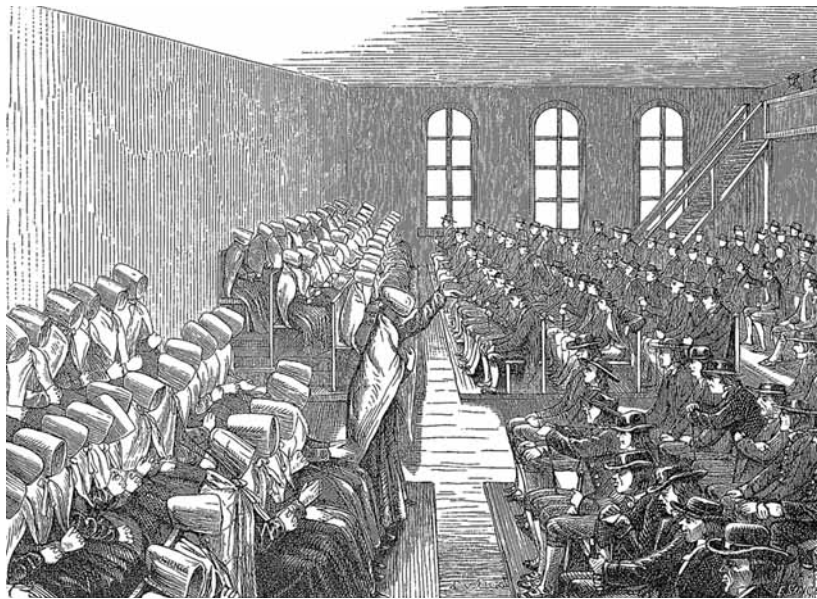
When Mumbet died in 1829, she was buried in the Sedgwick plot in Stockbridge near the center of the family circle. Her epitaph, written by Charles Sedgwick, reads: "She was born a slave and remained a slave for nearly thirty years. She could neither read nor write, yet in her own sphere she had no superior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



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ELIAS HICKS****FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)**1782**

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

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



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

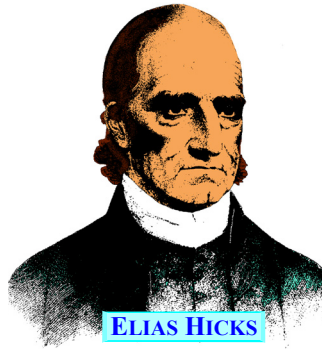


**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

and hurried off to spread the news.





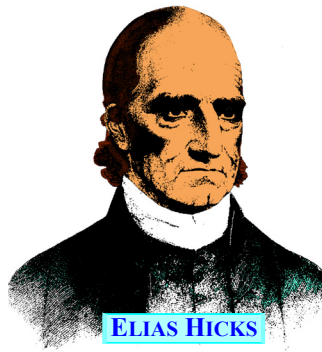
**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1791**

Friend Elias went out on his first really lengthy ministerial journey, with Andrew Underhill as companion. They were away over four months visiting 98 meetings (by the record) in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. Total mileage they put on their horses: 1,500 miles.





## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

## ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1793

June: Friend [Elias Hicks](#) of Long Island visited the monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#).<sup>13</sup>

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 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

13. Other famous-name visitors to [Nantucket Island](#): John Easton, former [Rhode Island](#) deputy governor, [Metacom](#), sachem of the [Wampanoag](#), Frederick Douglass, and [Henry Thoreau](#).



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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.



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

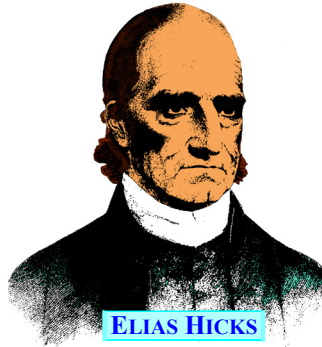
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1794

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

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

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



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](#)).



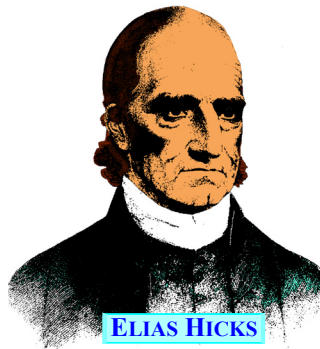
**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1797**

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.





**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

## **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.





**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1798**

By early in this year 69 "[Nicholites](#)" had applied to become members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

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 ELIAS HICKS

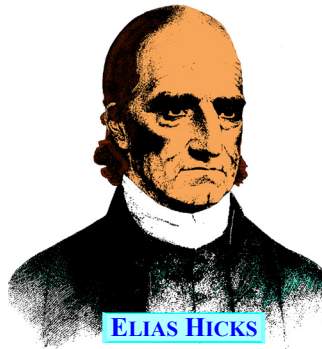
ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1800

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

*“stout it out”*



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

*“under care”*

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



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**



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

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

and

*"Broad Brim"*

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

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

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**




**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1801**

 [Friend Elias Hicks](#) went out on the fourth of his very extensive visits to Quaker meetings. On this mission, he went with Edmund Willis from the Jericho meetinghouse on Long Island (still extant, pictured below) to visit about 90 meetings in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, [Maryland](#), Delaware, and New Jersey. Total mileage they put on their horses: 1,630 miles.






**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1803**

 Friend [Elias Hicks](#) went out on the fifth of his very extensive visits to [Quaker](#) monthly meetings. On this mission, he went with Daniel Titus from the Jericho meetinghouse on Long Island (still extant, pictured below) to visit about 75 monthly meetings in New York State and in Canada. Total mileage they would put on their horses during this season: 1,575 miles.





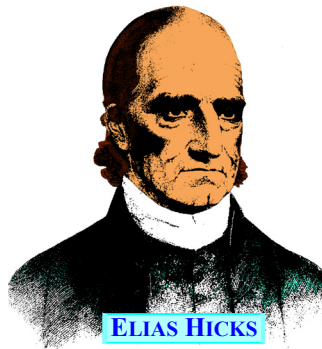
FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1805

→ Friend Lucretia Coffin began her career (first as student, then as teacher) at the coeducational boarding school<sup>14</sup> at Nine Partners northeast of Poughkeepsie, New York, Friend Elias being one of the partners and a frequent visiting speaker,



and Friend James Mott, Jr. being one of the teachers.



14. Even as late as 1857, even as libertarian a person as Walt Whitman would be using his editorial privileges at the Brooklyn Daily Times to urge the parents of daughters to “Educate them at home” rather than in such schools, in order to avoid the “thousand evil influences” to which girls are inherently so much more susceptible.

Our father Walt Whitman, despite his self-advertisements and the dogmatic insistences of our contemporary gays, seems to have embraced only himself.



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*At fourteen years of age I was placed with a younger sister, at the Friends' Boarding-School, in Dutchess County, State of New York; and continued there for more than two years without returning home. At fifteen, one of the teachers was leaving the school, I was chosen as an assistant, in her place. Pleased with the promotion, I strove hard to give satisfaction, and was gratified, on leaving the school, to have an offer of a situation as teacher, if I was disposed to remain, and informed that my services should entitle another sister to her education without charge. My father was, at that time, in successful business in Boston; but with his views of the importance of training a woman to usefulness, he and my mother gave their consent to another year being devoted to that institution.*

**LUCRETIA MOTT**



**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS


GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1807

 From Long Island, the daughters of [Friend Elias Hicks](#), Elizabeth, age 16, and Sarah, age 14, went to Nine Partners school and there became friends with Friend Lucretia Coffin, age 15.

LUCRETIA MOTT

At this point in his spiritual journey, Hicks was being

 led, in a clear manner, to show the ground from whence all darkness and unbelief proceeded; that it was from a want of due attention to, and right belief in, the **inward manifestation of divine light**, which reveals itself in the heart of man against sin and uncleanness; and at the same time shows what is right, and justifies for right doing. Therefore while men disregard this inward divine principle, of grace and truth, and do not believe in it, as **essential** and **sufficient** to **salvation**; they are in danger of becoming ... so blinded as not to believe in ... the very essential doctrines of perfection, as contained in the clear, rational, and positive injunction of our dear Lord; Be ye therefore perfect.... **It is by obedience to this inward light only**, that we are prepared for an admittance into the heavenly kingdom.

Friend Lucretia's take on these youthful years would be:





**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

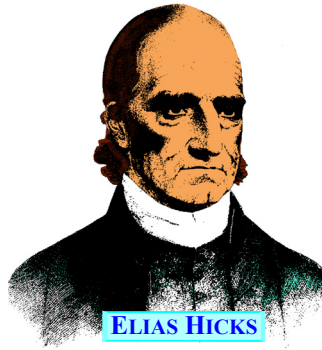
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1811



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

SLAVERY



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



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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

**ELIAS HICKS<sup>15</sup>**

**PREFACE**

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

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

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

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

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



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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

**OBSERVATIONS, &C.**

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

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

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

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

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



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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encouraged?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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reminded of it by the lash of their cruel drivers. But here I must stop, as it is too much for nature to pursue farther the dreadfully degrading and cruel theme! And is it not enough to awaken and arouse to sympathy the hardest heart, and lead it to exclaim aloud with abhorrence against such brutal and unrighteous doings? Is it possible that there should be in the United States a man, or would he be worthy to bear the dignified name of man, were he so void of the feelings of humanity, as to purchase and make use of the labour of his fellow citizens, his kindred and his friends, produced in the horrid manner above stated? Would not every sympathetic heart, at the sight of a piece of sugar, or other article, that he believed to be the fruit of their labour, produced with agonizing hearts and trembling limbs, be filled with anguish and his eyes gush with tears? Would it not awaken in the feeling, unbiassed mind, a sense of all the cruel sufferings above related? Would it not, instead of pleasing his palate, be deeply wounding to the heart? and, if rightly considered, cause cries to arise from the bottom of his soul, in moving accents of supplication to the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, that he would be graciously pleased to put a stop to such complicated misery and great distress of his creature man? But some, who have not given the subject a full and impartial discussion, may object and say, the slaves in the West Indies and southern states, are not our fellow citizens and friends. But it cannot be objected by the impartial and the just, who know, that although in a limited sense, as applied to a particular town or city, they may not be so, yet upon the general and universal scale of nature, they are our brethren and fellow creatures; all privileged by nature and nature's God, with liberty and free-agency, and with the blessings attendant thereon; of which they are not to be deprived, but by their own consent; and, therefore, have a right to demand of us the same justice and equity, as our fellow citizens and friends, in a more limited sense, as above stated, could have done; and to whom we are accountable, for every act of injustice and omission of doing to them as we would they should do unto us, and for which we shall all have to answer ere long, at the dread tribunal bar, that we can neither awe nor bribe, but shall receive a just retribution for all our works, whether good or evil. The foregoing queries and answers, with the annexed observations, are not intended to criminate such of my friends and fellow citizens whose residence is in the slave-holding states, and necessitated to partake more or less of the produce of slavery; as it is a known principle, that necessity hath no law--but only to persuade those who are not exposed to such necessity, to do all in their power to discourage and put an end to that cruel and abominable sin, of holding our fellow creatures in slavery; as no one living out of the slave-holding States, can plead any necessity for trading in the produce of the labour of slaves, to enrich and aggrandize themselves, on the groans and misery of their fellow creatures; neither can any plead the necessity, who are living in the free States, to indulge themselves in the luxuries raised by the labour of slaves, in the West Indies and other places; but every one remember, to do unto others as they would that others should do to them, when placed under the like circumstances.





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Two teachers from the Nine Partners school, [Friend James Mott, Jr.](#) and [Friend Lucretia Coffin](#), were wed in the First Day Meeting for Worship at the Southern District Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at 2d and Pine Streets, Philadelphia.<sup>16</sup>

I, \_\_\_\_\_ take thee \_\_\_\_\_  
to be my wife/husband promising with divine assistance  
to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband/a true and  
loving wife so long as we both shall live.

*"I, James Mott take thee Lucretia Coffin to be my wife  
promising with divine assistance to be unto thee a  
loving and faithful husband so long as we both shall  
live."*

*"I, Lucretia Coffin take thee James Mott to be my  
husband promising with divine assistance to be unto  
thee a true and loving wife so long as we both shall  
live."*

**JAMES MOTT**

**LUCRETIA MOTT**

*At the early age of eighteen, I married James Mott, of New York – an attachment formed while at boarding-school. He came to Philadelphia and entered into business with my father. The fluctuation in the commercial world for several years following our marriage, owing to the embargo, and the [War of 1812](#), the death of my father, and the support of a family of five children devolving on my mother, surrounded us with difficulties. We resorted to various modes of obtaining a comfortable living; at one time engaged in the retail dry goods business, then resuming the charge of a school, and for another year was engaged in teaching. These trials, in early life, were not without their good effect in disciplining the mind, and leading it to set a just estimate on worldly pleasures. I, however, always loved the good, in childhood desired to do the right, and had no faith in the generally received idea of human depravity. My sympathy was early enlisted for the poor slave, by the class-books read in our schools, and the pictures of the slave-ship, as published by Clarkson. The ministry of [Elias Hicks](#) and others, on the subject of the unrequited labor of slaves, and their example in refusing the products of slave labor, all had their effect in*

16. One need not wonder whether there was PC political correctness and true parallelism in the 19th Century between a phrase such as “loving and faithful” as applied to a male and a phrase such as “true and loving” as applied to a female, because the evidence of the lives speaks louder than any words. It is a fact that people sometimes spoke of [Friend James Mott](#) as “Mr. Lucretia Mott” in mockery of the obvious parallelism in their marriage (Hey, people would address Joe DiMaggio as Mr. Marilyn Monroe, so go figure), and it is a fact that there is on record no sort of response either from Lucretia or from James. I might mention also that [Friend Lucretia Mott](#)’s attitude toward marriage was that it was a sacred union having nothing whatever to do with any laws or scraps of paper that governments used in attempts to regulate it. She and James had a beautiful parchment wedding certificate, signed in the Quaker manner by all those present at the ceremony, but much later it was discovered that at one point in her married life Lucretia had needed a piece of tough paper to patch a child’s toy, so she had casually snipped off one of the corners of this certificate with her sewing scissors.



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*awakening a strong feeling in their behalf. The unequal condition of women in society also early impressed my mind. Learning, while at school, that the charge for the education of girls was the same as that for boys, and that when they became teachers, women received but half as much as men for their services, the injustice of this was so apparent, that I early resolved to claim for my sex all that an impartial Creator had bestowed.*



Between 1812 and 1828 Lucretia would bear six children, five of whom would survive to adulthood.

**DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.**




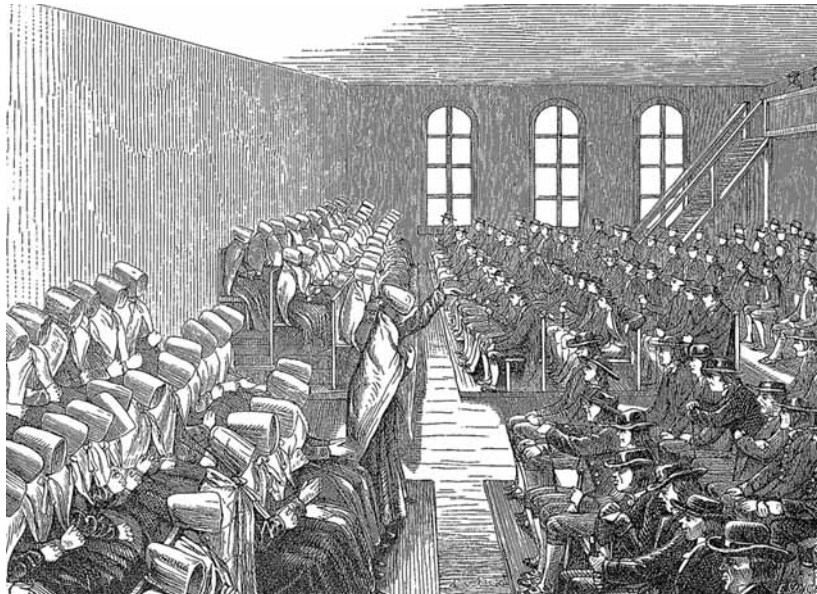
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**1816**

 Friend [Elias Hicks](#) began to go from [Quaker](#) meeting to Quaker meeting as an authorized Quietist “traveling minister.”



When, in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), [Henry Thoreau](#) would argue for the liberty to travel unnecessarily on the Sabbath, he would be taking up a Hicksian cudgel against one of the pet projects of the very most prominent citizen of his town, Squire Samuel Hoar. For a story had it that when the great hurricane of September 23, 1815 had devastated the woodlands around [Concord](#), one old farmer had exclaimed:

*I wish the wind'd come on Sunday! -Sam Hoar would've stopped it.*



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A WEEK: History has remembered thee; especially that meek and humble petition of thy old planters, like the wailing of the Lord's own people, "To the gentlemen, the selectmen" of Concord, praying to be erected into a separate parish. We can hardly credit that so plaintive a psalm resounded but little more than a century ago along these Babylonish waters. "In the extreme difficult seasons of heat and cold," said they, "we were ready to say of the Sabbath, Behold what a weariness is it." – "Gentlemen, if our seeking to draw off proceed from any disaffection to our present Reverend Pastor, or the Christian Society with whom we have taken such sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company, then hear us not this day, but we greatly desire, if God please, to be eased of our burden on the Sabbath, the travel and fatigue thereof, that the word of God may be nigh to us, near to our houses and in our hearts, that we and our little ones may serve the Lord. We hope that God, who stirred up the spirit of Cyrus to set forward temple work, has stirred us up to ask, and will stir you up to grant, the prayer of our petition; so shall your humble petitioners ever pray, as in duty bound –" And so the temple work went forward here to a happy conclusion. Yonder in Carlisle the building of the temple was many wearisome years delayed, not that there was wanting of Shittim wood, or the gold of Ophir, but a site therefor convenient to all the worshippers; whether on "Buttrick's Plain," or rather on "Poplar Hill."

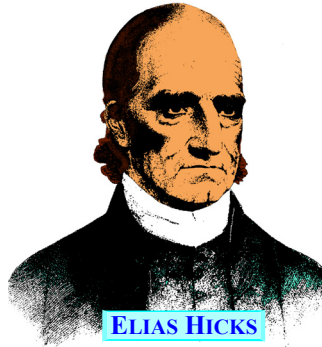


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Many of the local historians of [Concord](#), and many Thoreauvian scholars, have made this sort of connection. It is the sort of connection in which they deal, between one prominent citizen of Concord with prominent attitudes and another prominent citizen of Concord with prominent attitudes. It is, I might say, an easy association. But how many such historians and scholars know that when Thoreau would grow up in Concord in the following generation, and would take such attitudes, he was seconding the attitudes of the great Quaker preacher, Friend Elias?



For Hicks had pronounced in opposition to the “Blue Laws,” laws which for instance entitled the Quakers of Philadelphia to stretch chains across the public street during their First Day silent worship in order to prevent the noise of the passage of carriages. For Hicks, First Day was just another day, of no greater or lesser holiness than any other weekday. He would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on First Day just as he would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on Fourth Day (Wednesday). But this was not merely a matter of preference for Friend Elias, any more than it was a matter of preference for Squire Hoar: it was a principle. Blue laws were laws, and laws were enacted by governments, and therefore such laws were infringements upon religion, sponsored by the state apparatus which should be allowed have no connection whatever with religion. In this direction lay a great danger, sponsored by the Squires of this world who would like nothing better than to be able to legislate the religious convictions of other people. Thus, when the Governor of New York issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation, Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was greatly alarmed, that he

*“has  
by recommending a religious act  
united the civil and ecclesiastical authorities,  
and broken the line of partition between them,  
so wisely established  
by our enlightened Constitution,  
which in the most positive terms  
forbids  
any alliance between church and state,  
and is the only barrier  
for the support of our liberty and independence.*

*For if that is broken down  
all is lost  
and we become the vassals of priestcraft,  
and designing men,  
who are reaching after power  
by subtle contrivance  
to domineer over the consciences  
of their fellow citizens.”*



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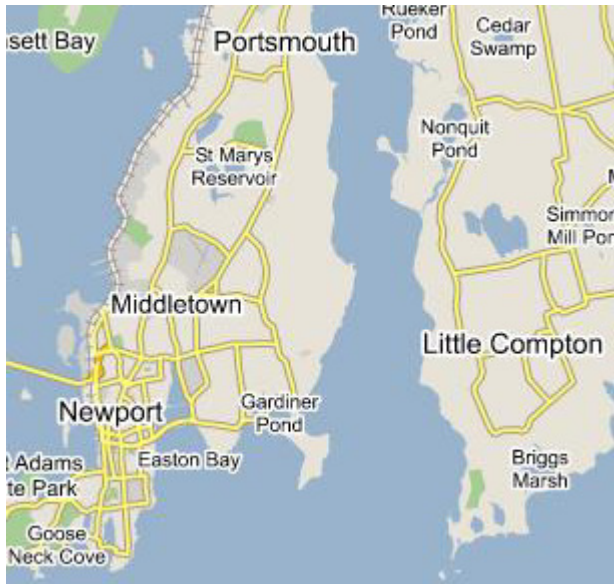
The terminology and the cadence was not Thoreauvian, but Henry Thoreau's attitudes as proclaimed in A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS would be identical with this.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The Fair Quaker<sup>17</sup>

The fair Quaker maiden, neat, elegant, plain,
With justice the praise of the world may obtain;
Content with the beauty by nature bestowed,
Unpractised the licence by custom allow'd,
Of fashion regardless she thinks herself drest,
Without tort'ring her hair or exposing her breast:
But the modest reluctance that faintly reveals,
Enhances each charm that it shows or conceals.
The girls who have borrowed gay burdens from art
And are of themselves a very small part,
With envy shall view ev'ry sweet native grace,
That breathes in her form, or that blooms in her face;
with envy shall sigh, while their hearts must confess,
That lovely Simplicity's beauty's best dress.

February 29, Thursday: Friend Elias Hicks the traveling Quaker minister appeared at the meetinghouse in Little Compton, Rhode Island:



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 29th of 2nd M 1816 / Rode this Morning with my H to Portsmouth to Attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting stoped at Uncle Thurstons & left John who we took along with us - from thence to the meeting house where we found the gathering larger than usual a large number expecting to meet Elias Hicks but were disappointed he being today at L Compton - May Hicks appeard in supplication & H Dennis in testimony very lively & pertinent. -

17. From the Latin of Vincent Bourne, Port Folio (Philadelphia), March 1816, page 259




## ELIAS HICKS

## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

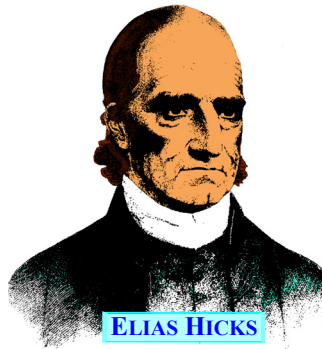
### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*In the last meeting we had considerable buisness - the case of poor D C again refere'd Daniel Cobb of Gorham (Mane) & Ruth Almy Daughter of the late Peleg Almy published their intentions of marriage & the meeting was adjourned to the 19th of Next M for them to receive their answer - We dined & Uncle Thurstons & in consequence of the very hevy travelling -left Hannah & John there & roder home alone-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 2, Saturday: The King of Kandy (Sri Lanka) was deposed.

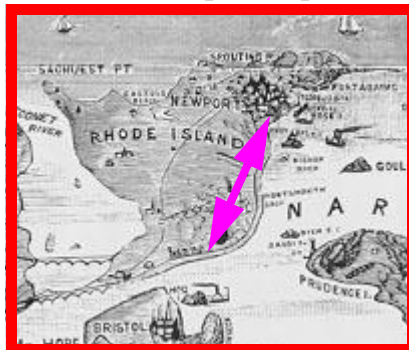
Friend [Elias Hicks](#) the traveling [Quaker](#) minister arrived in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was lonesome for his wife and child, who were visiting in nearby [Portsmouth](#):



ELIAS HICKS

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

*7th day 2nd of 3rd M / Elias Hicks & his companion Isaac Hicks arrived in Town the Afternoon. -  
What a poor lonely creature man is ? without a Wife ! Tho' I get along comfortably & Sister Ruth came down & swept out the rooms &c for me this afternoon, yet I begin very much to miss my dear H & little John - should have gone to Portsmouth after them this Afternoon had it not been very Rainy*



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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March 3, Sunday: Spain had protested against the fitting out in US ports of vessels that were to sail under the flags of her revolted South American provinces, and to assist Texas and Mexico, which also had rebelled. The US Congress therefore passed an act forbidding the fitting out within the jurisdiction of the United States of any vessel to cruise against any power with which the United States was at peace. A fine of \$10,000 and imprisonment not to exceed 10 years were to be the penalties for engaging to fit out any such vessel.

Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was present at the [Quaker](#) worship in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), and expounded for some couple of hours:

*1st day 3rd of 3rd M / Rose this Morning very Early & rode to [Portsmouth](#) to bring my H & John to Town reached Uncle Thurstons while they were eating breakfast & return'd with them before Meeting time. - At Meeting we had Elias Hicks - soon After I took my seat my mind became engaged earnestly to be centered on the true minister without dependance on any outward instrument & while I was thus engaged & had in good measure succeeded in getting my mind fixed Abigail Robinsons rose & expressed her concern that we might so fix our minds on Jesus Christ who was ever ready to help all who call upon him As to render our meetings proffitable, tho' the instruments might have nothing to communicate this she did in short but very neat & feeling testimony which I have no doubt reached the witness in many minds - Then Elias was engaged in a testimony about two hours long wherein he advanced Many Truths with a good Share of Gospel Authority, & some Ideas which I considered speculative one of which I very much Doubt which is that the Slave Trade has been productive of more evil in the world than War - My opinion is that War has been productive of more Evil by far than the Slave Trade - At the close of the Meeting it was requested that general information be given to the inhabitants of the Town of his being here but as meeting held till nearly two OClock & Our Meeting beginning at 3 OClock, but little information was spread & the gathering was but very little larger than in the morning -Elias was not very extensive in communication; his chief concern was towards those who were desirous to find Peace, but were unable to in consequence of the many hindrances that were in the way these he pointed to the right & sure way & addressed the Youth most excellently - what he said in the Afternoon was in my opinion without exception, & I desire not to be found to rigidly in the seat of judgement with respect to what he said in the forenoon, but I must say many things that he did say were to my understanding doubtful - he is a great Doctrinal preacher & I have no doubt is highly favor'd & has done much good in the World, Yet however has carried some points to far. - L Clarke &*



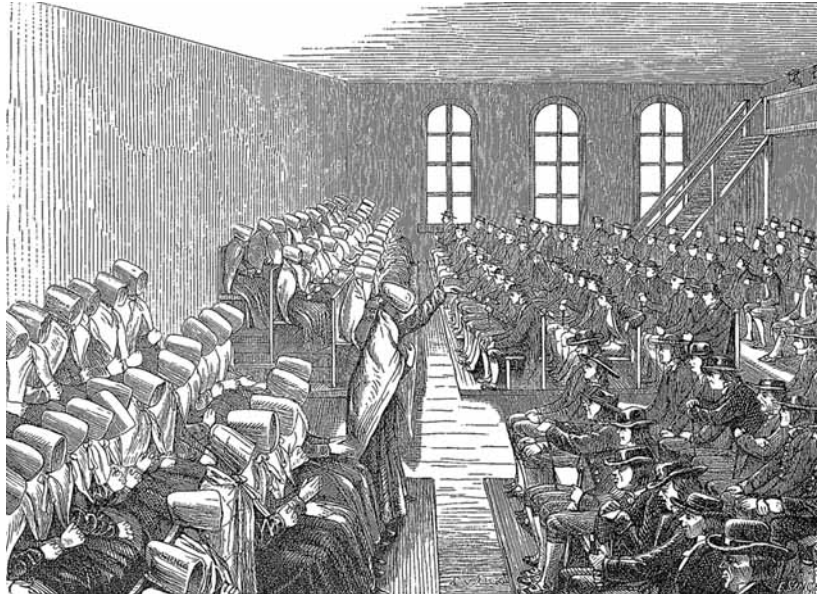


**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*Br J Rodman set the evening with us. —*



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



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1817



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

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

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

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



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

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

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



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



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

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



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1819**



After [Friend Elias Hicks](#) had preached at the Hudson meetinghouse in this year, he was informed that [Hannah Barnard](#) had been in attendance, and had said that his message had greatly moved her — in part because his expressions were so similar to those for which she herself had been [disowned](#). Friend Chuck Fager has analyzed the matter as follows:


In the Society or out, Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) remained faithful to the Quaker Peace Testimony, later organizing a Peace Society whose meetings soon became larger than those at Hudson Friends Meeting. Asked once if the breach between her and the meeting were irreparable, Barnard replied, with a fine dig at Quaker process, that it was not, because when the meeting understood that it "had accused me wrongfully, they had only to confess it, and I could freely forgive them." Friend [Hannah Barnard](#)'s case was famous among Quakers of her time, and for decades afterward; a spate of pamphlets and books appeared, arguing the issues one way or the other. The breach she exposed continued to widen: in Ireland, most of the "New Light" Friends either resigned or were disowned. When [Elias Hicks](#) preached at the Hudson Meetinghouse almost twenty years later, in 1819, Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) was reportedly in the audience, and Hicks was told that she said his message had greatly moved her, in part because his ideas were identical to those for which she had been [disowned](#). Hicks's religious witness was in many ways similar to Friend [Hannah Barnard](#)'s, not least in the fact that it was evoking the increasing opposition of the evangelical establishment, opposition that was to have fateful results for the Religious Society of Friends. But that's another story. Hicks visited [Friend Hannah Barnard](#) in Hudson in 1824, and a year later she died peacefully at home.



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

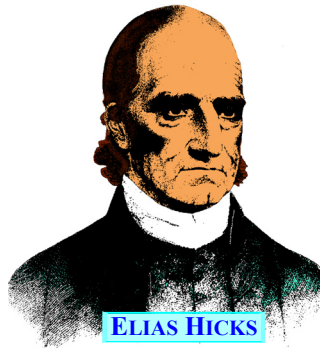
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

 May 31, Monday: New-York announced a balance of \$1850.34 in its Treasury. Its income over the previous year amounted to \$682,829.51, Its total expenses were \$671,319.83, or \$5.60 per capita.

In a little frame house near Huntington in West Hills built by his father, on Paumanok Long Island<sup>18</sup> near the [Elias Hicks](#) farm, Walt Whitman was born. He would, like his Quaker neighbor, grow up to be among other things a carpenter.<sup>19</sup>



One is grateful for [Whitman's] carnality, after the frigidity and bloodlessness of Thoreau, Emerson, or even Hawthorne.



ELIAS HICKS

*"When the mind becomes  
sensual,  
it is like the moon in  
eclipse."*

His father the housebuilder was Walter Whitman (1789-1855) and his mother, a lifelong illiterate, and Quaker, was Louisa Ven Velsor Whitman (1795-1873). His brothers and sisters would be:

- Jesse Whitman (1818-1870)
- Mary Whitman (1821-1899)
- Hannah Whitman (1823-1908)
- Andrew Jackson Whitman (1827-1863)
- George Washington Whitman (1829-1901)
- Thomas Jefferson Whitman (1833-1890)

18. It is now but yards from an expressway, Route 110. Walt was only in residence there for his first four years. You'll only be there four minutes unless you have a consuming interest in peg carpentry and whiskey jugs.

19. The Whitman father was intensely political, and thus the three Whitman boys were named in honor of three American Founding Fathers.



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

- Edward Whitman (1835-1892)


### **“Memoranda”**

Was born May 31, 1819, in my father's farm-house, at West Hills, L.I., New York State. My parents' folks mostly farmers and sailors – on my father's side, of English – on my mother's, (Van Velsor's) from Hollandic immigration. There was, first and last, a large family of children; (I was the second.) We moved to Brooklyn while I was still a little one in frocks – and there in B. I grew up out of frocks – then as child and boy went to the public schools – then to work in a printing office. When only sixteen or seventeen years old, and for three years afterward, I went to teaching country schools down in Queens and Suffolk counties, Long Island, and “boarded round.” Then, returning to New York, work'd as printer and writer, (with an occasional shy at “poetry.”) [Page 1297]

No member of his immediate family would ever have a clue as to what Walt had been up to, either in regard to his sex life or in regard to his poetry. At his funeral, surviving family would be amazed at the interest that was being displayed.

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” IS FABULATION, HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS****ELIAS HICKS****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM****1820**

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



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





**ELIAS HICKS**

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the painter Hicks positions in these paintings.



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



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1822

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

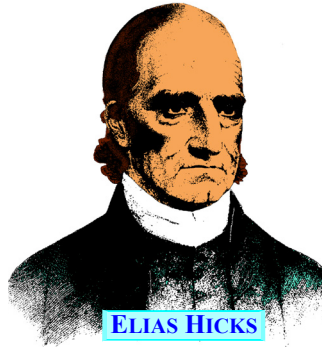
Read about this “New Light” controversy:

THE “NEW LIGHTS”

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

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

About 35 of these “New Lights” were being disowned in Lynn,<sup>20</sup> and almost that many in nearby Salem. Micah Ruggles and Lydia Dean were involved in this set of beliefs.



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

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




**ELIAS HICKS**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**



**Quaker Meeting for Worship**

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


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

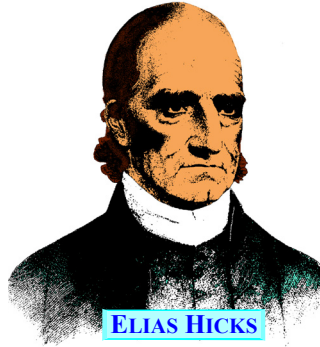


FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

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



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

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



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1824**



Friend [Elias Hicks](#) visited [Hannah Barnard](#) in Hudson, New York.

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



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



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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

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

**ALSO,**

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

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

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



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

### **PREFACE.**

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

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

Philadelphia, 4th month 14th, 1824.



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

### **DARK DESIGNS MANIFESTED.**

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





**ELIAS HICKS**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

Letter from Thomas Eddy to John Warder.

NEW YORK, 10th Month 18th, 1822.

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

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

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

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

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



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

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



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



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

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



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



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

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



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

It is indeed a most deplorable state of society when it is considered that a Quarterly Meeting should sanction a man to go abroad to visit other Yearly Meetings, who has been for some time propagating principles which tend to destroy the christian religion. If however the sentiments of each individual could have been known and declared, there would have been exhibited such a formidable opposition, that such a certificate would never have been granted him; it was obtained in consequence of his adherents on Long Island immediately getting up one after another expressing approbation, so that those who otherwise might have said something to discountenance the measure, were deterred from expressing their sentiments, besides it so happened that very few were present from New York, except those who were so blindly prejudiced in his favor that they cannot persuade themselves he can do or say any thing wrong. It is said that only two Friends showed any disapprobation and one of them stated he thought it would be very incorrect to retain in the certificate as it was read by the Clerk, the words "fully united with;" a particular adherent of Elias Hicks, remarked, that as so many had united he thought it would be very proper to retain those words; the Friends again urged for them to be left out. The Meeting then directed they should be omitted; yet notwithstanding this conclusion of the Meeting, the Clerk has furnished a certificate in which those words are inserted!<sup>21</sup> In short if we believe the words of Christ that the house divided against itself is brought to desolation, then we may tremble when we find such a man countenanced in advancing doctrines that go to destroy the direct foundation of our society, and lay waste its first principles, and that he should be permitted to go to other places to produce the same divisions that he has already produced at New York. The injury that society has already received through the conduct of this man has been very great. Highly respectable persons of other denominations, charge our Society with being Unitarians; when they are told this charge is untrue they reply they have heard E. Hicks openly and publicly avow this doctrine, and as he is an acknowledged minister in the Society of Friends, and as they allow him to go about the country to hold meetings, of course the doctrines delivered by him must be considered as held by the society. It is very humiliating to observe there are ministers among us who so much admire E. Hicks

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



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

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





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

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

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



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

FINIS.

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



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

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



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

Signed, 12th month, 19th, 1822.

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



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

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

(Signed) E. Hicks

Philadelphia, 12 mo. 21, 1822.

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

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



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

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



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

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



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

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





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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

A CITIZEN.

Philadelphia, Dec. 9th, 1822.



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

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



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



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

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

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



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

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

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1824.**





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### **PRELIMINARY REMARKS.**

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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all sin."

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

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



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

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



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

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

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





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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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



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

L.P.



November 7, Sunday: Water rose 421 centimeters above normal in the worst flood to date in Saint Petersburg, and 200 lost their lives.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) seized an opportunity to warn other local [Quakers](#) to distrust the New Doctrines of Friend [Elias Hicks](#):

*1st day 7th of 11th M / Silent Meetings. - but pretty well attended My mind tho' some favourd was at times scattered - In the evening called at Dorcas Earls & had conversation with Sarah & Phebe on the subject of New Doctrines afloat among friends particularly as delivered by Elias Hicks - bore my testimony against it pretty faithfully. -*



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

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

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

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



December 8, Wednesday: On 8th day 12th month of 1824 Friend [Elias Hicks](#) delivered a sermon at the Byberry Friends Meeting that was taken down in Short Hand by M.T.C. Gould, and would in the following year be published in Philadelphia by Joseph & Edward Parker:

My mind, since we have been sitting silently together, has been led to a feeling view of the excellency of love; pure undefiled love; its dignity, its majesty, and its power. It stands over and above all: it is above all price; – it cannot be bought. If a man would give all the substance of his house for love; it would be utterly contemned. It was, no doubt, that which led the apostle, formerly, to address his brethren on this wise: "Let brotherly love continue."

Now, what is this brotherly love, my friends? – this true brotherly love? I apprehend we may see something of it, in a family of children, all of the same parent; why, it leads and instructs all, and keeps all in their proper allotment, under the direction of a pious and wise parent, who begins with his children when young, very young; and if he is, as he ought to be, possessed of love, – his love to his tender offspring is equal to his love for his own soul. He begins with them, when they have a being, one after another; and he instructs them according to their age and preparation to receive instruction. And in a large family of brothers and sisters, there are many states, all somewhat different from each other, in point of age





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and acquirements; the parent begins with the first, and leads them on, so that they are prepared to receive a different kind of instruction, and greater knowledge and information from him, than the younger brothers and sisters.

But here, if brotherly love prevails, no envy gets in rather younger do not envy the elder, because the father informs them of higher pursuits, which are beyond the reach of the younger, and which they cannot understand. And as they keep in love and fellowship and in obedience to the father, they are all content with his disposing toward them. They attend individually to their own lessons of instruction. Their meals are all meted out, in proportion, and in agreement with, their several states and conditions; and yet there is a diversity in the whole, not all being capacitated alike for receiving instruction, or any thing else. The elder ones have their proper places in the family, all in regular gradation one above another.

The younger ones, seeing the elder advance beyond what they know and experience, are stimulated with a desire for this advanced state. As they keep in love to one another, it does not raise any envy or dislike, but all go on in harmony. Now, these are the effects, of pure undefiled love. This is that love, of which we read so much; the excellency of which is so highly desirable; and which is said to be stronger than death. Oh! its excellency, its dignity, and its power! What wonders it does in the creation! He that is the author of it, assigns of it, like a pious father dealing out to his children, to every one who is obedient to his manifested will, and agreeable to his state and condition to receive.

The elder will always be ahead in advancement, if he is equally obedient and faithful; and yet there is no envy, no strife: "for where envy and strife is, there is contention and every evil work." But in a well ordered family of children. these things cannot rise; for if they all stand in their proper places, envy hath no place; and strife is not known.

Now, my friends, there is nothing, I apprehend, that can keep families together; and preserve, harmony and concord, but love – all powerful love. However, as I observed, we read much of it, and of its power and sufficiency; yet we cannot gain it through that medium. All that we can read and hear about it, gives us no possession at all. There is but one way in which we can come to know it; and be blessed with it. We cannot purchase it with money: no, it is above all price. How are we then: obtain it, my beloved friends? There is but one only way – there never was but one only way – and that is faithfulness and submission to the father's discipline; faithfulness and submission to the father's discipline. For every prudent, godly, and wise parent has a discipline his family. If he has wisdom to direct, and his children are obedient to his will, all will be subject to this discipline; subject to this law of the family; each standing in his own proper allotment, without grudging, and without envy. So it will be, and so it must be, with our Heavenly Father's family; for all his children must be taught of him. "The Lord's



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children are all taught of the Lord, in righteousness are they established, and great is the peace of these children."

Here we have a view of the subject outwardly; but it gives us no possession at all. It is but the letter; it is not to be depended upon. We must come home within ourselves. We must come to know our hearts cleansed, purified, and emptied of every thing which is in opposition to this pure and holy principle. Now this is great work. It is a work of God upon the soul; for man cannot do it himself.

We have all fallen away from this pure, undefiled love. There is another who has got possession of our hearts; "the strong man armed." While he keeps the city, the goods are at peace: but when a stronger than he comes in and turns him out, then he call spoil his goods.

What is stronger than the strong man? Pure, undefiled love is stronger; for God is love, and they that dwell in love, dwell in God, and God in them. Now here we may see and behold what to do. We feel and know, in ourselves, that while we are in a natural state; while we are unredeemed and not saved, our hearts are filled with many guests, - many beloveds. Here divine love cannot enter and get a place of residence. If it for a moment breaks in upon us, and makes us feel its excellency; it is soon crowded out by these many beloveds. We turn away our attention, and lose the feelings which are sometimes witnessed, while it is shed abroad in our hearts. Now, here the divine visitor manifests himself, and shows the design of his coming; that it is in order to bind the strong man in us, who has taken the seat of God and of love in our hearts; - the man of sin and son of perdition; or man's strong will, his strong and ungoverned passions, which have grown up in him, by indulging his propensities beyond truth and righteousness.

This is the strong man in the soul, which stands in direct opposition to God, and to pure undefiled love. It is selfish, and all it does is to gratify self: all it does while under the power of this man of sin and son of perdition, is to exalt itself, no matter how.

The great work which we have to do is, turn to the Lord, when he is pleased to call upon us, to plead with us, as no doubt he has times with all of us. We must endeavour to fee the mollifying influence of his love; we must listen and attend to this holy visitor. We must give way to him in our hearts, and permit him to dispossess the man of sin; for he has come to bind the strong man armed, and to turn him out to clear our hearts of all our strong passions, our cultivated desires, and selfish will. We should, therefore unite, with the operation of this divine principle of God in the soul. It is a living principle, it is the light and life, by which all the children of men are enlightened, and shown their condition. By it they discover the enmity that exists between this divine love, and the man of sin; for there is great enmity between the two seeds. One to bruise the head, and the other to bruise the heel. The man of sin and son of perdition cannot bruise the head; for the true head is



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the seed of God in the soul. He can do nothing but to undermine and deceive, by his working and deceptive power. Here every individual has a great work to do, under the leading and influence of this divine visitor, the light and love of God in our own souls. He comes in at times and seasons, when, in the cool of the day, the mind is a little retired from the continual exertions and buzzing about its own business. Whenever it can find the soul in a state of quiet, it comes in, and makes it sensible of its condition. Blessed be his great and glorious name; he is visiting all the children of men with this divine love; for God is love: – and by this principle he works upon the children of men. By it, he endeavours to bring them off from that which is against his nature

Man, in his fallen state, is a heap of hatred and opposition to divine love; and hatred and love cannot abide in the same place at the same time. And as we yield to temptations, evil of every description arises in the soul, and stands in direct opposition to God, and his law and light. The great work, therefore, is to turn inward, and wait in holy silence to feel the arising of the love light and love of God there; and in the same proportion as we yield, our love will begin to rise. It will break forth as the morning. Yea, if we are faithful to its divine influence, it will cause our darkness to be as the noon day, anti thus our hearts will become emptied. They will become as a vacuum, when the divine love and light shall have banished all these evils; and when all combustible matter shall be turned out of the soul. This cannot all be done at once. It is a gradual work. In the figure, the Israelites did not drive all out at once, lest the beasts of the field should prey upon them. So with the souls of the children of men. The Almighty enters and engages the soul, and turns its attention to itself. He shows it what is its first work. It is to do away this thing, that thing, or the other thing, which the light reveals to be inconsistent with the divine will. Here then, as we give up this enemy, to be slain and cast out, it leaves a vacuum in the soul, and this is filled with divine love; and so, as there is faithfulness to the divine light and manifestation in the soul, one enemy after another is overcome, and there is always something to fill up the place. The Lord in his loving kindness fills the vacuum, and enables us to go on from one degree of strength to another. Here we learn to know and understand what the apostle expresses of growing in grace; and in the saving knowledge of God our Saviour, step by step, like Jacob's ladder, by which we climb from earth to heaven. We are brought out of a state of wrath; a state in which envy and strife is, and contention, and every evil work.

We gradually rise out of these things; and as way is made, as I observed, evil is cast out, and good comes in and fills the vacuum, till the whole heart becomes renovated and renewed.

Here we come to witness the new birth. We read of a state in which man becomes a new creature; "he that is in Christ is a new creature." What is it to be in Christ? It is to come up into that righteousness which he came up into. He had to war with



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temptations as we have. One temptation after another assailed him; and as he overcame one, the divine light took place of it: just so it must be with us, if we are ever made fit for the kingdom of heaven. We must come to know all these things removed, before we can enjoy that pure undefiled love, where no envy or strife is, no contention or evil work. We are willing that every one should stand in his own allotment.

Therefore, "let brotherly love continue." Let us be of the same mind to one another. How are we to be of the same mind? Does this mean that we are all to come to the same point? No. Because we are gradually advanced one above another. The elder brother has a mind to love the younger, when he is under the direction of the father; and therefore the younger has the same mind to love the elder, in proportion as he is in his proper allotment, under the direction of his great parent. So it should be in societies. There should be no discord, because the individuals are in different situations; they are all children growing up together; some have, of course, experienced a great deal, some very little; but this should not excite the envy of those who are so young as not to comprehend, what their elder brothers have attained to. That love, which is stronger than death, keeps down envy and strife, and every one in his proper allotment, is willing to let others do as he would have the do to him.

Now to the want of this spirit of love, in the minds of the children of men, may be attribute all the persecutions in the world, on a religious account. Because if men were willing to subject their wills to the divine will; if we are desirous of being the Lord's children, we must be obedient to his law. And therefore, as he has but one law, which is a law of righteousness in every soul, it is a law that is clear and perfect; so that every individual that attends to this inward law, has the will of God manifested to him. For no outward thing can manifest the will of God. If we believe what we read, and what we know in ourselves, nothing can teach us the things of God, but the spirit of God. Nothing can write God's law upon our hearts but the finger of God. There it is, then, that we must gather as the only place of safety; there the work is to be done. It is there, we find our enemy, if we have any, and there we must find our friend. But people too generally, looking outwardly to find God and in this outward looking they are told about a devil; some monstrous creature, some self-existing creature, that is terrible in power. Now, all this seeking to know God, and this devil, the serpent without, is the work of darkness, superstition, and tradition. It hath no foundation; it is all breath and wind, without the power. We need not look without for enemies or friends; for we shall not find them without. Our enemies are those of our own household: our own propensities and unruly desires are our greatest, and I may almost say, our alone enemies. And yet, in themselves, they are all good; because man could not give himself propensities or desires; and therefore, as there is but one being who creates, and as he is perfect in wisdom and holiness: and as he is nothing but pure and undefiled



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love, he could create nothing but that which is good. If nothing can create but this undefiled love, all that we feel and all that we have, when we turn inward, is the work of this Almighty creator, who has stamped it upon man, and made him a twofold creature, consisting of a body and a spirit – matter and spirit. He has impressed upon the immortal soul of man, propensities and desires, suited to its nature, and suited to the design of its creation and existence. He has impressed upon our animal bodies propensities and passions suitable to their nature, to lead us to provide for what we stand in need of. Nothing could impress these upon the creature, but God Almighty who creates; because man cannot create any thing, or make any addition to that which God has given him. Neither is there any power under Heaven, which can alter the state of man, beside man himself and his Creator. And as God is over all, and is perfectly good, he could not possibly create evil: and therefore, we must seek for the way in which, and the place from whence this evil arises, in some other quarter. We must not look outwardly for it, but inwardly. Here we find that we are possessed of desires and propensities of various kinds, and a great many of them; and yet they are all absolutely necessary, as our being is necessary. Here we shall find out that which will banish all superstition and tradition from our souls: we shall find out that God is the only great good; that all evil arises from our disobedience to him, and from our abuse of his blessings. He has made man a twofold creature; one part mortal, the other immortal. The mortal tabernacle and the immortal spirit within, can never unite one with the other; they must stand eternally distinct from each other; and therefore, the immortal spirit has its independent nature, distinct from matter, because it comes from God. In old days it was seen to be so. These poor bodies of clay must return to the earth from whence they were taken, and the spirit to God who gave it. The soul, when disencumbered from the body, returns to the world of spirits, to give an account of its deeds, while an agent under God, in the animal body, with authority to direct it as wisdom should dictate. We see that it is not in the animal body to reason. No: it is not in bones to think, or flesh to reason. It is the immortal soul only that is accountable to God. For its own propensities are limited by the light of God in itself, and its duty is to keep insubordination the animal body, so as not to suffer it to get angry, or do any thing contrary to this light. It is to keep it down within its proper limits. And how natural these things are, my friends, if we reflect upon them. They are as plain as A, B, C. You would find you never were tempted by a devil without you, but by a devil within you. What is the devil? It is that cunning, twining wisdom, – that serpentine wisdom of man. Man is a being who is made a free agent, and with propensities, out of which, he is to grow up into a more glorious state. But by indulging them beyond the bounds of wisdom and of truth, – here is where the evil begins, here comes in that that does us mischief. What makes a drunkard, but the soul's indulging the animal passion after drink, which



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taken to excess produces [drunkenness](#)? It is nothing but the excess that makes the drunkard. Here now we see where sin begins; here we see where devils are created, by man himself; he is the author of them all; as he is the only fallen angel upon earth. What produces the glutton, the adulterer, the fornicator, the covetous, the liar, the thief, but an excess in the indulgence of propensities, which lead us to seek for that which is necessary for us? We should always keep within the limits of truth and wisdom, and never suffer our propensities or desires to carry us beyond what God in his wisdom intended to our limits; and thus all our passions would kept in their proper allotments. Man was created and placed in a garden of trees – full of trees – which he was to dress, keep them in order. And what were the trees the garden of Eden? They were the propensities of man, in his animal body. These are the trees that will grow, if they are not kept down by pruning. You know how necessary it is for the wise husbandman, by care and the use of the knife, to keep his trees pruned; and if any bud shoots out improperly, he rubs it off, and keeps all smooth. If he suffers it to grow, it may be injurious to the tree, and may require the knife. Just so it is in a spiritual sense, if we attend the trees of the garden; if we watch over them with diligence, and watch every growing propensity, as it grows stronger, and the soul creases in knowledge. As the desire of know ledge grows stronger, we are to keep it down and never let the mind rise, to exercise its own ability to decide for itself, but wait in humility on the heavenly Father to know his will. Let the business be great or small: still it must be under the dominion and control of the heavenly Father.

Here we see how the blessed Jesus went on, and how he began. He said he did not come to do his own will, but the will of the Father, that sent him. Just so with us, my friends; this is the end of our coming into the world, not to do our own will, but the will of him that has blessed us with this state of being, and endowed us with these passions, which bring about our probationary state. We feel that we are placed in a state of probation; and we feel and know that it is done by our Creator; and, therefore, we must conclude that it is the best situation in which infinite wisdom and perfect justice could have placed us. There could have been nothing more excellent; for if there could have been, our gracious Creator would have placed his creature man in the best situation – in the best possible state to effect the great end of his creation. Therefore, this probationary state, is the best state that infinite wisdom Could have selected, to effect the great design.

Well now, there must be something to bring about this probation; and has there been any thing that any of us ever knew of but these propensities and desires, that are a part of our common nature? I challenge the whole host of mankind, to find any thing but our own propensities and desires. And as man could not give to himself these propensities and desires, we have the evidence along with them, that they were given to us by our Creator, as



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the best possible medium, through which to effect his great end. He made us innocent creatures, and placed us here on earth, and had we been content in that state, we should have remained mere machines. That being, which is the creature of another; if he is made complete at once, without the liberty of exercising free agency, is a mere machine. But contrary to all the rest of creation, the Creator made and endowed us with the power of electing for ourselves. He gave us passions – if we may call them passions – in order that we might seek after those things which we need, and which we had a right to experience and know. Yet, not without laying a restriction upon the immortal soul, saying, “thus far shalt thou go, and no farther;” as was the charge to our first parents, when placed in the garden. They were endowed with a soul, which was to be kept in subjection; which was to be kept under the divine direction in all its propensities, and not to allow them to exceed due bounds. Here is the probation of the soul; and the only possible one, by which it could rise out of an innocent state, into a virtuous and a glorious one: to be an inhabitant of Heaven; to be a communicant with its Creator, and the God of its existence and life.

Oh! my friends, how glorious the view – I say, how glorious the view, when we are brought to witness and to see how divine wisdom intended we should rise from a state of mere innocency, into a state of glorification, by a conquest over all its enemies, over every thing which could obtrude itself upon the soul, or divert it from its proper duty.

We need not look outward to find a devil; we shall find enough in us. We read that there were seven devils cast out of Mary Magdalene. She had been a vile woman, who was given to multitude of evil propensities, by the indulgence of which, she was brought completely under the power of them. Her rational spirit became enlisted in the service of the passions; and seven propensities had been indulged in, till they became as devils to her. Here she went counter to the divine will. So now, Jesus quelled all these, and brought her into a sense of her desperate state. As she believed on him, and looked to him for help, – as she gave up to him, he banished the evil spirits from her soul – he bound the strong man armed, and cast him out; and as she was faithful, and sat down in humiliation at his feet, he spoiled all his goods. This produced a vacuum; and this vacuum was filled with the holy presence. The Lord Almighty came in, in lieu of it, to reign over all. And these were all the devils that were cast out; they were the passions which were inimical to man's happiness.

The leprosy was a disease, and such was the superstition of that day; such the darkness and ignorance, – that they were led to suppose, that there was some devil from without that had brought this disease upon them. This disease, and ready others, were cleansed from the people by Jesus. He took upon him to cleanse the people – he cured the lunatic. And what is lunacy? It is a failing in man, it is a disease, which was then, may be now, and even is, sometimes supposed to be, by the foolish and credulous



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a spirit – an evil spirit.

These things should show us our infirmity; and teach us to trust in the Lord our God, for salvation and strength; believing that if we in early life begin to attend to these things; to the divine law, and the visitations of the holy spirit, all these things would be banished. But for the want of this, our imperfections lead us to turn away from him, who alone can save us; and thus are we led astray and deluded.

This we must conclude if we believe the scriptures, and our own experience: "They that trust in the Lord, shall never be confounded." So that the great business of life, to the children of men is, to turn inward, to the witness of God, in their own souls. We have many demonstrations of this in the letter: but what does fine letter do? What has it ever done? It can do nothing. It is not a cause, but an effect. It might have a tendency, if we were willing-hearted, to attend to the divine grace, to push us to it; to direct us to it; but it can do nothing more. The grace of God is the only thing that can produce the salvation of the soul of man: "For by grace are ye saved, through faith." We must not expect that the grace of God will save us, without faith in its sufficiency. There is but one way that I ever found, and that is, to be obedient to its teachings, and attentive to its operation upon the mind. As we attend to it, it will open our understandings; we shall learn to know its excellency; and in proportion as we are attentive to it, we shall love it for its excellency and goodness. "For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.

How then shall we undertake to give a brother or a father a belief? If we do it, what wicked and presumptuous creatures we are, because we take the place of God. We assume the place of God when we tell our brother, this is the right way; my opinion is just right, and if thou do not come into it, thou art a heretic. A brother who does this, must be void of christian love; otherwise he would never assume such a stand. He has not that love which leads every one to do what he thinks is right in the sight of his Heavenly Father. If they do not see as he does, it may be because they are not fit to see as he does. They are not prepared in their own hearts. They are not enough subjected, so as to bring them to experience what their brother has experienced; and yet in this darkness they would presume to rule their brother. Here is no brotherly love existing. Look at it now, if we should suppose that some one should say, "My brother, thou must be constrained to come into my views." The brother says: "Not so, but thou must come into my views," Here now, contention and discord would enter, and every evil work prevail: but on the contrary, were they under the influence of brotherly love, they would be willing to say, each to the other, "mind thy own business; thy Father hath given thee thy portion, and let it be what it may, be thou faithful. Do not mind me; I am not to be thy teacher; I am not to be an example to thee, any further than my example corresponds with what God commands thee to do."





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Let us encourage each other, in pursuing the path of duty, as laid out by our Heavenly Father; and none else does know it. As long as we believe in the light, and continue to walk in the light, our intentions become settled and firm; that we will do nothing but that which is right. We shall endeavour to pursue the right way in all things; to do all the good we can, and as little harm as possible, in the world. These are resolutions which the divine light brings the soul into, when it comes under its regulating influence. It brings the soul into its own nature, to do nothing but the right thing. This will be its steady aim. But as finite creatures, though we might have no other motive than that of doing good; yet it is possible we may mistake, and do all injury in our dealings with others. But when our motives are correct, and we suppose that we are doing the best thing; but through a want of previous knowledge we do that which injures another, yet if he knows the sincerity of our heart, and believes that we are always striving to do the best thing; it would make no uneasiness, no breach of brotherly love among us. Each one would continue to pursue his own straight course, with nothing in view, but to do all the good he could, and as little hurt as possible.

This is an excellent religion, when men are willing to come to it. These things have arisen from a view of the preciousness, the dignity, and majesty of divine love, as it has opened to me, since I stood up; although, I saw but little when I first to see, but to endeavour to lead our minds home, that we might be enabled to act with propriety towards one another; for I am clear, that it would be impossible for any thing to disturb our peace, however different our views, if we were acting under the influence of pure undefiled love. We should all harmonise and rejoice together, my beloved friends; we should become as one family of love; and should experience the testimony that "the Lord's children are taught of the Lord, and great is the peace of these children." But when we look around and see how little righteousness there is among us, we are afraid to look; we see so many inconsistencies, we hardly dare look?—we are afraid to examine. That even when an individual under the best concern or exercise, is led to point out to us the enormities we are guilty of in this land, they seem ready to turn it behind their backs. Then what must be done? Let us "try all things; prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Did we enter into a close investigation of the one great principle of actions — justice, we should see how far we are in the performance of our duty to our fellow creatures. For we must be just before we are generous. There can be no charity, no virtue, which has not justice for its foundation.

Let us then inquire, are we doing any thing that oppresses them; are we doing any thing that strengthens the hand of the oppressor? Look to it my friends. You know that the receiver and the thief are considered equal. He that receives stolen goods is just as guilty as the one who steals them. Now, how oppression reigns in our land; and how many goods there are which are even



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worse than stolen goods.

I appeal to your common sense, my friends, whether to make a man labour and bring forth to us his goods, is not worse than stealing. Therefore he that partakes of these stolen goods, is worse than the common thief. Our common understanding would dictate this to us, was it not for the prejudice of education and tradition. But when we become accustomed to any thing, however evil it may be, if it has been sanctioned by usage, we find it extremely difficult to abandon it; and particularly, where we are individually interested in it. We are not willing to believe it. We do not want to see these things, and turn our backs to a serious search. In this case it is not difficult to know our duty, because the matter is so clear and plain: and there cannot be an individual who is willing to stand as an upright man or woman, but would be willing, if possible, to know where they were falling short. For they that can strengthen the hand of the oppressor in the least degree, how can this divine love come in, and all their hearts, while they manifest a hatred to their fellow creatures? They who strengthen the hand of the oppressor, evidently manifest a hatred to the oppressed. There are many ways in which we oppress. This land is guilty of the oppression of human beings, and the crime lies as a dark cloud Upon the nation.

I consider it the duty of every individual to search into this subject. Oh! my friends, let us strike at the very bottom; and may we be led to go on hand in hand in the work. Let us join hand in hand in the resolution to do good; and we shall be stimulated, to do all that we can to put an end to this cruel oppression in our land. Where injustice now reigns, justice would come up in its dignity and power; and the oppressed would be relieved. The chains would be released from the necks of our fellow creatures; justice would be exalted, and come up to reign over all. We have hardly got our hands clear of our oppressed fellow creatures, and we sit down in ease, and keep encouraging those who are engaged in this cruel traffic. What is the difference whether I hold a slave, or purchase the produce of his labour from those who do? If I deal moderately with him, would it not be better to hold him myself? – I say, would it not be better to keep one in a moderate way?

Look to this, my friends. I see the scales that are upon the eyes of the people; – their prejudices are such, that it requires something powerful to break the scales from off their eyes. But let us make the case our own, and then we shall begin to see through a more impartial medium. Now here are dear parents, the fathers and mothers of children. Suppose the tyrant should tear from you your dear sons and daughters, take them into the next county, put them under the iron yoke, and lash them every day, and deprive them of every liberty and enjoyment; and above all, the liberty of free agency, without which all other blessings are not worth enjoying; for nothing can be a blessing to a slave in this world. Look at it, my friends, and say, whether you could go over the line of a county, and traffic, and buy the produce



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of your tender offspring, who, through toil and bloodshed, had been compelled to labour at a tyrant's will. And is not the principle still the same, if we go a little further, and buy the produce of our fellow creatures, who are not so nearly connected? Are we not all brethren? Have we any better right to oppress one who is not our immediate brother or sister, than we have to oppress one that is?

Oh! that we might learn wisdom, before our iniquity becomes our ruin! I say there is a black cloud hanging over us, and I can see no advancement that we can make till this greatest of evils is removed. There are many other evils and acts of injustice in the line of commerce and trade with one another, where we impose on one. another, and do manifest injustice; but these are so trivial and small compared with this great one, that I have little hope of improving in this respect, till the greater evil is banished from our land. And how quick it might be effected, were justice to reign – if we were all willing to be just men and women.

Are we to reason about consequences, when the divine light shows us our sins? If we leave off this sin, this or that will be the consequence; the tyrant may suffer by it; we shall be taking away his living. Is this good reasoning? What matter is it about the tyrant? We are called upon to do that which is right and just; and are not to consider what the consequence will be.

What if a thief should say to himself, "Now God calls on me to leave off this sin; but I have been stealing a great while, and if I leave off this sin, I shall have no way to live." What should we think of an individual who would undertake to reason with the Most High in this way? We know he could not find favour in his sight. When we have sufficient evidence, we need not look any higher. When our own understanding testifies to us that we are wrong, that we are unjust and unrighteous, shall we then wait for revelation? Why it would be casting an indignity upon him, who gives us these lesser means, to convince us with the clearest demonstration. Our own common sense is a sufficient evidence, and we need not look any higher. If we know an act to be unjust, no matter how we come by the knowledge; even if a child in the neighbourhood, should tell us of it, if we have evidence in ourselves that the child has spoken the truth, we have no need to look for higher evidence, because this may be the means under Heaven, by which our eyes should be opened.

Whenever we come to the knowledge of a truth, no matter by what means, it is time then for us to attend to it, and to leave off our injustice, if we are guilty of ally. It is enough that we are convinced, even if it were by an inanimate thing; or if we are brought to see as Balaam was, by means of an ass. We have to right to look any higher, when we are convinced that any thing is the truth, and nothing but the truth. – Well is it not so? Can we want to go any where to be informed of our duty in this matter? Can any people have a better view of a subject than we have of this? Could we know it better if we should ascend into Heaven? No. Not any thing in Heaven can make it plainer than it



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is. All revelation, and all that is rational, can prove no more; for our common sense proves indubitably that slavery is the most cruel and most wicked of all things. We have the most self-evident proof; and in the great day of account, We dare not make the plea, and say, the BIBLE did not reveal it to me. The question will be, didst thou not see it by the light of reason, that was communicated to thee? Did not thy common understanding convince thee? And still thou wouldst not believe! But we are not willing to believe unless the Almighty will convince us by some great miracle. We are like the Jews, when they would not believe the miracles of Jesus Christ. His disciples wanted him to bring down fire from Heaven. But he would not indulge them.

We know, to the utmost certainty what slavery is, and not any thing in Heaven can make it plainer, than it is. If we know it to be unjust, will we still wait for the Lord to tell us it is so? He will never do it; for he has already done it, by the means which he appointed for that purpose. But being unjust to man in our common way of life – being, too many of us, in the way of darkness, we can have fellowship with the works of darkness; although we are called out of it all.

I know not how to leave this subject, for my soul is in it. Oh! may it be our desire and our resolution, my friends, willingly to take up the cross and despise the shame; – although individuals may point the finger of scorn at us, and say it is a little thing – don't let us regard these things. We are not accountable to man, but to our Creator, who is doing every thing to make the way plain and intelligibly clear to us.

Can we have christian love, and strengthen the hand of an oppressor? Be sure we cannot, my friends. We are Void of it, because we delight in gratifying ourselves. Oh! may we, individually, sink deep into the-consideration. Try these things, my friends, and search for yourselves. I do not desire, as a brother, to impress my opinions upon you; but only to give you my views, and leave them as a mirror for you to look into. I would not have any turn to my views, merely because they are mine; but because they are convinced of the irresistible truth of them. If they do not see as I do, it does not break my love with my fellow creatures. I am thankful – and this is the very pearl of my life – that I feel and continue to feel, nothing but love to flow to every creature under Heaven. Oh! how precious it is. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him;" – that love him with that pure love, that hath all power, both in Heaven and in earth. Love is stronger than death, but jealousy is more cruel than the grave.

I have never known or witnessed any evidence of fallen angels, but those who are fallen men and women. I believe there never were any other on this earth. Those whom the Lord has called, and who have been made partakers of the good things and power of the world to come, these when they fall away and become apostates, are fallen angels. For what are angels, but messengers? As it is said: "He maketh his angels spirits, and



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his ministers a flame of fire."

Now we ought to take warning, my friends, till we become established. Not but that I believe there is an arriving at a state of establishment beyond falling. But few arrive at it for want of faithfulness. Many make a good beginning, but too few hold out to the end. It is not enough to begin well, and to run well for a while; but we must persevere. For it is only those who endure to the end, that shall be saved. Now, those whom the Lord has blessed, and who have advanced in some degree to be his people; and whom he has enabled by his grace to become useful in their day; do sometimes fall off. Are not these fallen angels? Oh! let us deeply consider these things. Ever remember that it is not enough to begin well. How many there were brought out of Egypt, through the wilderness, who, nevertheless: never entered into the promised land. They were afraid, they lost their confidence, When they came on the borders of Canaan. So it is with many who set out in the christian travel. They go on well for a while; but when their life and all is to be given up, they fail. When we enter the conflict, and our lives are ready to be taken from us, how many ten thousands there are, in the present day, who, like the Israelites, have rebelled against God, and turned away from their former confidence. Let me repeat it again. It is not enough to begin well: it is not enough to run well for a while, and to get through the wilderness, and in a good degree towards a state of establishment; because the greatest trim that we find, is at the end of the conflict; when we come to the point where all must be given up; where our lives must be considered as nothing to us. See our great example; he had his conflicts, his trials, and temptations; when his life and all was to be given up. How trying the scene! I how painful! He was brought to cry out, in anxious concern to his Father. Yea, in his prayer, he was brought to sweat, as it were, great drops of blood, and nature felt the desire to escape this suffering. "If it be possible, Father, let this cup pass from me." But see the example - "not my will, but thine be done." Oh! believe me, here in this trial many shrink back, and become as dead lights.

Oh! may we be encouraged to faithfulness: Oh! may we be led in due time, to see our own insufficiency, and to cry out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me." These things we must go through, if we continue to the end. If we persevere in faithfulness, we must be brought to the time in which all must be given up: yea, the death of the cross must be our experience. Therefore, let us take courage and persevere on, whether life or death, let us keep our eye single to the divine light, to our holy leader, and he will carry us through, over all, to name the name of that great and adorable name. Let us, therefore, in confidence of this, be willing to thank God and take courage.



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**1825**



A SERIES OF EXTEMPORANEOUS DISCOURSES: DELIVERED IN THE SEVERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, IN PHILADELPHIA, GERMANTOWN, ABINGTON, BYBERRY, NEWTOWN, FALLS, AND TRENTON. BY ELIAS HICKS, A MINISTER IN SAID SOCIETY. TAKEN IN SHORT HAND BY M.T.C. GOULD (Philadelphia: Joseph & Edward Parker):

"It is only a light from heaven that can show us the way to heaven."

Also, an interesting anti-[Elias Hicks](#) pamphlet, comparing him with "that arch-infidel [Thomas Paine](#)," was anonymously published during this year:



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**A LETTER  
FROM  
ANNA BRAITHWAITE  
TO  
ELIAS HICKS,  
ON THE  
NATURE OF HIS DOCTRINES.  
BEING  
A REPLY  
TO HIS  
LETTER TO DR. EDWIN A. ATLEE;  
TOGETHER WITH  
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.  
  
PHILADELPHIA:  
PRINTED FOR THE READER.  
1825.**



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Note. - The conduct of Anna Braithwaite towards [Elias Hicks](#) has already been so fully and ably vindicated, and her amiable character rescued from the illiberal and unjust aspersions of her accusers, that the publication of the following letter seems almost superfluous.

We present it to the public, not because we deem it needful to say any thing more in her defence, but because it is her own reply to the letter of [Elias Hicks](#) to Dr. E.A. Atlee.

A perusal of her letter must satisfy every unprejudiced person of the rectitude of the motives which induced her to make a visit to [Elias Hicks](#), and subsequently to pen the notes of the conversation which passed between them. The correctness of these notes is confirmed (though further confirmation is unnecessary) by the reference she makes in this letter to the statements which E.H. has declared to be "false and unfounded," and by the accuracy with which she repeats the conversation which passed upon those topics.

The explanation which she gives respecting the expression attributed to her by E.H. that "she did not want to see better," is peculiarly satisfactory, and completely dissipates the construction which he has attempted to give it. It is not surprising that she did not wish to attain that further degree of illumination which was to produce in her mind opinions coincident with his; for if "to be brought to see better" includes the adoption of his creed, we should suppose that no person endued with a rational understanding would wish "to see better."

His assertions that the account of the creation of the world was an allegory, and that this had been specially revealed to him - that he considered Jesus to be the son of Joseph, and no more than a prophet - and his asking A.B. the question respecting the fall of Adam, are so accurately related, and with circumstances so strongly corroborating as must place the correctness of her former statements beyond doubt.

She has very properly remarked upon his failing to prove that her notes are incorrect or inconsistent; since his letter to Dr. Atlee, so far from making this appear, furnishes sufficient evidence from his own pen that they are substantially correct. The matter in the notes is certainly very inconsistent, but the fault of this must rest upon himself, since they are merely a repetition of the substance of his own expressions. Had he condescended to tell Dr. Atlee what he did say, or to avow the sentiments to him which he had done to Anna Braithwaite, we should have needed no further evidence of the correctness of her statements. If he believed these to be incorrect, he could at once have proved it, and done away with any impression which they might have produced, by stating explicitly what it was he did say, and what are his real sentiments upon the disputed points of doctrine. But the truth is, that it is not so much the incorrectness of her statements which has given offence to him, as the disclosure of his doctrines, before he had disciplined the minds of the people to receive them.





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Her intention of furnishing him with a copy of her notes before she left America, and the fact that his friends dissuaded her from it - her stay in New York for six weeks after the yearly meeting, perfectly disposed to meet such inquiries as her friends might wish to have answered - clearly evince the integrity and conscious uprightness with which she acted, and her being wholly unacquainted with E.H. previous to the select quarterly meeting, so that she did not even know that it was he who spoke, when he made his singular remarks upon the appointment of representatives, proves that it was not personal prejudice against him which induced her objections to the sentiments he then expressed.

Her letter is remarkable for the good temper and forbearance with which it is written. There is neither reviling nor recrimination; nor any impeachment of his motives - indeed it contains nothing but what is kind and respectful, and in full accordance with a spirit truly Christian. In all these respects it presents a striking contrast with the one to which it is a reply.

It is proper to state that none of the following notes are from the pen of Anna Braithwaite, except the two to which the initials of her name are affixed.

### **TO ELIAS HICKS.**

In reading the first and second edition of thy Letter to Dr. Atlee, respecting the notes made by me of the conference at thy house, though neither printed nor circulated at my request, I am at a loss to find a refutation of my assertions.<sup>22</sup>

Before I enter into any pointed allusions to this part of the subject, I may acknowledge, that I do regret not having done what it was my wish to do, previous to leaving America, and that is, write to thee, enclosing these notes, and requesting any remarks thou might have to make; but several of thy friends assured me, thou wast perfectly aware of my sentiments respecting thy views on the doctrines of the Gospel; that it had been more than once proposed to thee, though not from me, to meet me, and thou hadst declined it. I remained near six weeks after the yearly meeting in the city of New-York, perfectly

22. During the last few weeks of A.B.'s visit to America, she was subjected to much incivility, which she freely forgives, for steadily adhering to fundamental Gospel truths, which were known to be opposed to the views of [Elias Hicks](#); and in uniformly avowing to those whom she thought it best to converse with on the subject, that she considered his to be deistical opinions, accompanied by a belief in what he termed the Spirit; at the same time expressing her wish that the subject should be coolly and impartially considered, without the least disposition to personal invective or party spirit, that she believed truth should stand upon its own foundation, and needed none of these carnal weapons to support it. She repeatedly told his friends, when they accused her of error in calling Elias Hicks' views doctrines of infidelity, that if he had any thing to object to in the charge, she was perfectly willing to meet him in the presence of few or many, as he might think fit, and that she was entirely willing if they thought it desirable, that her doctrine should be tried before a legitimate body of the Society; and she thought it was due to her, and to the Society to which they belong, that she, in common with her dear English friends, should have the opportunity of thus pleading the cause of truth, rather than that their labours should be clandestinely undermined: she wishes also to state, that no person could be further than herself, from wishing to inquire into the opinions of private individuals upon these subjects, as she considers them of a peculiarly delicate nature, but she holds herself, in common with all in the station of ministers, and all who try to influence others, as cognizable to the Society to which they belong, for doctrines preached and propagated by them. - [See Note A, appendix.]

A.B.



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disposed to meet with, in the ability that might be afforded, such inquiries as my friends might wish to have answered.

It is well known to my friends in this country, and to many in America, that I went there in great ignorance of the state of things; many proofs could readily be obtained to substantiate this assertion, and I do particularly wish thee to inquire of those who were my most constant companions, what was the path I pursued in reference to existing trials in your land. I avoided every channel of information respecting individuals, and I had rarely heard thy name mentioned in any way, until my visit at Jericho.

No disposition, comparable to watching for evil, was in my heart, this all my friends well know. I hoped the little I had heard was exaggerated, and I went to see thee, as my manner indicated, in a friendly disposition.

Allow me to state what I believe to have been thy remarks in the select meeting. - "I think there must be something wrong in the present instance, for as we profess to believe in the guidance of the Spirit of Truth, as an unerring Spirit, we have a right to expect, especially in a meeting of ministers and elders, that if each friend attended to his or her proper gift, as this spirit is endued with prescience, that no friend would be named for any appointment but such as would attend, and during my long course of experience I have never appointed any one who was prevented attending, either by illness or otherwise." [See note B.] I did not, at the time, suppose thee to be the friend who spoke,<sup>23</sup> but was surprised at the remark, and being informed it was thee, I remember asking thee, if thou would be so kind as to explain this a little further, and expressed my opinion that it was carrying the matter too far. I never said that I did not want to see better, but I did say, in reply to thy remark, and it was what thou several times repeated, that I wanted experience, and thou believed I should live to think as thou didst upon doctrinal subjects, &c. that I hoped I never should.<sup>24</sup>

In reply to the following, "as to her charge against me in regard to the Scriptures, it is generally incorrect, and some of it is false," I may state that I cannot in any degree, retract it, for I was much surprised at the pains thou took to convince me, that we should do better without the Bible, and with thy remarks as stated in my notes, also with thy objections to the Scriptures

23. Not having seen E.H. before, she was unacquainted with his person.

24. E.H. says in his letter to Dr. Atlee, "But she replied she did not want to see better," and adds, "this manifestation of her self-importance, lowered her character, as a gospel minister, very much in my view, and her subsequent conduct while she was with us, abundantly corroborated and confirmed this view concerning her." It would appear from this, that his estimation of the characters of ministers, is graduated in proportion to their readiness to acquiesce with his dogmas, since her dissent from his belief, and her expression that she hoped never to think as he did on doctrinal points, &c. lowered her character so very much in his view. We apprehend, however, that in the estimation of most pious christians, her dissent will form a strong evidence of her being a real gospel minister, and we would ask whether it be not a mark of self-importance in him, to brand a conscientious disapproval of his principles with this epithet. The attitude in which he has placed her words, and the inference drawn from them, certainly are not in consonance with that "charity which thinketh no evil."



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as a rule of faith and practice, as they have ever been held to be by our friends. The inference from thy remarks is, that those who believe in the Scriptures as a rule, believe in them as the primary and only rule, and avoiding the path which our early friends walked in, and which, in the present day, they fully approve, of a belief in the Spirit, and in the Scriptures as a secondary rule or test, &c. agreeably to the following from Barclay.<sup>25</sup> "In this respect above mentioned then, we have shewn what service and use the Holy Scriptures, as managed in and by the Spirit, are of to the Church of God. Wherefore we do account them a secondary rule. Moreover, because they are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors which may be supposed by the injury of time, to have slipt in, are not such but that there is a sufficient clear testimony left, to all the essentials of the Christian Faith, we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians; and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony, may therefore justly be rejected as false. And for our parts we are very willing that all our doctrines and practices be tried by them, which we never refused, nor ever shall in all controversies with our adversaries, as the judge and test: we shall also be very willing to admit it as a positive certain maxim, that whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the Devil." Thou states in thy letter to Dr. Atlee, "I have convinced divers of the soundness of our doctrine in this respect, that not the Scriptures, but the Spirit of Truth, which Jesus commanded his disciples to wait for, as their only rule that would teach them all things, and guide them into all truth, is the primary and only rule of faith and practice, and is the only means by which our salvation is effected." [See Note C.]

In reference to the account of the Creation being an allegory, thou entered into a long explanation how it was opened to thy mind in the meeting alluded to in my notes; thou stated that a minister of some other society had been present, then, or on some other occasion when the subject was alluded to, and had been rather surprised at the first, but was fully convinced of thy assertions by a subsequent conversation, and thou ranked the belief in the existence of the Garden of Eden, with that of a belief in any such places as Heaven and Hell, which thou spoke of as equally erroneous, but didst not explain thy views so as to give me a correct idea of thy meaning.

I well remember thy asking me the question respecting Adam, and the answer as stated. I wish thou would endeavour to call to mind what pains thou took to convince me that Jesus was no more than a Prophet, and that he was the son of Joseph. On the latter point, these were, I believe, thy words: "Thou canst not surely be so foolish as to believe Jesus to be the son of the Virgin



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Mary - he was called the carpenter's son - he frequently alludes to himself as the son of man;" and thou quoted many texts to prove it to me; and could I be likely to doubt my memory on this subject, when I heard thee publicly declare in a meeting for worship, "God is a Spirit, and it is impossible He could beget a son, save in His own likeness."

Thou speaks of my notes containing so much inconsistency, and being so incorrect, that as thou proceeds, they appear less and less worthy of a reply; but saving for the denial of the above as having been stated by thee, thou dost not make this appear; and even in reference to the above, thou dost not say such are not thy sentiments. Thou admits thy opinion that we cannot believe what we do not understand, or, as thou said to me, comprehend; and I refer thee to my answers in reply to this, and several other things; and may further state that I consider this the foundation upon which infidelity stands; and that whilst I hope ever to be preserved from exalting one part of the glorious Gospel plan of Christian Redemption to the subversion of the rest, yet I do consider a denial of the propitiatory sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to be infidelity: nor do I look upon it as detraction to bear my testimony against opinions publicly advocated. [See note D.] It may be proper to state, that in my notes, there is no allusion to thy motives, nor any comment upon thee as a man, but the attention is called solely to opinions which many have believed thee to hold, not from private conversation only, but from thy communications in meetings, and if they are not thy sentiments, a very erroneous impression has been made upon the minds of thy hearers. [See note E.] Some of thy friends, to whom my notes were read, recognised thy views in them without hesitation, and endeavoured to vindicate them as truths, without even expressing a doubt of their correctness.<sup>26</sup>

I refer thee to my replies in further refutation of thy views, and I may now conclude with observing, that it was currently reported in Philadelphia, and other places which I visited, that in the conferences at thy house, thou hadst entirely converted me to thy opinions. After deliberately considering the subject,

26. We cannot suppose that [Elias Hicks](#), when he declared to Dr. Atlee that Anna Braithwaite's notes were incorrect, had any serious intention of denying that he held the doctrines which she attributes to him. Regard for his own character would, we should think, deter him from hazarding an assertion, which would be proved to be untrue by his own letters and from his public preaching. When he speaks, therefore, of parts being "false and unfounded," we are to understand him as alluding to mere literal inaccuracies, in noticing which he has heretofore allowed himself great latitude of speech, as in the case of Joseph Whitall. Every article of christian faith which she has charged him with denying, we ourselves, and hundreds more, have heard him deny many times over, and adduce arguments to support his denial; and it is well known that those of his followers who are thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of his creed, (for even E.H. has his creed,) make the same open denial, and contend for the propriety of doing so. That he cautiously avoids reducing his belief, (or rather unbelief) to the tangible and permanent form of written declaration, is by no means mysterious - he must have abundant proof that the people are not yet prepared to deny the christian faith, and that his open rejection of it would be turned from with disgust. It is, therefore, policy to confine himself to oral declarations, which may be evaded by telling us we do not understand them - to use ambiguous expressions - to invalidate the authority of the Scriptures - to destroy the respect and veneration which sensible and learned men have long entertained for them - to cloak his views under pretensions to revelation and greater light, and thus to lead the people on by degrees, and become, in some sense, all things to all men, if by any means, he may eventually gain some.



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I concluded to leave a copy of the notes, which I fully believe to be correct, that they might be referred to in case of any misrepresentation.

I remain thy sincere friend and well-wisher,  
(Signed) ANNA BRAITHWAITE.  
Lodge-Lane, near Liverpool, 11th mo. 13th, 1824.

NOTE. - When I reflect upon the pains not only [Elias Hicks](#), but many others took to convince me of his views, and that the doctrines of the Gospel are mere opinions, and abstract points, and that if we believe in the Spirit, it is of no consequence whether we believe in these doctrines or not, I am wholly at a loss to conceive why there should be so great an anxiety to evade the avowal of them.

[See note F.]

I have nothing in my heart but good will to all, and sincere desires for their welfare; this, I hope my conduct, whilst among my friends in America, unequivocally proved; but the doctrines held by our ancient Friends, and maintained by the Society to the present day, are so opposed to such views, that as one who is concerned, to declare at times, under the constraining influence of Gospel Love, the glad tidings of Salvation, as believed in by the Society to which I belong,<sup>27</sup> I dare not, in any degree, sanction such unsound principles, though many who hold them will ever retain a place in my affectionate remembrance.

A.B.

## **APPENDIX.**

### **NOTE A.**

It is a regulation indispensably necessary to the peace of society, and to the preservation of order, consistency, and harmony among Christians, that the members of every religious body, and especially those who assume the office of teachers or ministers, should be responsible to the authorities established in the church, for the doctrines which they hold and promulgate.

To admit the contrary position would be to destroy the basis upon which all religious compacts are founded, to frustrate the objects and benefits of social worship, and to introduce anarchy and confusion into our religious assemblies. In fact, it would be equivalent to a renunciation of that essential and primary requisition of the gospel, which enjoins "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." It would be to grant full licence to unbelief, and to sanctuarize it, by an admission to all the privileges of christian communion.

27. If there be any persons who doubt the assertion that the doctrines of [Elias Hicks](#), are entirely repugnant to those held by the Society of Friends from its commencement, we would recommend to them the careful perusal of his letters to Dr. Shoemaker, Dr. Atlee and Thomas Willis, with the reviews of them, also Barclay's Catechism and Apology — Joseph Phipps's original and present state of man — Tuke's principles of "Friends," and Jesse Kersey's recent treatise on the doctrines of Friends.



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When associated for the sacred employ of waiting upon God, and offering him the tribute of gratitude and praise, we should be subjected to the painful necessity of hearing sentiments avowed and defended from the pulpit or the gallery, which were repugnant to our conscientious belief, - calculated to poison the innocent and tender minds of our offspring, to seduce them from the paths of virtue, and lead them into the dark and bewildering mazes of scepticism, - our devotions would be liable to continual interruption, and our religious feelings to outrage and violation by preachers setting forth strange notions, subversive of the most solemn articles of christian faith, and inculcating practices directly at variance with the precepts of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

This state of things must be the necessary result of such indiscriminate licence; since every man, however shallow his experience, or however absurd or pernicious his principles, would be perfectly at liberty to impose them upon the assembled audience. It would be well, therefore, if those who are contending for the privilege of preaching what they please, uncontrolled by any restraints, and subject to no test, would reflect upon the latitude which the recognition of such a right must unavoidably introduce; and consider whether there are not some doctrines which even they would dislike to hear from their teachers. Would they be willing, for instance, that preachers should be tolerated in their religious assemblies, who publicly advocated the propriety of war, of slavery, or oaths; of pecuniary recompense for preaching the gospel, or the absolute necessity of observing the ordinances; and who as publicly denied the sensible influences of the Holy Spirit? Certainly they would not, because such sentiments would be contrary to their religious principles and practices. There are then other sentiments which they may deem correct, but which are equally as repugnant to the sincere conscientious belief of their christian neighbours, as the encouragement of war, oaths, or slavery, would be to them, and consequently can no more be tolerated in their assemblies; and we should remember, that while we claim liberty of conscience and of thought for ourselves, we should be as ready to grant it to others.

The necessity, therefore, of exercising discrimination, and even inhibition, in reference to the ministry, is at once obvious, and has been fully recognized by the Society of Friends, both in their discipline and practice, from their earliest institution. This society, although they have never required of their members a subscription to any prescribed formulary of faith, nevertheless consider it necessary to the enjoyment of membership in their communion, that the party should unfeignedly and unequivocally assent to the great fundamental truths of the gospel of Christ. The excellent and learned Barclay, who was intimately acquainted with those views which first induced friends to associate in religious fellowship, as well as with



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those great principles which formed the bond of their union and the terms of their compact, has the following observations in his Apology.

"For as we believe all those things to have been certainly transacted, which are recorded in the Holy Scriptures concerning the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, so we do also believe that it is the duty of every one to believe it, to whom it pleases God to reveal the same, and to bring them to the knowledge of it; yea we believe it were damnable unbelief not to believe it when so declared, but to resist that holy seed which as minded, would lead and incline every one to believe it as it is offered unto them." - Apology, Lond. Ed. 141.

If therefore consistency of belief in these great fundamental truths be required of every member of the society, as is clearly proved to be the case by their discipline, which makes unbelief cause of disownment, how much more shall it be demanded of those, who take upon them to be mouth to the people, and for whose doctrines the society is held accountable in the eyes of the world?

But unhappily it has become a favorite notion with some, that doctrines are of no importance; and that if we conduct ourselves with propriety, it is indifferent what opinions we hold; - and yet, with a strange inconsistency, these very persons anathematize with implacable virulence, those who conscientiously differ from what they have been pleased to establish as articles of faith. What epithet is there too hard for them to bestow upon those who believe in the scripture doctrine of Three that bear record in heaven, and of the atonement; upon such as think it their duty to receive the ordinances and to support their ministers, or who are members of Bible or missionary societies?

We consider the notion that doctrines are of no importance to be dangerous in the extreme. Belief certainly produces a powerful influence upon both moral and religious practice. There are certain principles which, if adopted, have a direct tendency to lower the standard of morality, to destroy the force of all religious obligations in the mind, and to reconcile it to the indulgence of thoughts, and the commission of acts, which under the influence of christian doctrines and principles, it would have turned away from with horror or disgust. A man who does not believe in the existence of a heaven or a hell, - in a day of righteous retribution hereafter, according to the deeds done in the body; who discards all external tests, and makes the impulse of his own mind the sole arbiter of right and wrong; who believes that he can repent when he pleases, and that God cannot refuse him pardon, - such a man will be much less likely to abstain from evil, than one who steadily abides under a firm belief in



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the doctrines of Christ and his apostles. The deist can find many palliatives to sooth the compunctions of conscience, and many subterfuges to lessen the sinfulness of sin; and when he believes that every day as it passes, judges his actions, atones for his failures, and settles his account in the celestial register, he may soon reconcile himself to the commission of almost any sin, provided secrecy will only screen him from public censure. But even this check is often soon removed; so that it may be said "he neither feareth God nor regardeth man."

If we "search the Scriptures," we shall find from the highest authority, that faith, or belief, in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, is an indispensable preliminary to becoming real christians. Thus our blessed Lord told Nicodemus - "He that believeth on him (viz. Jesus Christ,) is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God." When the Jews asked him "what they should do that they might work the works of God," he replied, "This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom God hath sent." And on another occasion he told them, "If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." Again, to Martha he says, "He that believeth in me, though he were dead yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." When he sent forth his eleven disciples to preach his gospel to every creature in all the world, he solemnly declared, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not, shall be damned." We have then the most conclusive testimony from the mouth of Him who could not lie, who came to be our Saviour, and who will be our judge, that a belief in the doctrines of that gospel which he sealed with his blood, is essentially and indispensably necessary to our salvation. Let us not, therefore, deceive ourselves with the presumptuous idea, that we may deny with impunity, or that we are at liberty to choose and carve for ourselves, and say we will believe a part and deny a part.

An assent to certain doctrines was the basis upon which the Society of Friends was founded, and upon which only it can exist. It was conscientious dissent from the faith of the societies to which they respectively belonged, that induced the worthy founders of this sect to forsake their families and friends, and join in communion and fellowship with those few despised individuals, whose doctrinal views were coincident with their own. And if the society continues to exist as a distinct body of christian professors, it must be by a strict adherence to the same principles which they professed.

Robert Barclay, in his excellent "Treatise on Church Government," the perusal of which we would earnestly recommend, speaking of the authority of the church in matters of conscience, says, "As to the first, whether the church of Christ hath power in any cases that are matters of conscience, to give





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positive sentence and decision which may be obligatory upon believers? I answer affirmatively, she hath, and shall prove it from divers instances both from Scripture and reason." - He then goes into the argument at large, from which we extract the following pertinent and forcible remarks. "Now I say, we being gathered together into the belief of certain principles and doctrines, without any constraint or worldly respect, but by the mere force of truth upon our understanding, and its power and influence upon our hearts, these principles and doctrines, and the practices necessarily depending upon them, are as it were the terms that have drawn us together, and the bond by which we became centred into one body and fellowship, and distinguished from others. Now if any one, or more, so engaged with us, should arise to teach any other doctrine or doctrines contrary to those which were the ground of our being one; who can deny but the body hath power in such a case to declare, "This is not according to the truth we profess, and therefore we pronounce such and such doctrines to be wrong, with which we cannot have unity, nor yet any more spiritual fellowship with those that hold them, and so cut themselves off from being members, by dissolving the very bond by which they were linked to the body?" "Suppose a people really gathered unto a belief of the true and certain principles of the gospel, if any of these people shall arise, and contradict any of those fundamental truths, whether have not such as stand, good right to cast such an one out from among them, and to pronounce positively, This is contrary to the truth we profess and own, and therefore ought to be rejected and not received, nor yet he that asserts it as one of us." "If the apostles of Christ of old, and the preachers of the everlasting gospel in this day, had told all people, however wrong they found them in their faith and principles, Our charity and love is such, we dare not judge you, nor separate from you, but let us all live in love together, and every one enjoy his own opinion, and all will do well, - how should the nations have been, or what way can they be brought to truth and righteousness? Would not the devil love this doctrine well, by which darkness and ignorance, error and confusion, might still continue in the earth unreprieved and uncondemned." - "If God has gathered a people by this means, into the belief of one and the same truth, must not they, if they turn and depart from it, be admonished, reprieved and condemned, (yea rather than those that are not yet come to the truth,) because they crucify afresh unto themselves the Lord of glory, and put him to open shame? It seems the apostle judged it very needful they should be so dealt with, Tit. 1 c. 10 v. when he says, There are many unruly and vain talkers, and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped, &c. Were such a principle to be received or believed, that in the church of Christ no man should be separated from, no man condemned or excluded the fellowship or communion of the body, for his judgment or opinion in matters of faith, then what blasphemies so horrid, what heresies so damnable, what doctrines of devils, but might harbour itself in the church of



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Christ? What need then of sound doctrine, if no doctrine make unsound? What need of convincing and exhorting gainsayers, if to gainsay be no crime? Where should the unity of the faith be? Were not this an inlet to all manner of abomination, and to make void the whole tendency of Christ and his apostles' doctrine, and render the gospel of none effect, and give a liberty to the unconstant and giddy will of man to innovate, alter and overturn it at his pleasure."

As then the system of faith adopted by the Society of Friends in the beginning, is the badge whereby they are contradistinguished from other denominations of professors, and is the cement or outward bond which unites them in religious fellowship, so it is essential to their existence, that they preserve the bond unbroken, and carefully guard against all mutilation. And there is no means whereby it would be more readily demolished, than by permitting ministers to promulgate whatever sentiments they may please, uncontrolled by any restraints, and amenable to no tribunal.

In fact, while men continue to differ in religious opinions as they now do, the most likely, nay the only way, for general peace, is for them to class themselves into societies, according to their faith; for no society to exercise dominion over the rest; for their controversies to be managed with good temper and moderation; and for no person to infringe upon the rights and conscientious belief of others, by assuming the liberty of teaching or remaining in a society, the ancient tenets of which he rejects and denies.

**NOTE B.**

A belief in the sensible influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit, is certainly an important part of christian faith, and is forcibly enjoined upon us in the sacred volume. Its direction in the concerns of salvation, as well as in many important temporal affairs, has been reverently and gratefully acknowledged by an innumerable company of confessors to the true faith.

But while we assent with all cheerfulness to this most precious doctrine, we are far from believing that the "measure of the Spirit which is given to every man to profit withal," necessarily endues its possessor with prescience; or that when an individual is named under its influence, to any particular service, all the common contingencies of human life are averted, and that an absolute and irrevocably fatality binds him to the fulfillment of the appointment. Such a supposition would give to every person so named, an exemption from disease and death until the object of his appointment was accomplished, and would consequently contradict the plainest lessons of experience.

We have instances on record, of men of the greatest piety and



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holiness, who believed themselves divinely called upon to go forth in the service of their Lord and master, and whose call we cannot doubt was of God, but who were arrested in their career by the unrelenting hand of death, and summoned from their labours on earth, to receive a glorious reward in heaven. We have seen such men making a triumphant exit out of time, in the full assurance of enjoying a blissful eternity through the merits of the crucified Immanuel; and giving the most conclusive evidence that they had really lived under the guidance of the unerring Spirit of God. And are we to fly in the face of these facts, and conclude that because a release from the field of labour was granted them, before their contemplated mission was completed, that their call to the service was mere delusion, when they declared upon a death-bed that their hearts overflowed with peace in consequence of their yielding obedience to that call?

We cannot but consider the pretensions of [Elias Hicks](#) as presumptuous and illusory; and if it be true that "in the course of his long experience he has never named any one, who was prevented from attending by illness or otherwise," he has given abundant proof of his want of prescience on other occasions, equally, if not more important, and more immediately connected with his own religious duties, the proof of which must be fresh in the recollection of most of his friends in this city. One instance we may notice; - it is well known that after he had announced his intention of being at a meeting on the following day, and a large concourse of persons had assembled to hear him, they were disappointed, in consequence of his being confined to his chamber with illness.

The consequences which result from the opinions which he advances on this subject, are really monstrous. It follows from his assertions, that as every man has the Spirit of truth, and this spirit is unerring and endued with prescience, therefore every man who is obedient to it, must be made prescient. But the Spirit of God is endued with all the properties of Deity; and consequently upon his position we "have a right to expect" that all true christians shall be endued likewise with omnipotence, omniscience, and ubiquity; and E.H. may as well pretend to either of these attributes, as to make the claims he does to foreknowledge.

#### **NOTE C.**

[Elias Hicks](#), in his observations upon the Scriptures, in the letter to Dr. Atlee, says that his "views have always been in accordance with our primitive friends on this point." From this expression, some might be induced to conclude that the Society of Friends, in its commencement, did not consider the Scriptures to be a rule of faith or a test of doctrines, and that they denied their authority. That such a conclusion would be very incorrect, the extract given by A.B. from Barclay's Apology



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fully evinces. The following quotations will confirm the sentiments of Barclay.

George Fox, in his "Answer to all such as falsely say the Quakers are no Christians," &c. Lond. 1682, says, "We believe concerning God the Father, Son, and Spirit, according to the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, which we receive and embrace as the most authentic and perfect declaration of Christian faith, being indited by the Holy Spirit of God, that never errs," &c.

To the governor of Barbadoes he says, "Concerning the Holy Scriptures, we believe that they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who (as the Scripture itself declares,) spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. We believe that they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled, (he that fulfills them is Christ,) and they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, &c. and able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. And we believe the Holy Scriptures are the words of God, for it is said in Exodus 20 c. 1 v. "God spoke all these words, saying," &c. - meaning the ten commandments given forth upon mount Sinai, - and in Revelation 22 c. 18 v. saith John, "I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man addeth unto them, or if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, (not the Word,) &c. So in Luke i. 20. "Because those believed not my words." So we call the Holy Scriptures as Christ and his apostles called them, viz. The words of God."

William Penn says, concerning the Scriptures, "we in truth and sincerity believe them to be of divine authority, given by the inspiration of God, through holy men, they speaking or writing them as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; that they are a declaration of those things most surely believed by the primitive Christians; and that as they contain the mind and will of God, and are his commands to us, so they in that respect are his declaratory word, and therefore are obligatory on us, and are profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect and thoroughly furnished to every good work." "We both love, honour, and prefer them before all books in the world, ever choosing to express our belief of the Christian faith and doctrine in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles or doctrines whatsoever, that are repugnant thereto." - Folio Works, vol. 2, 878.

In his address to Protestants he says, "'Tis great presumption, and a men shelter to ignorance or ambition, to raise a credit to human devices, by beating down the true value of the Scriptures."

Richard Claridge says, "We do sincerely and unfeignedly believe



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the following propositions:

1st. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, were not of any man's private setting forth, but were given by inspiration of God.

2d. That they do contain a clear and sufficient declaration of all doctrines, in common to be believed in order to eternal life and salvation.

3d. That the Holy Scriptures are the best outward rule and standard of doctrine and practice.

4th. That whatsoever either doctrine or practice, though under pretensions to the immediate dictates and teachings of the Spirit, is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, ought to be rejected and disowned as false and erroneous; for whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith." In his Journal, page 419, he says, "The Holy Scriptures are the great charter of Christian faith and doctrine, and unto them should all appeals be made in matters relating unto both."

It is unnecessary, though it would be easy, to extend our quotations further, proving to a demonstration that E.H. in denying the authenticity and authority of Holy Scripture, has swerved from the ancient tenets of the society of Friends. - Barclay, in his Apology, page 18, says - "These divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do, nor ever can contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or right and sound reason;" it must therefore be evident that all pretensions to further light, or to the leadings of the Spirit, in denying any doctrine set forth in Holy Scripture, or in any way lessening their value and importance, must be considered as a dangerous delusion and false pretence.

#### **NOTE D.**

That it is not detraction to express our dissent from doctrines which are publicly avowed, to discuss them, and to advise our friends against the adoption of them, must be obvious to every person of common sense.

Ever man has an undoubted right to enjoy his own opinions, provided they are not opposed to the laws of his Maker, nor injurious to society; and so long as he keeps them to himself, and does not infringe upon the conscientious belief or the rights of his neighbour, he is accountable for them to God only. But when he assumes the office of a teacher, whether public or otherwise, his opinions cease to be private sentiment, and become public property, upon which every man may lawfully converse when and where he pleases, may reflect and decide at



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his leisure, may approve or condemn, may adopt or reject as is most consistent with the dictates of his best judgment.

When a man attempts to promulgate any new doctrines, we would suppose that he propounds them to the belief of his hearers from the apprehension that they are more worthy of their acceptance than those they have hitherto held; consequently then, he must consider himself to be doing a praiseworthy act in teaching them - and it cannot be detraction to charge a man with doing that which he himself views in the light of a good action.

The speaker communicates his ideas with the design of amending or informing his hearers, and whatever assertions he may make, or whatever sentiments he may avow, they at once become the property of his hearers, and are open to public or private criticism, and to approbation or censure according to their merits. It is not to be supposed that the hearers are blindly and implicitly to adopt them, without exercising any discretion, or inquiring into their correctness, nor yet that they are to be prevented from communicating them to their friends for their judgment and opinion. This would be depriving the hearer of his liberty of conscience and expression, and placing his faith entirely under the domination and control of the ministry, who would have it in their power to force his assent to the most absurd dogmas.

Religious opinions are of infinite importance to man - they are intimately connected with his salvation, and consequently require the most serious consideration - he should have every opportunity and every facility for sober inquiry, and in coming to a decision he should summon to his aid all those helps which the kindness of our Creator has placed within his reach. If upon mature reflection he conscientiously differs from the sentiments preached - if he believes them contrary to Scripture and right reason, and inimical to true religion and to pure morality, it becomes his duty to declare his dissent and disapprobation. If he sees that much ingenuity and pains are taken to disseminate them, that they are disguised under specious and insinuating forms, calculated to deceive the unwary, he is imperatively called upon by his duty as a Christian, to sound an alarm - to expose them in their real colours - to show their untruth and their pernicious tendency - to warn his fellow men against the adoption of them, and by every lawful means to prevent their propagation.

Elias Hicks appears among us as the declaimer of certain doctrines which he propounds for our belief, and which are easily seen to be contrary to Scripture, to the acknowledged principles of Friends, and to sound reason - and surely he is not so infallible as to have a right to call upon us for our unqualified and servile assent; nor yet to debar us from the liberty of discussing them, of telling them to our friends, nor



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even publishing if we think proper, what he himself openly proclaims. Such requisitions would be the extreme exercise of ecclesiastical tyranny, and a most conclusive evidence of a consciousness of the weakness of his own cause.

What he openly preaches, and has often preached in the hearing of hundreds of competent witnesses, it cannot be detraction to charge him with holding, else he must himself be his greatest detractor, since the charge is but a repetition of the substance and meaning of his own words. Any man who possesses the art of stenography, may without any violation of gospel order, take down all his discourses, however absurd, print them and publish them to the world - how much more then may an individual converse upon them and tell them to his friends.

The right of absolute dictation on the part of ministers - the inordinate love of popularity and power - a claim for privilege, and for an exemption from the ordinary restraints and regulations of society, are the means by which priestcraft has ever established its dominion, and they continue to be the fruitful sources of religious oppression. So long, therefore, as liberty of conscience and liberty of speech is guaranteed to us, it becomes the duty of every member of every Christian society to exercise them in the fear of God, to watch with a jealous eye every innovation upon the established doctrines and discipline of the church, faithfully to bear a testimony against every approximation to infidelity, however specious its appearance or however sacred the sanctions with which it seeks to clothe itself, and whenever he sees the approach of the enemy, as a vigilant watchman upon the walls of Zion, to sound the awakening alarm among his brethren.

#### **NOTE E.**

[Elias Hicks](#), in his letter to Dr. Edwin A. Atlee, acknowledges that he has "taken up his pen to state to him the unfriendly and unchristian conduct of Anna Braithwaite to him." It would appear from this, that he considers himself exempted from the observance of that Gospel order, which he charges her with an "open violation of." We would ask whether it was not an "open violation of Gospel order," for Elias Hicks to state the unfriendly and unchristian conduct of Anna Braithwaite to Dr. Edwin A. Atlee, instead of telling it to her alone?

The religious profession of E. H. is the most exalted that we ever heard from any man - he professes to be continually guided by "an unerring Spirit," consequently his conduct, to be consistent, should be perfectly blameless. But the spirit of the Gospel teaches us meekness, gentleness, and forgiveness - its language is, "Being reviled we bless, being persecuted we suffer it, being defamed we entreat." Can we reconcile with the influence and government of this spirit, his unfounded charges against A.B. of self-importance, of hypocrisy, of falsehood, and



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deceit; of being actuated by the treachery of Judas - of watching for evil, of straining every nerve in exaggerating his words, of being determined to criminate him at all events, and of feigning or forcing constructions upon his words to suit her own purpose? If these grievous accusations had been true, it was his duty to tell them to Anna Braithwaite alone - not to communicate them to Dr. Atlee, that he might publish them to the world.

The tone of E.H.'s letter, and the language in which it is couched, appear to us to be little accordant with the precepts or example of Him, who when enduring the agonies of a cruel and ignominious death, prayed for his persecutors, "who when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he suffered he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

We search his letter in vain for a single one of the long catalogue of crimes which he lays to her charge; while on the other hand, there is the most conclusive testimony that she is guiltless of them all. She went to see him, as her manner indicated by his own admission, in a friendly disposition - they conversed together freely upon important points of Christian doctrine, and he avowed to her his disbelief of some of them, in terms more plain and direct than he usually had done in his public preaching. She made notes of this conversation, and when leaving America, placed a copy of them in the hands of her friends, to correct an unfounded report which had got abroad respecting her. Such is the account of her "unfriendly and unchristian conduct as relates to those notes" - and as to the "conversation among friends and others," and saying that he "held and promulgated infidel doctrines," it was certainly consistent with her duty as a Christian minister, aware of the dangerous tendency of his principles, to advise her friends against adopting them, to expose their absurdity and inconsistency, and to excite an examination into their true character and consequences. It was both friendly and Christian to warn them of the danger of listening with credulity to one whose high profession, reputed morality, and popular eloquence, had given him considerable influence; and if his opinions had been correct, the promulgation of them would not have proved prejudicial to him.

She had twice visited him, she had privately laboured to reclaim him from his errors, but finding him fixed in his unbelief, there was but one correct course for her to pursue, and that was to guard the ignorant and the unsuspecting against imbibing his notions.

**NOTE F.**

It is a great mistake to suppose that the principles of E.H. are new, or that they are the result of greater attainments or superior revelation, since the same opinions, which he now propagates, have been maintained by most of the infidel writers





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within the last hundred and fifty years. We are aware that he has received the credit of invention, and that to many persons they have the charm of novelty, but those who will take the pains to search those excellent works which have been written in defence of christianity will find all of them have been refuted.

Lord Herbert, who wrote in 1663, taught that repentance was the only propitiation, that the christian doctrine of atonement, granted pardon on too easy terms, and derogated from the obligations of virtue - that we cannot be ascertained that the Scriptures are a revelation, and if we could ascertain it, we know not that the translations are correct; and hence he says, is the necessity of rejecting all systems and forms of religion and adopting the one universal, natural religion, written upon the hearts of all men by the divine finger. - Hobbes asserts that the only assurance for the authenticity of Scripture is the authority of the church or commonwealth - and that the New Testament was never received as of divine authority until declared to be so by the councils - Blount taught that there was no necessity for a Mediator between God and man, and that the belief of such a necessity was derogatory of his Infinite Mercy - Toland declared that there were no mysteries in religion, nor any thing contrary to, nor above reason, and that no christian doctrine can be called mystery. - The Earl of Shaftsbury wrote much to discountenance a belief in the authority of Scripture and in the truth of the christian religion as there set forth - frequently repeating the charge of corruptions and interpolations in the Bible. - Collins declared that all those who contend for the faith of the Gospel, as contained in Holy Scripture are enemies to a just liberty of thought, and to free examination and inquiry - and that the books of Holy Scripture were corrupted and altered by the early fathers and clergy to suit their own notions. - Woolston says that many of the facts recorded in Scripture are mere allegorical allusions to the work of religion in the heart, and that literally taken they are absurd and fictitious; that the history of the life of Christ is only an emblematical or allegorical representation of his spiritual life in the soul.

Dr. Tindal taught that christianity is nothing more than the religion of nature; that the dictates of the Spirit, or of "the universal law of nature" in man, are so pure, perfect and absolute, that all external revelation is utterly useless; that to believe in external revelation is to renounce our reason and give up our understandings to a blind and implicit faith; and therefore it is our duty to throw off such revelation, and follow the pure, simple dictates of the light of nature. - Dr. Morgan says, that revelation (in which he declares himself a firm believer) is no more than the discovery of truth by whatever process it be made, and that the only test of the truth of revelation is the moral fitness and reason of things - he declares that St. Paul preached a Jewish Gospel, viz. "Salvation



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by Christ, the Jewish Messiah." - Chubb taught, that Christ was no higher character than the founder of the Christian sect, that he was sent into the world to acquaint mankind with the revelation of the will of God, and that the account of his birth was ridiculous and incredible. He denies that he is our Advocate with the Father, or the propitiation for sin, and says the doctrine of the atonement "is contrary to all truth and the eternal reason of things" - that "to appeal to the Scriptures as the test for our opinions would be the certain way to perplexity and dissatisfaction, for the Bible is the grand source of heresies and schisms, and exhibits doctrines the most opposite, and greatly dishonourable to God. - Lord Bolingbroke, speaking of the atonement, says it is "repugnant to all our ideas of order, justice, goodness, and even theism." - Thus we see that most of the Deistical writers from the year 1663 to 1746 have avowed the very principles which [Elias Hicks](#) now teaches as the result of immediate revelation. - The reader will find a full refutation of these in Dr. Leland's View of Deistical writers.

We shall now notice the comparatively modern work of that arch-infidel [Thomas Paine](#), called "The Age of Reason," many of the sentiments of which, are so exactly similar to those of E.H. as almost to induce us to suspect plagiarism. - Speaking of our blessed Saviour he says - "They (the Christian mythologists) represent this virtuous and amiable man, Jesus Christ, to be at once both God and man, celestially begotten, on purpose to be sacrificed" - he declares that he was a Jew by birth and profession, and was the Son of God in like manner that every other person is, for the Creator is the father of all" - that "he probably worked at his father's trade, which was that of a carpenter; that it does not appear that he had any school learning, and the probability is that he could not write." - He denies the miraculous conception, and ranks the divinity of Jesus Christ with the deification of the heathen gods.

Of the doctrine of Christian redemption he speaks in terms of great contempt - he says, "The probability is that the whole theory or doctrine of what is called redemption (which is said to have been accomplished by one person in the room of another) was originally fabricated, on purpose to bring forward and build all those secondary and pecuniary redemptions upon, and the passages in the books upon which the idea or theory of redemption is built have been fabricated and manufactured for that purpose" - "moral justice cannot take the innocent for the guilty, even if the innocent would offer itself" - "the doctrine of atonement is fabulous, man stands in the same relative condition with his Maker, he ever did since man existed, and it is his greatest consolation to think so" = "the doctrine is an outrage offered to the moral justice of God, by supposing him to make the innocent suffer for the guilty." - "It is only by the exercise of reason that man can discover God." And the doctrines of the



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fall of Adam - the Divinity of Christ, and his great sacrifice, he declares are all irreconcilable to the divine gift of reason that God has given to man.

Religion he says, cannot have connexion with mystery - it is free from every thing of mystery and unencumbered with any thing mysterious - mystery, is the appendage of fabulous not true religion."

Of our believing facts adduced upon the authority of revelation, he says, "When it is revealed to me I will believe it to be revelation, but it is not and cannot be incumbent upon me to believe it a revelation before," &c.

Of the inspired account of the creation, he says, "It has all the appearance of being a tradition which the Israelites had among them before they came out of Egypt," &c.

To conclude the parallel, speaking of the first part of his work, [Paine](#) says, "The opinions I have advanced in that work, are the effect of the most clear and long established conviction, that the Bible and Testament are impositions upon the world - that the fall of man - the account of Jesus Christ being the Son of God - and of his dying to appease the wrath of God - and of salvation by that strange means, are all fabulous inventions, dishonourable to the wisdom and power of the Almighty; and that the only true religion is Deism, by which I then meant, and now mean, the belief of one God, and an imitation of his moral character, or the practice of what are called moral virtues," &c. - That man must be destitute of common perception who does not at the first glance see the coincidence of these sentiments with those of E.H., and it is by no means difficult to tell where the latter may have borrowed them without the pains or trouble of invention.

[Paine](#), however, was a more consistent unbeliever - conscious of the entire incongruousness of his opinions with the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, he did not attempt to screen himself under their sanction, by wresting the plain sense and meaning of some parts to make out a warrant for his sentiments, and wholly denying others which directly contradicted him, but he commenced his career by boldly declaring that the Bible was a tissue of falsehood and deceit - he had too much honesty to make a profession of believing them when he knew that his principles would give such profession the lie.

Bishop Watson has replied to the objections of [Paine](#) with much learning and acuteness, and with great effect - his work is well worthy of a serious perusal; but the most conclusive answer to [Paine](#)'s infidelity, as well as to that of all the writers whose names we have mentioned, is a contemplation of their dying hours - He who has seen the impenitent and hardened sinner trembling



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with agony of body and horror of mind - destitute of hope - tormented with the very pains of hell begun while on earth - and going out of time into eternity blaspheming and contemning his God and Saviour, may form a correct idea of the state of mind which these principles have produced in most of their professors - and let those who are tampering with unbelief take warning by the awful accompaniment of their death bed scenes, a faithful account of which they may read in "Simpson's Plea for Religion," and in "Pike's Consolations of Gospel Truth."

It has been the favourite axiom and first principle of all unbelievers and free thinkers, that there are no mysteries in religion, and that no man is bound to believe what he cannot comprehend - this is, in fact, the very basis upon which infidelity in every age has been erected.

We could adduce large quotations from authors of the same school with [Paine](#), shewing in the most conclusive manner that the dogmas of [Elias Hicks](#), so far from being further revelations of Christian doctrines, are merely the stale objections to the religion of the Bible, which have been so frequently routed and driven from the field, to the utter shame and confusion of their promulgators.

**FINIS.**



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1826**


 Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and his cousin Friend [Edward Hicks](#) the painter visited the Friends meetings of New York, preaching.<sup>28</sup>

*It is a dreadful crisis, the spiritual Jerusalem seems to be invested from every side.... If there were less tattling and scribbling, and more praying, there would be happiness among us.*

In this year occurred the first recorded public use of the sarcastic phrase “get religion” in America. –And the chasm within [Quakerism](#) which would lead to the Great Split was widening as more and more people “just weren’t getting it” (to employ an idiom new to the 1990s).

Here is an example of the “tattling and scribbling” that was being preached against by Friend Elias. In this year an anonymous 16-page pamphlet was being issued in Philadelphia, entitled AN EXPOSE OF SOME OF THE MISREPRESENTATIONS CONTAINED IN A PAMPHLET, ENTITLED A LETTER FROM A FRIEND IN AMERICA TO LUKE HOWARD, OF TOTTENHAM, NEAR LONDON. This pamphlet is attributed to “a [Friend](#) in America” and describes itself as a response to the pamphlet by “Luke Howard, of Tottenham, near London,” LETTER TO A FRIEND IN AMERICA ... UPON A TREATISE WRITTEN BY JOB SCOTT, ENTITLED “SALVATION BY CHRIST.” (In this year Friend [Luke Howard](#) was preparing for publication in London by W. Phillips a volume entitled GLEANINGS, MORAL AND RELIGIOUS, FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS / BY JOHN KENDALL [1726-1815], by selecting and arranging passages from that author’s manuscript collections.)

**HOWARD PUBLICATIONS**

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

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

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

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

28. SERMON DELIVERED BY ELIAS HICKS AND EDWARD HICKS IN FRIENDS MEETINGS IN NEW YORK. New York, 1825, pages 50-51.

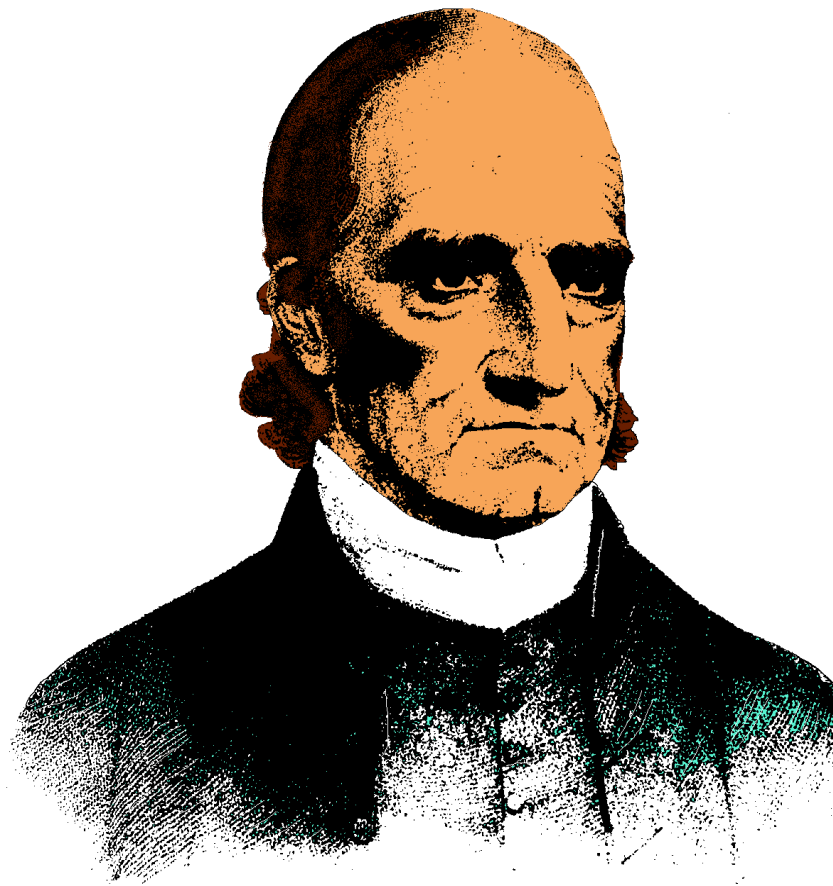


**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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



HDT

WHAT?

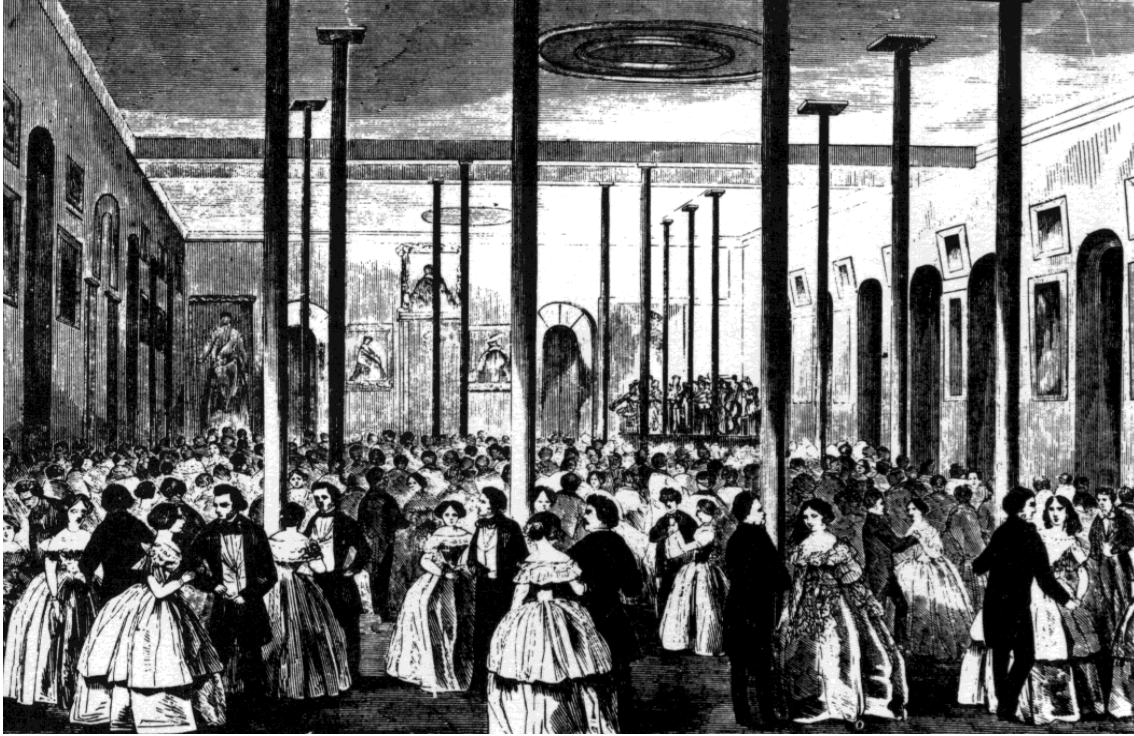
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**ELIAS HICKS**

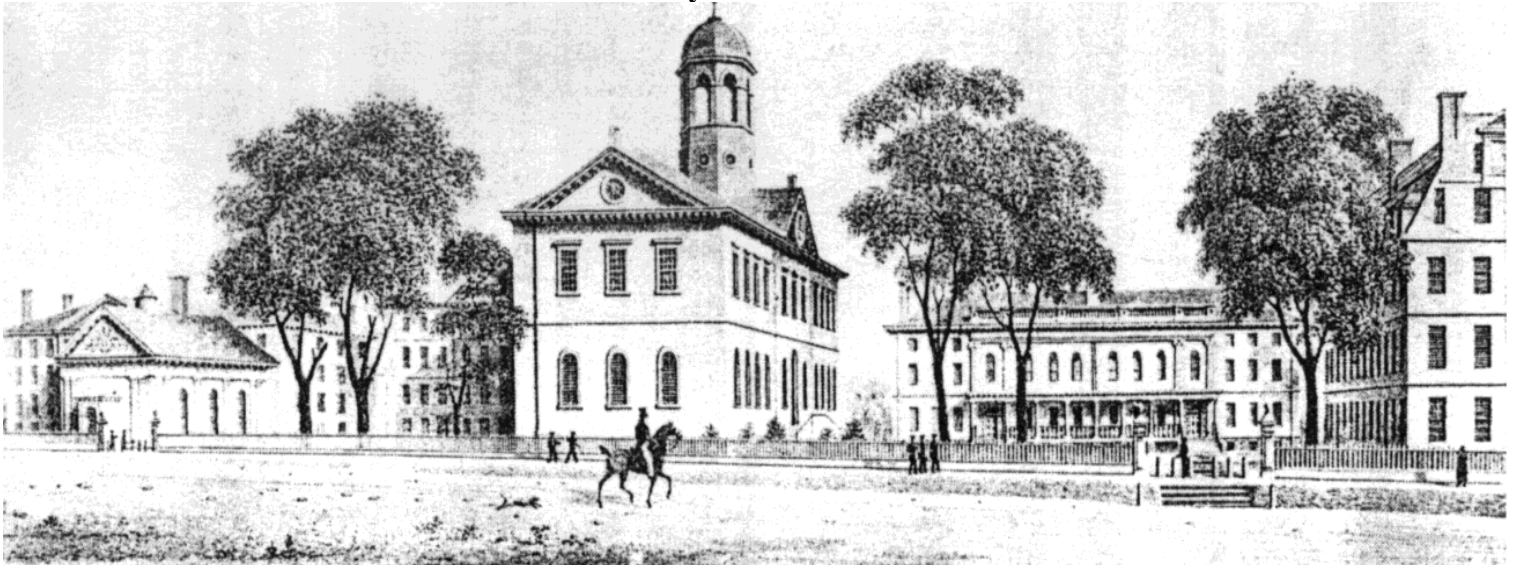
**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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



**Class Day in Harvard Hall**





**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**



November 15, Wednesday: Friend [Elias Hicks](#) preached to the Friends at Darby, Pennsylvania:

*Here we see a beautiful path open to every man and woman; and so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err therein, when we come to the right thing, the light which maketh manifest; for we can get no right knowledge but through this light. As we have need of the light of the outward sun in temporal things, so we must come to know the inward sun, the inward light, to be that from which we much derive all knowledge of spiritual things, and all that relates to the soul and its nourishment – that which sustains and continues it alive in God, and which is the source of its happiness and joy.... And the spirit by which he was actuated is that light and life which is the savior of the soul: and it was the same light and life which is the light and life of god; for he derived it from God his heavenly Father. And we derive a portion of the same, which is able to save the soul if properly obeyed. ...there is nothing else by which the soul can ever be saved, but by an obedience to the manifestation of the will of God by his own spirit in the soul: it is the only thing needful. It is that which gives us a knowledge of God and his will, and enables us to perform it.... Then what infatuation to say, that I undervalue the scriptures! No, my friends, I do not undervalue the scriptures of truth, but I feel it a duty to set them in the right place, and I dare not set them above it. For if I do this, I shall offend my Creator – I shall offend against that light which is my faith and my governing principle, and in which I feel peace with God, and with the children of men everywhere.*






**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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

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

**GEORGE FOX**

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

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

**JESUS**

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

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

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1827

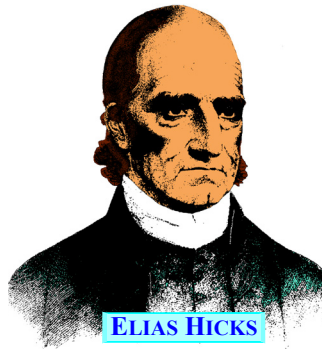
→ July 28, Saturday: [Hector Berlioz](#) and three other Prix de Rome candidates received their examination poem, The Death of Orpheus, and were directed to their loges.

The University of Marburg conferred an honorary doctorate on Louis Spohr.

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

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

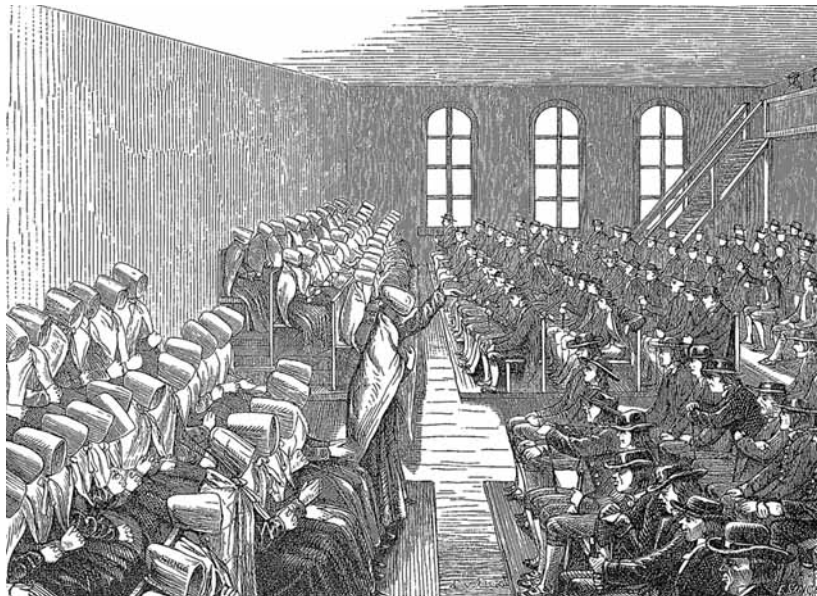
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



ELIAS HICKS

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



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



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

Jericho, Long Island in 1829.



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



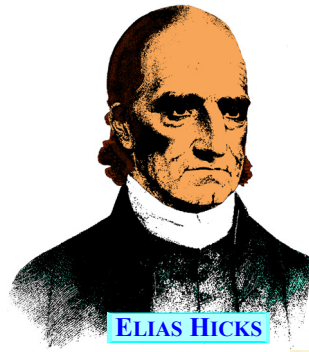
## ELIAS HICKS

## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

→ When the Reverend William Adam was challenged in his direction of the educational effort at Rammohan Roy’s school in Calcutta by those who experienced his teaching as dry, stilted, and boring (which, clearly, it was), he did the same thing he would do in April 1843 → when he would be in charge of the educational branch of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Northampton](#): he withdrew totally. This man had a thin skin — if you didn’t want him he didn’t want you.

Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and Rammohan Roy (who was at this time becoming an advocate of trial by jury, and was founding the reforming Hindu society *Brahma Sabha*) were in contact with each other by letter. The two leaders, one [Quaker](#) and the other Hindu, had much impressed each other with their writings and works. The attitude of Friend Elias was that religion was not an opinion at all, it was a relationship or a study. The attitude of the rajah would not be so readily summarized, but was utterly congruent with this.



ELIAS HICKS

“To be a Christian is to be Christ-like.”



“Oh, I quite agree.”


Which is to say, Rammohan Roy did not any more accept Hindu scriptures as authoritative, than did [Elias Hicks](#) accept the BIBLE as superior to the inspiration with which it was read and studied — he discarded many ritual practices as distractions from the life of the spirit. He neither dwelled on reincarnation, *karman*, nor the effect of deeds done in previous lives. His movement would go through many rebirths, first as the *Brahmo Samaj* of [India](#) of 1866, then as the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* of 1878, and as the *Naba Bidhan* “Church of the New Dispensation,” and by now it has been quite absorbed into the general context of liberal Hindu society (an Indian name that might be familiar to you: Rabindranath Tagore would be a product of this tradition).

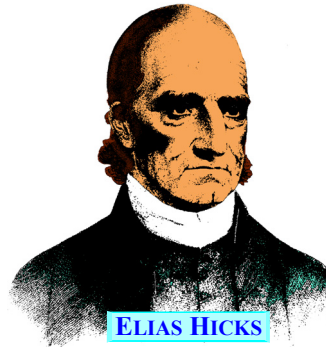


## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

## ELIAS HICKS

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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



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

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

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paintings all showed the famous peaceful interaction between white founding fathers and “Chief Tammany.”<sup>29</sup>



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

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



July 6, Sunday: The [Reverend Ezra Ripley](#) made a notation in the records of his 1st Parish Church in [Concord](#), that "Our sister [Cynthia Thoreau](#) changed her mind, and did not offer herself for communion with the Trinitarian Church, and is still a member of this church."

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

*1st day 6th of 7 M / Our Meetings were well attended & both nearly silent. - The Afternoon was an uncommonly dull one to me.- Before I went to meeting this morning I met with a plain looking man at the door, who I took to be a man from Lynn & from his open & familiar look it seemed as if I had seen him & as he advanced I gave him my hand - he told me he was from Phila & after a little familiar conversation I asked him in to the house On conversing further I found he was not a member of our society, but had been in his youth & was disowned for his outgoings, but had become (as he called it) convinced, but had not joined any society & was now travelling on truths account - I told him as he was not a member we could not consent to his preaching in our meeting, he said he did not attend any Meeting, but went round chiefly conversing in families - said he had been to [New Bedford](#) & Staid at S Rodmans. - well I said didst thou feel Saml & his wife to be friends in the life of truth. - he replied, he did not feel free to speak on that subject, but he could say thus much that "while he was there he felt free" - finding what he was, I felt but little openness [the word is crossed out] with him & we frequently fell into long pauses. - I however told him that I had no unity with discenters from friends such as followed [Elias Hicks](#) - after a little dissultory conversation he got up to go away saying that he was going to NYork in the Steam Boat this Afternoon - I expected him at meeting but found he did not*





**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

come. –

*Just as I rose from dinner he knocked at the door, came in & set down to wait for the boat – I asked him some leading questions on doctrinal subjects, particularly of his belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ, whether he believed in his character as God & man, & whether he considered him as a meer prophet & good man – he expressed an unwillingness to give his opinion on these points of doctrine, & engaged[?] the necessity of attending to the inward Light – said he was a friend to all good folks of any denomination & that he did not meddle with particular doctrines, especially the points on which Friends are divided –but still where ever I found him he was associated with those of the separatists or new order. – I told him he could not get along so, that I knew as well as he knew any thing that there were points which they held to that were not christian & took away their claim to the name, that I wanted him to acknowledge the true principle & give his strength to Orthodox Friends & not to carry out two [?] but to come out on the right side, thus he would openly & show himself subserve the good cause &c.*

*He told me that very soon after he came in in the Morning that he perceived I was under bondage & oppression from a sense of feeling. – I told him as to bondage, I acknowledged more of that than I wished, & as to oppression, he was correct for I did silently set up Lamentation over him, from an apprehension that he had known something of the purifying power of truth in his heart & been in some measure enlightened by it, but from a want of properly embracing the Doctrines of the Gospel, he had not attained to that clearness which he ought to have done – he should bring what I had said to judgement & if it was for him he should take it & if not it would pass off. – & urged the necessity of Love &c & wished me to examine & see if my own words did not apply to myself &c*

*This is a very imperfect outline of all that passed between us.– but as the opportunity was a little remarkable I thought best to insert something of it here – – we parted Kindly. –*


**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

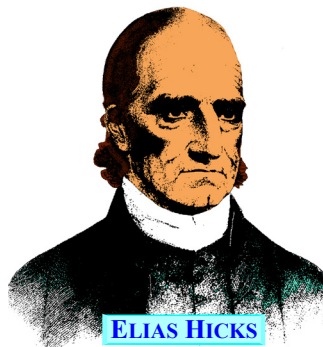


## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

## ELIAS HICKS

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

 July 22, Tuesday: Friend [Elias Hicks](#) preached at the Hester Street Meeting House of the Religious Society of Friends in Brooklyn on *Paumanok* “Long Island.”<sup>30</sup> Their worship was orderly and settled — for the Orthodox (segregationists) had departed.



ELIAS HICKS


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



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

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

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

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



## ELIAS HICKS

## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)



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

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

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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

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



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

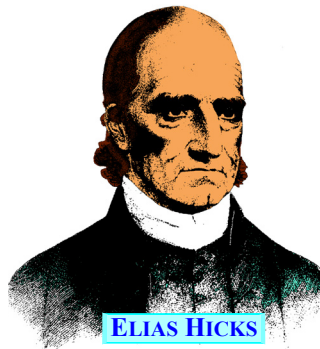
**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1829**



Friend Elias returned to his home and farm near Jericho, Long Island from the third of his three very extensive visits to [Quaker](#) meetings. On this third journey, he had gone in a one-horse carriage from Long Island to visit monthly meetings located in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana.







## ELIAS HICKS

## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

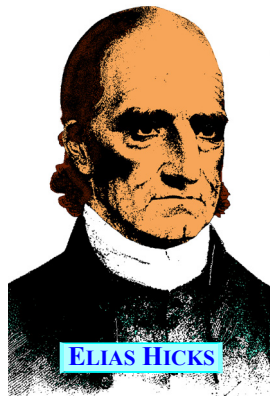


This is something that Whitman would recall much later, in 1888  while he was ill and was supposing that he was dying. He recalled that he had been fortunate enough to have been taken by his parents, who had been involved with Quakers,<sup>31</sup> to hear Friend Elias at his farewell sermon in a



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

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



ELIAS HICKS

The topic on which he spoke that night was, characteristically, "What is the chief end of man?" Whitman later commented that Friend Elias's presentation was one of "pleading, tender, nearly agonizing conviction" and

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

FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

that of the Society of Friends “Elias Hicks has so far prov’d to be the most mark’d individual result.”<sup>32</sup> One of the things this uneducated old Raskolnik farmer had been trying to accomplish was a boycott of all products created by the forced and unremunerated labors of enslaved peoples. He demonstrated during meetings for worship that the old as well as the young can resort to guerrilla theater, informing one [Quaker](#) elder for instance that he admired his ignorance. The use of tobacco, as a product of slave labor and by no means a necessity of life, was so obviously, he argued, a far greater sin than thinking mistaken thoughts about Jesus Christ –who was quite capable of taking care of himself, thank you– that it was evident that the [Religious Society of Friends](#), in being primarily concerned over the content of its credal statement, had its head screwed on backward. Taking as his motto “a work well begun is half done,” Hicks insisted that our religious faith should be as simple as a child’s. Religion is “righteousness, justice, and mercy,” and has little or nothing to do with believing the truth.



Carpenters



and



Testifyers



and



Surveyors

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

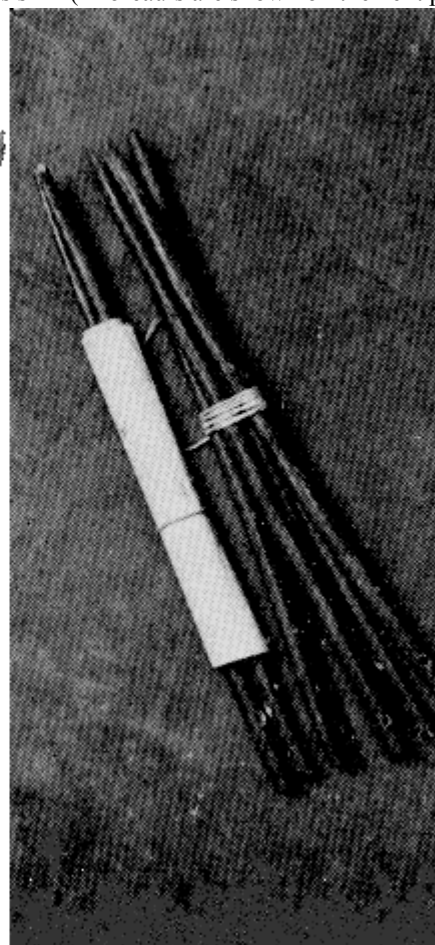
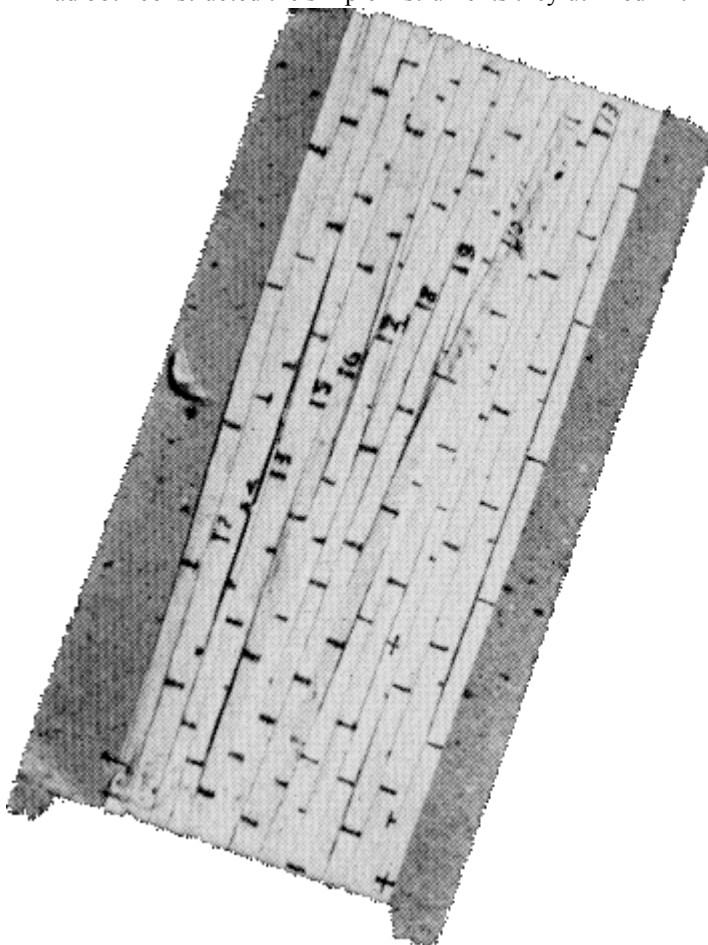
32. Whitman 1244.

ELIAS HICKS

FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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



but also in the fine sense of William Cowper's "Verses supposed to be written by Alexander Selkirk, during his solitary abode on the Island of Juan Fernandez, 1782"<sup>33</sup> which Thoreau quotes in Chapter 2 of [WALDEN](#):

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

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

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

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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

### **"Specimen Days"**

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

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





**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

## “Specimen Days”

### REMINISCENCE OF ELIAS HICKS

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

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



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1830

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

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

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

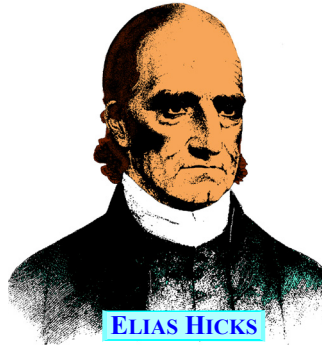
**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

Friend [Elias Hicks](#) suffered a stroke on his right side and lost the ability to speak. In his hand as he fell was his last letter, just completed, to Hugh Judge in Ohio,<sup>34</sup> which said in part that



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

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



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



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM


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

Jericho, 2nd mo. 14th, 1830

Dear Hugh,

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

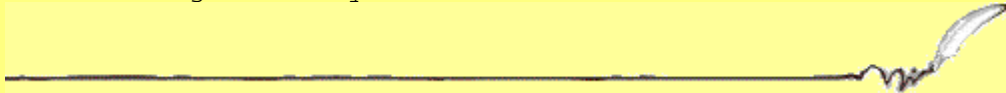
 February 27, Saturday: [Elias Hicks](#) died.

 March 3, Wednesday: Funeral and burial of [Elias Hicks](#).

From the Azores Islands, Queen Maria II of Portugal would rule in opposition to Dom Miguel.

[Waldo Emerson](#) in his journal:

Read with admiration and delight Mr. Webster's noble speech in answer to Hayne. What consciousness of political rectitude, and what confidence in his intellectual treasures must he have to enable him to take this master's tone. Mr. Channing said he had great "self-subsistence." The beauty and dignity of the spectacle he exhibits should teach men the beauty and dignity of principles. [He] has mind great enough to see the majesty of moral nature and to apply himself in all his length and breadth to it and magnanimously trust thereto.



DANIEL WEBSTER



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**



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

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



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

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

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

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

*ELIAS HICKS*

*TO HUGH JUDGE.*

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



## ELIAS HICKS

## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

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

According to the [Niles Weekly Register](#) of April 10, page 124, an Italian artist who had asked to make a plaster casting of the face of the body of [Elias Hicks](#) before its burial, but had been rebuffed, hired ghouls from New-York to dig up his body to make the desired death mask.<sup>35</sup> The Hicks family in the morning discovered various bits of plaster in the grass around the gravesite. The gang had gotten into a fight over how the moneys were to be distributed among themselves and in the fight they had shattered the plaster cast — but it would be possible to piece it back together and the sculptor would be able to make a number of busts which he would hawk through the streets of New-York. Walt Whitman bought one of these busts and it would be standing in his home, in 1856, ➡ when [Henry Thoreau](#) came to visit.<sup>36</sup>



ELIAS HICKS

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

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

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

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ELIAS HICKS

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1832

→ [Friend Isaac T. Hopper](#) published JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS OF [ELIAS HICKS](#). WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

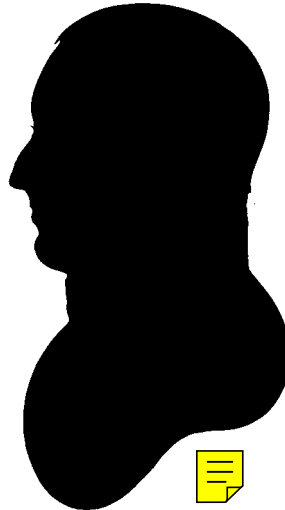
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

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

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

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





FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1835

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

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

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



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

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

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1836**



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

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



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



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

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

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**




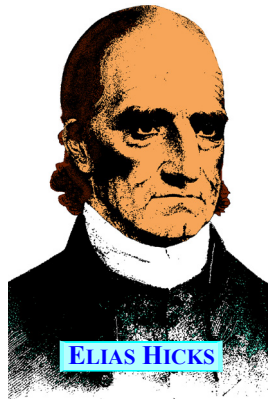
**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1837**

 Valentine Hicks, the husband of Abigail Hicks who had accompanied Friend Elias on a number of his missionary journeys, became president of the Long Island Railroad, which formed its new terminus near the Hicks family's farm in Jericho on *Paumanok* "Long Island."



The terminus was named, in honor of the new company president, "Hicksville." (There is no evidence that the people who named this new town were aware that there were any other hicks in the sticks, other than their prex'y. The town was definitely not named after Friend Elias.)



**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1839**

In Boston, the American Anti-Slavery Society put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the “Friends of Freedom”:



**THE LIBERTY BELL, 1839**

- Maria W. Chapman. “Sonnet Suggested by the Inscription on the Philadelphia Liberty Bell”
- Bradburn, George. “Incendiarism of Abolitionists”
- [Lydia Maria Child](#). “Lines to Those Men and Women, Who Were Avowed Abolitionists in 1831, '32, '33, '34, and '35”
- Quincy, Edmund. “Mother Coelia”
- Chapman, Ann Greene. “Address of a Russian to the Corpse of his Friend”
- Garrison, William Lloyd. “To the Memory of Ann Greene Chapman”

Like the previous item, an obituary poem for a cherished friend and inspired advocate of the oppressed. Departing from conventional gender constructions, Garrison praises not Chapman’s private life, but her public and political work.

- Weston, Anne Warren. “Lines written on hearing the remark of a friend, that a large number of abolitionists had died during the preceding years”
- [David Lee Child](#). [Untitled prayer]
- [Lydia Maria Child](#). “Charity Bowery”
- Weston, Caroline. “The Church and the World”

Lengthy poem chronicling the world’s hostility to Truth since the age of prophecy. As in times past, “Christ’s faithful servants here/Must walk with DANGER grim!” Interesting example of abolitionist literary iconography, particularly their self-representation as isolated, persecuted, and misunderstood, much like Christ.

- Robbins, Mary Eliza. “Freedom”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Lines Inscribed to the Intolerant, throughout New England and the Coasts thereof”



## ELIAS HICKS

## FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Poem defending fund-raising fairs as valuable abolitionist work.

- [Harriet Martineau](#). “Extract from a Letter”
- Sargent, Henrietta. “Queen Esther’s Banquet”
- [Lydia Maria Child](#). “Anecdote of Elias Hicks”
- Chapman, Maria Weston. “Sonnet: The Anniversary of Lovejoy’s Martyrdom”

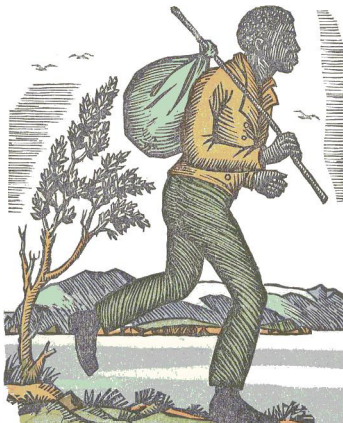
[ELIAS HICKS](#)

[Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#) was an abolitionist newspaper editor who was murdered by a pro-slavery mob in 1837 in Alton, Illinois. This sonnet praises Lovejoy’s “sacrifice”; the poet urges readers to rejoice rather than mourn.



- [Lydia Maria Child](#). “The Emancipated Slaveholders”
- John Pierpont. “The Fugitive Slave’s Apostrophe to the North Star.”

This swiftly-paced poem relies on vivid imagery.



- Chapman, Maria Weston. “The British India Society”

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**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

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- Phillips, Wendell. "Extract From a Letter, Read Before the Glasgow Emancipation Society"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "Pious Trust"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "The Cause of Emancipation"
- Clark, Mary. "Perfect Freedom"

Poem praising freedom in conventional terms; the Liberty Bell is a metaphor for freedom.

- Follen, Charles. "The Last Hope"







**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1843**

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

*Dear Helen,*

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



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



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[Lucretia Mott](#) had spoken:

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



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

HDT

WHAT?

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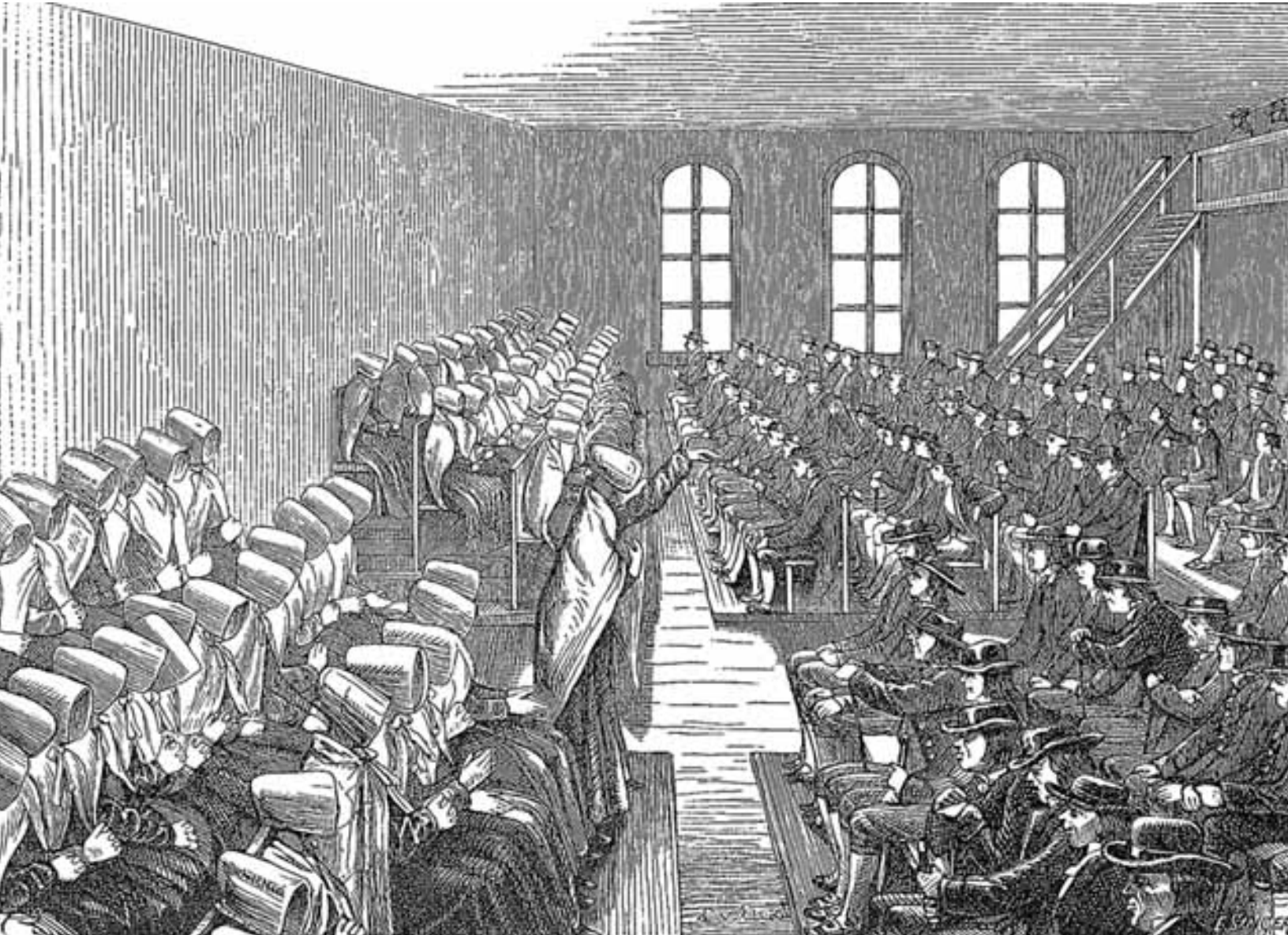
**ELIAS HICKS**

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who replace faith in deity with membership in community,

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



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



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



railing, so there is little in its report that we can accept as reliable. Those who wish to learn how she spoke to the condition of a [Henry Thoreau](#) she somehow knew, must consult representative sermons that we know were accurately transcribed, such as “Abuses and Uses of the BIBLE,” “Likeness to Christ,” and “Keep Yourself from Idols.”<sup>37</sup> One of the things she might have urged was:

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

Another agenda she might have urged:

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

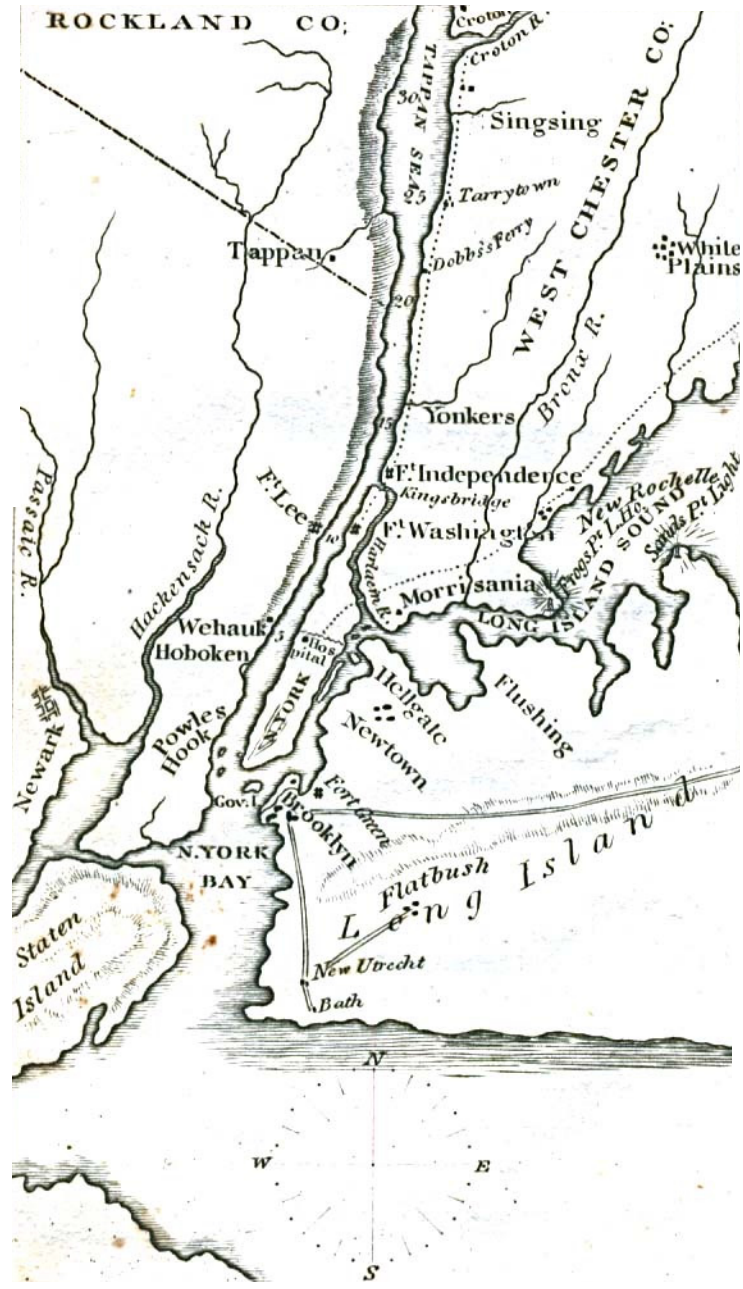
Whatever. In that meeting at the [Religious Society of Friends](#) meeting-house on Hester Street in New York City shortly before July 7, 1843, despite the sectarian turmoil of the split between [Hicksite](#) and non-[Hicksite](#) Quakers, clearly Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) succeeded in putting a defensive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

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

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



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

Dear Helen,

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

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

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



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

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



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1846

In this year the Phrenological Journal announced that

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

PHRENOLOGY

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



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

This collection alone is worth a journey to America.

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





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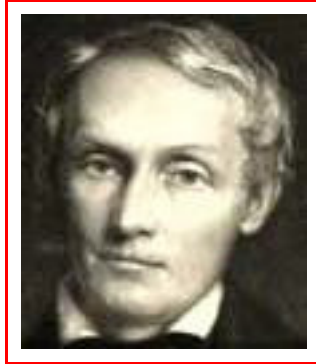


"Scientists have power by virtue of the respect commanded by the discipline. We may therefore be sorely tempted to misuse that power in furthering a personal prejudice or social goal – why not provide that extra oomph by extending the umbrella of science over a personal preference in ethics or politics?"



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

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



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

Professor Agassiz would found the American Association for the Advancement of Science as a vehicle for advancing his covert agenda of favoring the laboratory scientist over the field scientist and the technician/ specialist over the generalist<sup>38</sup> and would then condemn [Charles Darwin](#)'s development theory as not only "mischievous" but also "unscientific." He would also enact his overtly declared agenda to preserve the racial purity of our nation's schools, starting with his own elementary school in which the [Emerson](#) children were

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

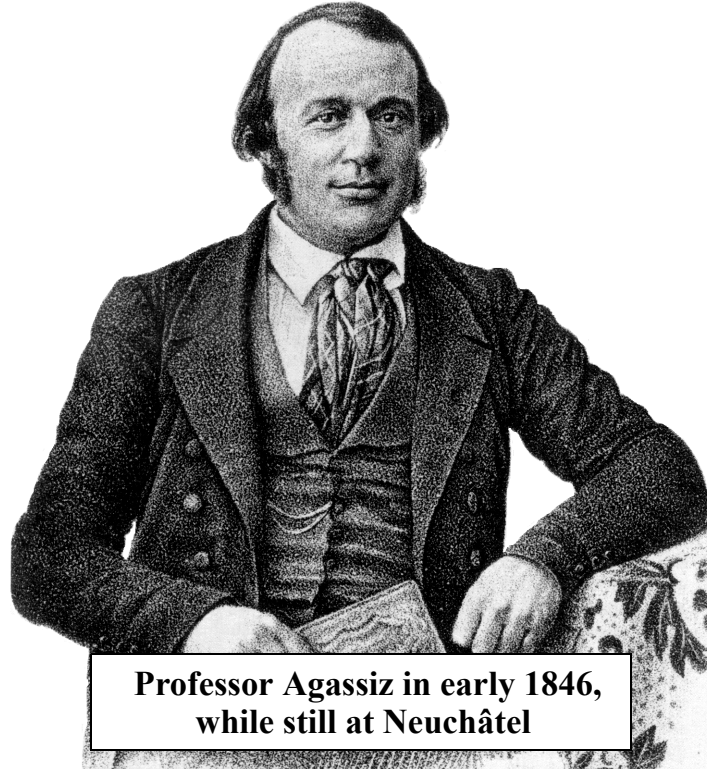


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being educated, and with the sacred halls and classrooms of [Harvard](#).



Professor Agassiz in early 1846, while still at Neuchâtel

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



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

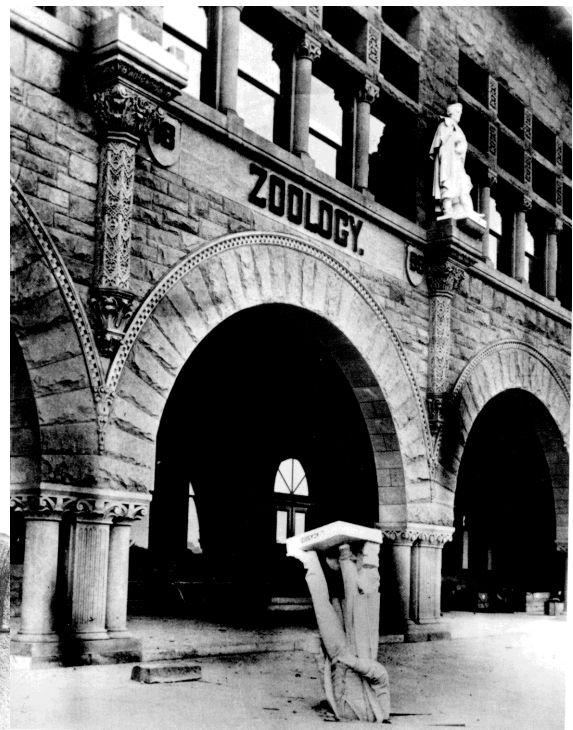


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I asked what it was in Friend Elias's spirit, and then in Henry's spirit, that enabled them to be better scientists than some of the most accredited American scientists of their day. Yes, I do have a theory — can you figure out what it is?



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

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



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Fall: The Hicksite Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) addressed a [Unitarian](#) assembly.<sup>39</sup> Some Unitarians were outraged at this, and sought assurances from their church that they would never again be addressed by a woman. Some Quakers were outraged by this, and raised issues such as whether Lucretia had misrepresented herself as an “accredited agent” of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Suggestions were being made in Quaker circles that whatever it was she thought she was, this woman was “really a Unitarian.”



39. Incidentally, she used the same voice on such occasions as she used in Quaker meetings for worship, as she did not use the Quaker singsong that [Elias Hicks](#) had used — nor did she kneel during public prayers, nor did she engage in any intercessory prayer.



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

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1856**

November 9, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#) and [Bronson Alcott](#) were traveling to Brooklyn Heights on *Paumanok* “Long Island” in order for them to hear the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher preach in his Plymouth Church. In Cincinnati, Ohio on this Sunday morn, the Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), on trial, was preaching an anti-slavery sermon in the Unitarian church at 4th and Race streets overlooking the Ohio River and, on the opposite shore, the laboring slaves of Kentucky. The sermon accorded better with the political climate in Cincinnati than it did with the political climate either of that opposite bank or of Washington DC. <sup>40</sup>

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY**      **VOLUME II**

The sermon by the Reverend Conway might have been more congenial to Thoreau than the one he actually heard from the Reverend Beecher, a message which distressed him considerably: although the Reverend Beecher was a favorite of Walt Whitman’s, Thoreau found he most definitely was not impressed with this proffered mixture of pantheistic life-worship and self-worship disguised as God-worship. After the sermon, Thoreau and Alcott visited the Whitman home on Portland Avenue twice, finally meeting Whitman. <sup>41</sup>

Remember that it had been at the Hester Street meetinghouse, in 1826,  that the English evangelical preacher Thomas Shillitoe had declared the cause of Friend [Elias Hicks](#) to be “unchristian,” and that it had been at this meetinghouse, in 1828,  that Samuel Mott had had to be raised up and handed over the heads of the crowd to reach the Clerk’s table, after being duly elected Clerk, whereupon the clerk’s table was torn apart and the evangelical Quakers walked and the great division occurred. (We can be sure that people there informed Thoreau of these utterly infamous events.) Remember that in 1830  the corpse of Friend Elias had been dug up at night to make a bust which Whitman purchased: this bust, set up in Whitman’s home, must have been of great interest to Thoreau, who had heard Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) preach in the meetinghouse in which Samuel Mott had been handed along over the heads of the resisters. After meeting Whitman, Thoreau went on to the [Eagleswood](#) community on the [New Jersey](#) shore. On First Day evening with these [Hicksite Quakers](#), Thoreau read “Walking.”<sup>42</sup>

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

**READ THE FULL TEXT**



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



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

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

**BRAD DEAN’S  
COMMENTARY**

**THOREAU’S SERMON**

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

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

November 23, Sunday: On his last worship day at the [Eagleswood](#) community on the [New Jersey](#) shore, [Henry Thoreau](#) rose during [Quaker](#) First Day morning silent worship and spoke, and someone wrote down his words,<sup>43</sup> and I would like to suggest here the reason why his words were written down. I submit that they were written down so they could be carried and presented to the Miss [Sophia Foord](#) who was known to love him from a distance.

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



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ears & make it lively.

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



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



I had excused myself by saying that I could not adapt myself to a particular audience, for all the speaking & lecturing here has reference to the children, who are far the greatest part of the audience, & they are not so bright as N.E. children. Imagine them sitting close to the wall all around a hall with old Quaker looking men & women here & there.... Some of them I suspect are very worthy people.... On Sunday evening, I read the moose-story to the children to their satisfaction.<sup>44</sup>

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

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

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

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

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



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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

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







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

But is that sort of supposition not preferable to inaccuracy? On the following page, by way of contrast, is the utterly inappropriate manner in which [Henry Thoreau](#) can be presented in a book that is allegedly “Quaker history,”<sup>45</sup> by relying primarily upon the Canby biography for the background of his life.

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



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

## My Interpretation is not the Only One Possible

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

Oh wow!

Now what appears on the following pages are the direct quotations from Dahlberg's writings which support the above paraphrase of what he offered. Warning: they make painful reading<sup>46</sup>

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



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

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

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

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

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

**MY SISTER,  
MY FRIEND!**



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

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

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

...

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



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

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

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

Is this the serpent, or the fish?

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

...



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

...

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

November 25, Tuesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was stuck in a cold train depot in Worcester, Massachusetts between 3:30AM and 6:20AM coming back from surveying for Marcus Spring at Eagleswood in New Jersey, and was afraid he was raising the suspicions of the town's night watchmen by walking around in the dark business district, and as he mused on these recent incidents, he finally repudiated [Waldo Emerson](#)'s facile stoic idea that "Nature" could teach us to become decent human beings:



December 5, 1856: What you call barrenness and poverty is to me simplicity. God could not be unkind to me if he should try.... It is the greatest of all advantages to enjoy no advantage at all. I find it invariably true, the poorer I am, the richer I am.... I have never gotten over my surprise that I should have been born into the most estimable place in all the world, and in the very nick of time, too.

In a letter on December 6th, Thoreau would shortly be attempting to recapture and characterize the experiences he was having in this train depot in these cold before-dawn hours of Tuesday, November 25th:



You little dream who is occupying Worcester when you are all asleep. Several things occurred here that night which I will venture to say were not put into the Transcript. A cat caught a mouse at the depôt,



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and gave it to her kitten to play with. So that world-famous tragedy goes on by night as well as by day, and nature is emphatically wrong. Also I saw a young Irishman kneel before his mother, as if in prayer, while she wiped a cinder out of his eye with her tongue; and I found that it was never too late (or early?) to learn something.... Blake! Blake! are you awake?

Thoreau was awake, for he had finally had his tiandi bu ren, yi wanwu wei chugou experience:

道德經



"The natural realm is without/outside human benevolence; it treats everything as mere straw dogs."

天地不仁，以萬物為芻狗

If, that is, we desire this to be a world which includes benevolence, we must create benevolence ourselves in our own human realm for it is not to be found unless it is created and is not to be created unless we create it.

47. And this is the man whose most recent biographer insists is "probably the greatest spokesman of the last two hundred years for the view that we must turn ... to nature for our morality" (Richardson 191), whose "life was far more an imitation of Apollo than of Christ" and who was "not interested in a religion that strove to redeem man from this world, or to raise him above it" (192), a man who sought "knowledge, not grace" (193). This biographer has only one word for the above incident, and that a derogatory dismissive word: "astonishing" (357). Clearly, Richardson, thinking he is writing biography, has instead been writing autobiography (or, supposing that he had a seance with Thoreau's soul, he has instead been listening to a rapping from Emerson), for this incident bore directly on a disagreement between Lucretia Mott and Emerson in regard to his "The Law of Success" essay—the one that claimed that nature utilized not only the good but also the bad—for Lucretia's reaction to that Emersonian lecture was "human wickedness works only evil, and that continually." Clearly, also, Richardson's got ahold of Thoreau's corpus by a leg and I've got ahold by an arm, and we're going to tug until we see whose piece includes the head and heart of Thoreau.



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October 30, Sunday: The trial of John Brown concluded, with a finding of guilt. The separate trials of the others indicted, John Anderson Copeland, Jr., [Edwin Coppoc](#), Shields Green, and [Aaron D. Stevens](#), would begin, and would come to their conclusions, shortly.



Green

Copeland

Haslitt

[Henry Thoreau](#) notified [Concord](#) town officials that he would speak that evening on “The character of John Brown, now in the clutches of the slaveholder.”



That evening, [Thoreau](#) delivered “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” in the vestry of the First Parish Meetinghouse in Concord. Emerson was present, and would report to Charles Wesley Slack in Boston that “He read it with great force & effect, & though the audience was of widely different parties, it was heard without a murmur of dissent.” In regard to Thoreau’s impassioned oration, this is what I have to offer.

Take it for granite, Thoreau always knows what he is saying. Speaking not only of John Brown’s sharp tongue



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but also of his carbine bought and paid for, one of the things Henry said on the evening of October 30, 1859 was



The tools were in the hands of one who could use them.



This is now on page 133 of REFORM PAPERS. But what I need to get you to understand is that it means exactly what it means, not what you maybe thought it would mean were it you who had said it. The thing I need you to notice is that Thoreau’s remark is an implicit reference to Miguel de Cervantes’s



En manos eftâ el pandero que le fabra bien tañer, reſpondio Sancho Pança.



This is an aphorism from Part II, Chapter 22 of EL INGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA. In current Spanish: En manos está el pandero que le sabrán bien tañer, or “In hands is the drum that it they

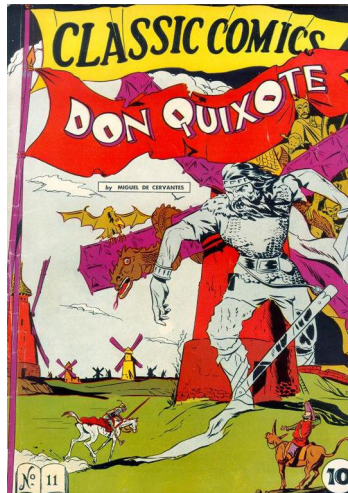


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know well to beat” or, rather, “The drum is in the hands of one who well knows how to thump it.” Thus Thoreau’s remark about the *rat-a-tat-tat* of Brown’s sharp tongue and Christian carbine is also an implicit reference to the most-quoted passage in WALDEN by far, the passage in which an obscure metaphor is drawn apparently on the basis of the drummer-boy *rat-a-tat-tatting* away on [Concord](#) common during the annual militia training!



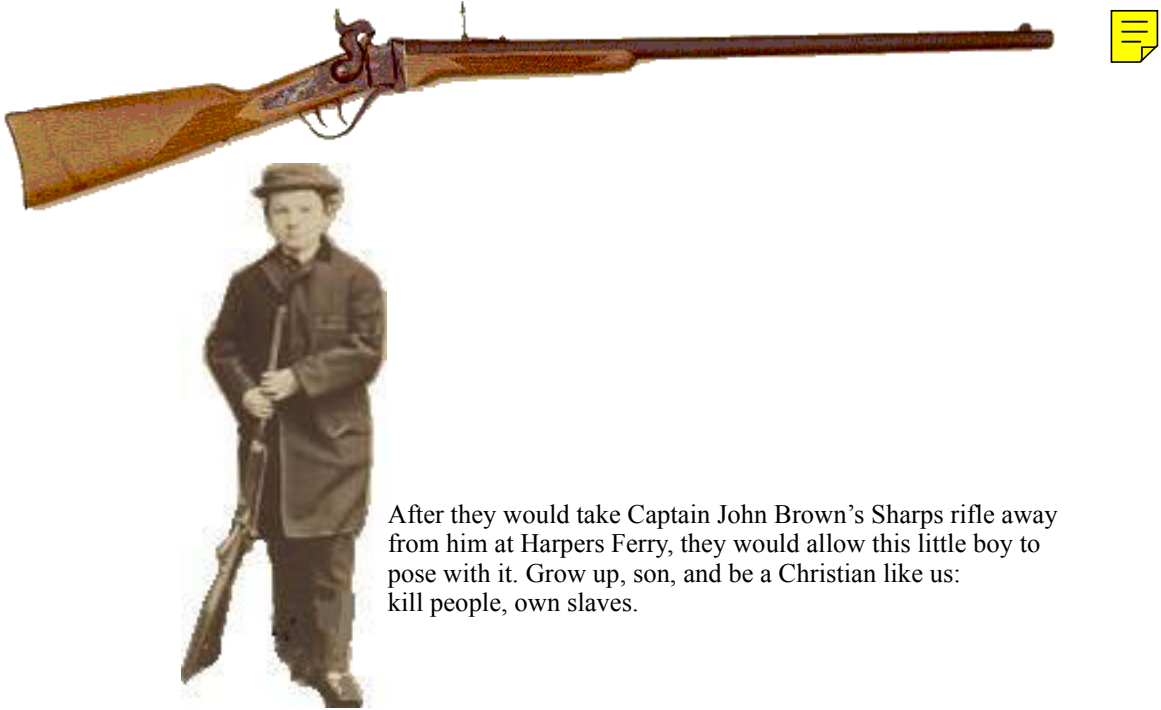
What is happening in that passage of Cervantes’s book is that Sancho Panza was lowering Don Quijote into the Montecinos cave by a rope. And he was using this old Spanish proverb to say don’t worry, I know how to handle this rope, I won’t let you fall. He was practicality incarnate, all means and no end, while Don Quijote was impracticality ensouled, on his way to make his central attempt to define the relationship between reality and illusion, all end and no means.

We may well ask ourselves in what way a reference to Don Quijote might be seen as appropriate in this context of Thoreau’s defense of Brown. I can think of several right off.

1st, many scholars would insist to us that a study of the work of Cervantes is central to any consideration of the manner in which our representations of the world can, and cannot, modify the contexts in which our lives are embedded. That Sharps rifle was supposed to be the lever by which Brown was rearranging reality, but in actuality in that world of men at arms such a stick was of influence primarily as a symbol, while Brown’s primary lever for rearranging the reality of American race relations was –as Thoreau was emphasizing– his sharp tongue. Holding that Sharps rifle in his hand only served to draw attention to that tongue of his, attention that his sharp tongue deserved. We can say Thoreau’s problem essentially was, in the case of Brown, that he had decided he could not be satisfied with reality. Refusing to repeat the gestures that custom, tradition, and

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instinct make so easy, Thoreau was insisting on the coming into being of our myth of equality and fraternity.



After they would take Captain John Brown's Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

2d, Don Quijote was *un hombre exageradamente grave y serio o puntilloso*, and this is a fine and accurate description not only of Concord's own knight of the woebegone countenance, Bronson Alcott, but also of John Brown. If Alcott could be said to have been a Quijote whose favorite reading was the New Testament, Brown was a Quijote whose favorite reading was the Old. Don Quijote said

These saints and knights were of the same profession as myself, which is the calling of arms. Only there is this difference between them and me, that they were saints, and fought with divine weapons, and I am a sinner and fight with human ones.

3d, there is the problem of the ridiculous mismatch of means and objectives about which Brown commented in his note on the morning of his [hanging](#). Brown wanted a world of justice and peace and dignity so he set about enthusiastically to kill us until we got his idea, which is a fine way to get someone's attention but is inherently self-defeating.

4th, in associating Brown with Don Quijote, [Thoreau](#) was making an implicit reference to the freeing of slaves as a knightly suspension of the ethical — for Don Quijote's pity, compassion, and love came to outweigh the rigor of justice in that knight's liberating of the galley slaves, and in the declaration he made to the guards of



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the slaves, and in his comments to Sancho and the priest. He said

It is not right that honorable men should be executioners of others.

Finally, this “tool” aphorism extracted from the episode in which Don Quijote descended on a rope into the cave of Montecinos is central to the story’s process of *sanchificación* of the knight’s spirituality and *quijotización* of the squire’s carnality. By virtue of their shared adventures, the righteously indignant northern white American and the desperately indignant southern white American needed to figure out a way to rid themselves of a society based on shackles: they needed to sanchify and quijotize each other. That’d be preferred to our northern Quijotes and southern Panzas using their efficient tools to kill each other standing in rows, which was otherwise the obvious prospect. When Don Quijote emerged from the cave of Montecinos he said to Sancho Panza

Everything that offers some difficulty seems impossible to you.

But he added

Time will pass.

In this writing I will not only attempt to salvage Thoreau’s talk about Christian carbines and sharp tongues by linking it (via its implicit referent in Cervantes’s *rub-a-dub-dub* text about the foolishness of desperate acts of chivalry) to its implicit referent in Thoreau’s *rat-a-tat-tat* text about the foolishness of a life of quiet desperation.

I will also demonstrate that this sound metaphor of Thoreau’s –the distant different drummer– is, itself, an implicit reference to a [Quaker](#) non-violent metaphor of the inner light in common usage among members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), particularly those of the liberal faction including Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and his student Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), and that such a metaphor cannot be bent –as it is commonly now bent by the unspirited– to sponsor the path of violence. Thoreau left himself an escape hatch and, in his appeal for sympathy for Captain Brown after that man’s desperate attempt to set free the despairing slaves of America, neither explicitly nor implicitly sanctioned any of John Brown’s violent means. I would maintain that Thoreau’s deportment and his words subsequent to the ill-advised Harpers Ferry raid in 1859 were precisely



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parallel to Friend Lucretia's deportment and her words after the ill-advised "Christiana Riot" in 1851.



Thoreau said in public, in regard to American slavery, that he did not wish to kill nor to be killed, but could foresee circumstances in which both these things would be by him unavoidable (REFORM PAPERS 133). Playing to his audience, our author elided the vast difference between killing and dying precisely as Richardson elided Charles Baudelaire. It was only in Thoreau's private notes during his lifetime—to his Journal that is, and although as he says there was no lock on the door of his cabin there was in fact a lock on the desk in which he kept his Journal—that he was able to say plainly that **when he said “both these things” he meant precisely “both these things,”** not one and, if he turned out to be a lucky and competent killer, not the other, that if it came to the sacrificing of others to his own principles, this would necessarily involve his own simultaneous self-sacrifice for his principles, that he meant he might decide to not be alive rather than continue to be alive in a world that also included slavery.<sup>48</sup> Now, Søren Aabye Kierkegaard pointed out in a writing that,

48. There is a phrase “noble army of Martyrs” in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER that came into use in 1549 that may explain [Thoreau](#)'s remark about becoming willing to kill, or to die, to end enslavement. The phrase may have come into the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER from the *TE DEUM*, quite a bit older.




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although it dates to the same year of 1859, was unavailable to [Thoreau](#),<sup>49</sup> that



Assuming then that a person is the victim of an illusion, and that in order to communicate the truth to him the first task, rightly understood, is to remove the illusion – if I do not begin by deceiving him, I must begin with direct communication. But direct communication presupposes that the receiver's ability to receive is undisturbed. But here such is not the case; an illusion stands in the way. That is to say, one must first of all use the caustic fluid. But this caustic means is negativity, and negativity understood in relation to the communication of the truth is precisely the same as deception. What then does it mean "to deceive"? It means that one does not begin **directly** with the matter one wants to communicate, but begins by accepting the other man's illusion as good money.



I am not saying Thoreau was wrong to elide in this way in that place at that time, for he was doing his level best to communicate with a bunch of people who were getting ready to line up and shoot each other down in windrows, and also I was not there and also I have great respect for his judgment, but I am saying that if there was a time for this sort of elision, it is now past. If not then, at least now, we should face the issue squarely. But unfortunately, as I said, the issue is not being faced squarely. For instance, on the night of July 10th in the Center Galleria of Worcester, an actor employed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, David Barto, sponsored in part by the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, re-enacted Thoreau's lecture "A Plea for Capt. John Brown." Worcester's Mechanics Hall where the lecture was originally delivered was under restoration, but every effort was made for verisimilitude and Barto was able to lean on the wooden lectern that Thoreau had used on November 3, 1859 at Mechanics Hall. My impression is that Barto makes a Thoreau who is entirely too belligerent, for instance humorously threatening to beat children with his walking stick should they ask questions at the wrong times, humorously inviting one fellow to join him outside for a fight after the talk should he fail to follow Thoreau's rules, etc. Therefore, in the question and answer period,

49. Søren Aabye Kierkegaard. THE POINT OF VIEW FOR MY WORK AS AN AUTHOR. NY: Harper & Row, 1962, pages 25-6.



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I raised my hand and posed the following question to Barto in his rôle as [Thoreau](#):

I have heard you, and am troubled, troubled by what would seem to be a studied ambiguity on an issue of the greatest relevance. Tell me, in the dark of the night when you could not sleep, and you scratched these lines frantically across scraps of paper with your pencil - can you recollect that frame of mind?- what was your intention? If it came to kill or be killed, for those are two very different things, if it came to the taking of the life of another for liberty, or giving your own for liberty -for these are two very different things- if it came to continuing your life but as a murderer- if it came to the point of doing evil so that good will come- what, sir, was your secret intention as you scratched out your draft of this speech? Is it your intention to teach us, by your life, how and when to **die** or how and when to **kill**?

In response Barto feigned anger and told me I had no right to inquire as to his private musings. He was unable or unwilling to address the question as posed. Need I mention that this might have got him in trouble with his employer, an agency which also employs a number of armed men in blue and a number of armed men in green, and instructs these armed employees in the fine art of when and how to kill in the name of their employer?

“A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN”

This topic of elision is an interesting topic for those of us who find this sort of topic interesting. While Henry Thoreau was delivering his “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” at the Concord Town Hall, the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher was delivering a sermon in his Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Later on he would revise this sermon for publication, so we can credit it with some seriousness of preparation, and yet in the sermon he was portraying the raid on Harpers Ferry as having been perpetrated by 17 white men who had gone South without any black sponsorship or involvement and, in their whiteness, had created a race panic: “Seventeen white men surrounded two thousand, and held them in duress.”

A black newspaper would need to comment upon this elision, as of course it had been the noticing of men of mixed race among the members of that invading party which had set off the pronounced race panic: “Mr. Beecher must have read the papers, must have read that there were twenty-two invaders, seventeen white and five black. Why does he omit all mention of the latter? Were they not men?”<sup>50</sup>

50. It is very clear from several other things that the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher had written, that had he been forced to respond to this “Were they not men?” rhetorical question, he would easily have responded that indeed they were men — inasmuch as they were all of mixed race rather than being in that “low animal condition” (his category, his words) of pure blackness.






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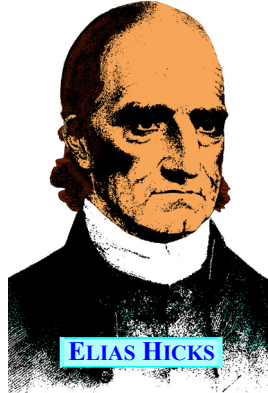
**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1888**


July: After his second stroke, Walt Whitman lay ill and thinking that he was dying. He wrote a poem "America" expressive of his nationalistic chauvinism, four lines of which he would live to read in 1890  onto the wax cylinder of an early phonograph. [<http://www.psymon.com/walden/whitman.html>] Also, in this moribund state, he recalled that he had been fortunate enough to have been taken by his parents to hear Friend [Elias Hicks](#) preach his farewell sermon in a



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



**ELIAS HICKS**

This was a memory of an evening of November 15, 1829  when he was a ten-year-old boy. Now there was one further thing this old man needed to do as he thought he was dying. He needed to make a minute of this, for his departed parents and for the dear Friends. He titled it:

*Notes  
(such as they are)  
founded on Elias Hicks.*



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

## THE PERFECT HUMAN VOICE

### “Some Laggards Yet”

Stating it briefly and pointedly I should suggest that the human voice is a cultivation or form'd growth on a fair native foundation. This foundation probably exists in nine cases out of ten. Sometimes nature affords the vocal organ in perfection, or rather I would say near enough to whet one's appreciation and appetite for a voice that might be truly call'd perfection. To me the grand voice is mainly physiological — (by which I by no means ignore the mental help, but wish to keep the emphasis where it belongs.) Emerson says **manners** form the representative apex and final charm and captivation of humanity: but he might as well have changed the typicality to voice.

Of course there is much taught and written about elocution, the best reading, speaking, etc., but it finally settles down to **best** human vocalization. Beyond all other power and beauty, there is something in the quality and power of the right voice (*timbre* the schools call it) that touches the soul, the abysses. It was not for nothing that the Greeks depended, at their highest, on poetry's and wisdom's vocal utterance by *tete-a-tete* lectures — (indeed all the ancients did.)

Of celebrated people possessing this wonderful vocal power, patent to me, in former days, I should specify the contralto Marietta Alboni, [Elias Hicks](#), Father Taylor, the tenor Bettini, [Fanny Kemble](#), and the old actor Booth, and in private life many cases, often women. I sometimes wonder whether the best philosophy and poetry, or something like the best, after all these centuries, perhaps waits to be rous'd out yet, or suggested, by the perfect physiological human voice.



**ELIAS HICKS**

**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1892**

W.D. O'Connor's THE CARPENTER, a sequel to his 1866 THE GOOD GRAY POET in which he even more straightforwardly portrayed Walt Whitman as a Christ figure.<sup>51</sup>

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

**“The Separation”**

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

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

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

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**  
**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

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



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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

### “Five Thousand Poems”

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

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



**ELIAS HICKS**

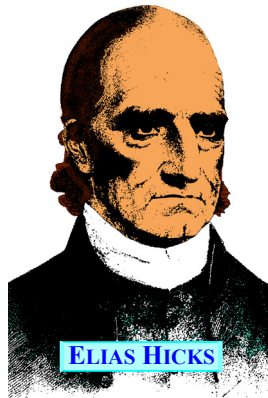
**FRIEND ELIAS HICKS**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

**1910**

In Rochester, New York, Sarah L. Willis, a spry 92-year-old [Quaker](#) lady, wanted to recount her memories of a sermon by Friend Elias from her childhood, before she died:

*One other thing I recall was a talk, or sermon, to the young especially. He related that once he threw a stone and killed a bird, and was struck with consternation and regret at killing an innocent bird that might be a parent. He appealed feelingly to the boys to refrain from giving needless pain.*



*“We are on a level with all the rest of God’s creatures.”*

Perhaps too much can be made of such historical-influence studies as this. As a corrective, may I offer the suggestion that we might investigate the possibility that [Friend Elias Hicks](#), [Rammohan Roy](#), [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), and [Henry Thoreau](#) may all four have been separately influenced by some 5th party, like Elias a carpenter, or like Roy a stranger to aspects of our Western culture, or like Friend Lucretia a minister, or like Henry (at least in the sense of Alexander Selkirk), a surveyor?

(Am I being too mysterious? A full-page image of the “5th party” of whom I speak, as imagined by the British Broadcasting Company, appears on the following screen. What the BBC did was, it obtained some skulls dating to the first century in Palestine, and had the skulls padded with clay to represent the muscles and soft tissues, and then had a computer add skin and texture, and then added eye color and hair color typical of Palestinian peasants, and a peasant haircut — and they came up, as shown, with a first-order approximation of what Yehoshua bar Yusef might possibly have looked like. Yehoshua bar Yusef, that’s “Jesus” to you.)

HDT

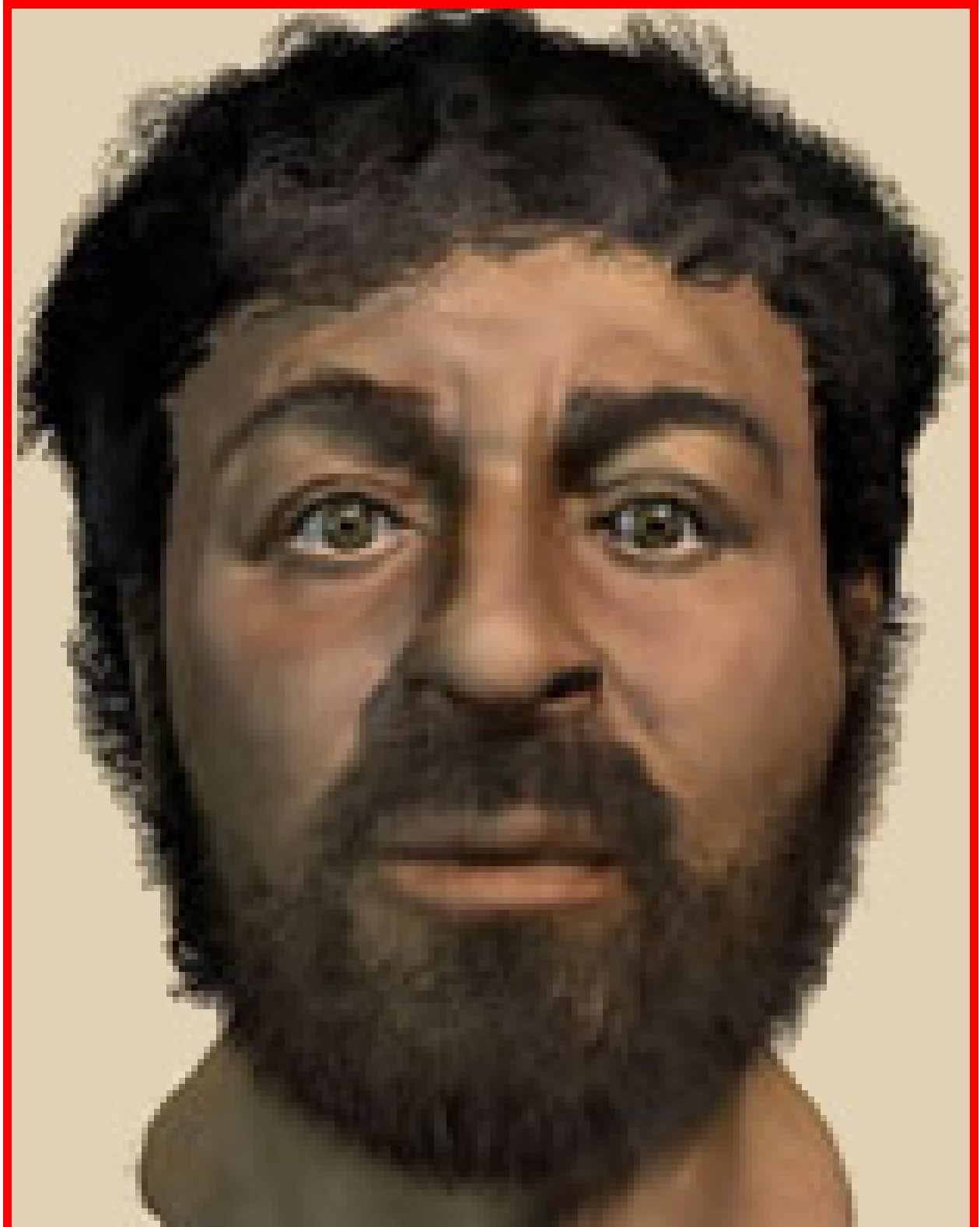
WHAT?

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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: January 5, 2014**



FRIEND ELIAS HICKS

ELIAS HICKS

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



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





**ELIAS HICKS**

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

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