

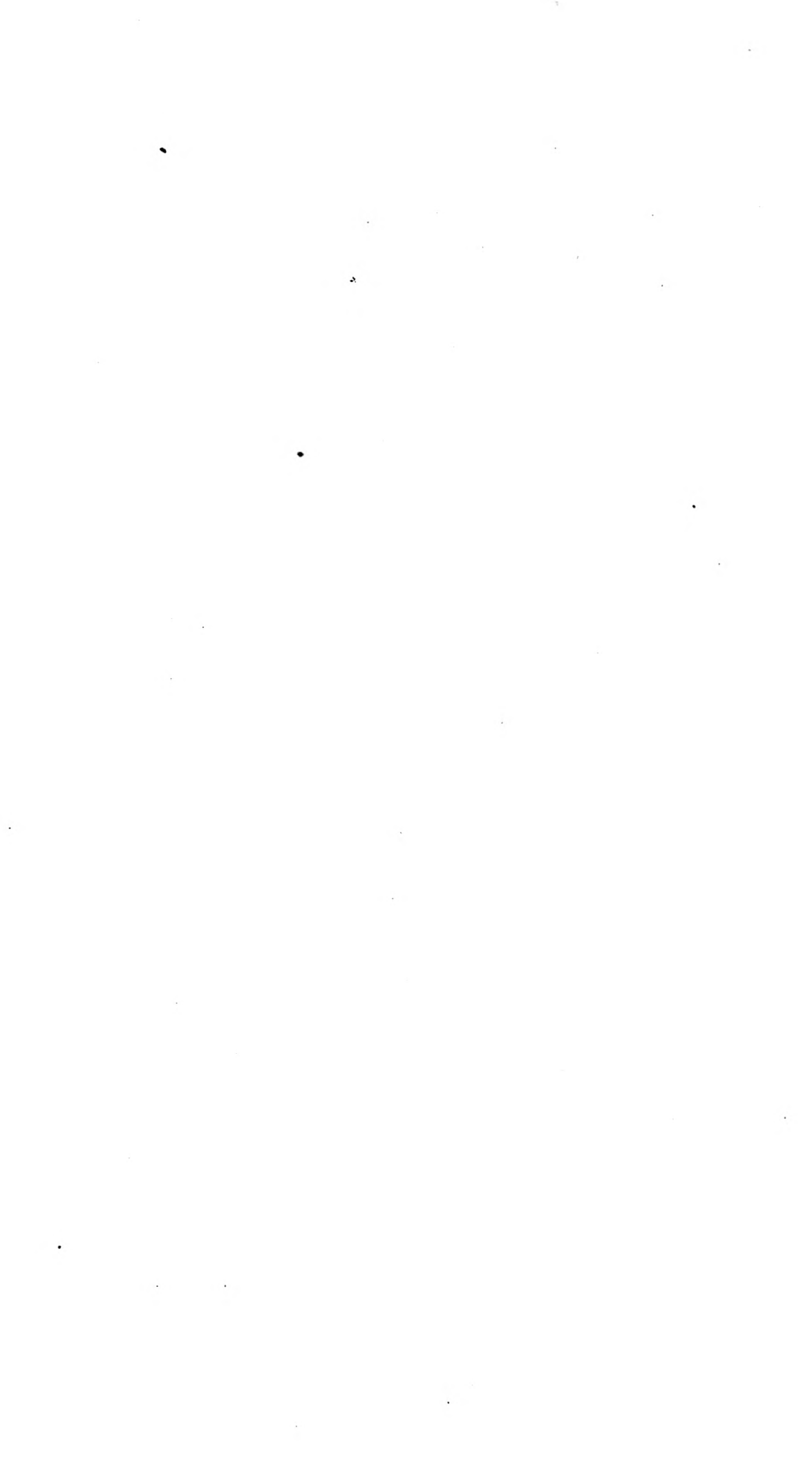
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AN EXAMINATION
OF THE
CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE SEPARATION
OF THE
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY
OF
FRIENDS
IN AMERICA, IN 1827-28.

BY
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TO THE READER.

It will be observed that this work contains several references to preceding chapters in "The History of the Religious Society of Friends," of which it forms the concluding part. On issuing it now in a separate volume, the publisher has not deemed it necessary to make any alterations in those references.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CAUSES

WHICH LED TO THE

SEPARATION OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA

IN 1827-28.

INTRODUCTION.

THE separation that took place in the Society of Friends in America, during the years 1827 and '28, was an event of deep and painful interest to its members, and is still regarded by many, both within and without its pale, as a subject of unceasing regret. It was accompanied by alienation of feeling among many who had long been knit together in the closest ties of friendship, and it diminished the salutary influence that the Society had always exerted, from the first settlement of the country, in the promotion of every work that tended to the public good.

The separation was preceded by an exciting controversy, in which the doctrines and discipline of the Society were discussed; both parties claiming to hold the tenets and to act upon the principles of the early Friends. It becomes necessary, therefore,

in tracing the causes that led to this event, to give a concise statement of the doctrines of the Society in the time of George Fox, together with the system of church government he introduced, and to inquire what changes have since taken place.

The difficulty and delicacy of this task may, in some measure, be appreciated, by bearing in mind that the Society has never adopted a formal creed; and that, with the exception of a few points embraced in the advices of its Yearly meetings, its doctrines must be sought for in the voluminous writings of its members, which, not being always clear, require to be collated with each other.

It cannot be supposed that the members of a society gathered from various religious sects, and educated under such diverse influences, would all agree in every point of doctrine.

Accordingly, we find in their writings some shades of difference, — they did not all “see eye to eye,” neither was such uniformity of sentiment considered essential to religious union; for being united in Christ through the bond of the Spirit, all minor differences were deemed unimportant, or regarded only as incentives to Christian charity. On several occasions, declarations relating to their doctrinal views were published by prominent members of the Society, in order to refute the accusations of their adversaries. These were generally couched in Scripture language, in accordance with the “frequent advice of Geo. Fox to Friends, to keep to Scripture language, terms, words, and doctrines, as taught by the Holy Ghost, in matters of faith, religion, con-

troversy, and conversation, and not to be imposed upon and drawn into unscriptural terms, invented by men in their human wisdom.”¹

From these declarations, quotations will be found in this treatise, but the question still recurs, in what sense did the authors understand those scriptural phrases? Did they accept them as generally understood by theologians? Or were they led by their own religious experience and the illumination of divine grace, to go deeper, and to find those “mysteries of the kingdom of heaven,” which are hidden from the wise and prudent, but revealed unto babes.

We know that human language, although admirable in itself, is but an imperfect medium for the conveyance of thought. Words are signs or symbols of ideas, which being held up before us in speech or writing, call up in our minds the images or ideas we have previously acquired by education, experience, or reflection. But the education and experience of mankind are exceedingly diverse, and hence it may happen that some words or phrases will not convey to different individuals precisely the same ideas. This will be found to apply more especially to certain phrases in the sacred writings, which in the lapse of centuries, and through the teaching of theologians, have acquired conventional meanings that, there is reason to believe, were not intended by the writer. It is obvious, therefore, that, although a confession of faith constructed of Scriptural phrases must necessarily be accepted by all who believe the Scriptures, yet it may not convey

¹ Works of G. F., IV. 3. Epistle of G. Whitehead and others.

to all persons the same meaning, because all have not received the same mental training.

There are, in the writings of the early Friends, many passages that explain the sense in which they understood the Scripture texts they employed, and they often avowed very unpopular doctrines, for in many points, both of doctrine and practice, they were far in advance of the age in which they lived.

It is well known that at the rise of the Society, and for a long time afterwards, they were violently assailed from the pulpit and the press, and charged with denying some of the doctrines deemed fundamental by the Orthodox churches. William Penn, George Whitehead, and other Friends, were engaged in public disputes with Dissenting ministers, among whom were Vincent, Ives, Hicks, and Baxter. The Friends were doubtless calumniated and charged with false doctrines which they did not hold; but there can be no question that in many particulars they differed from most other Dissenters, as well as from the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics.

In order to show precisely where they stood, and what they believed, it is deemed appropriate to compare the doctrines of Friends with the popular theology of that day, first showing wherein they differed from others, and then demonstrating from their writings and from the Scriptures, that they held the doctrines taught by Christ and his apostles. This course is deemed the more necessary, inasmuch as attempts have been made, by some claiming to be their successors, to show that they did not differ in essentials from the Trinitarian churches, and copious

extracts from Friends' writings have been published, which being entirely one-sided, are calculated to mislead the public. It may be said of their writings, as of all other voluminous works, that passages may be selected which, separated from the context, do not express the author's meaning. It is the duty and pleasure of a candid inquirer to collate such passages as appear to be ambiguous, with others that are more clear, and thus by patient and impartial investigation endeavor to arrive at the truth.

While instituting a comparison between the doctrines held by Protestants generally, and those maintained by the early Friends, it will be observed that only those doctrines which have been subjects of controversy among Friends in America are considered as being within the scope of this inquiry.

CHAPTER I.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH
THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON IMMEDIATE REVE-
LATION.

§ 1. THE indwelling presence of the Divine Word, or Spirit of Christ, in the souls of men, is the fundamental principle of the Society of Friends. “The principle of the Quakers,” wrote George Fox to the king, “is the Spirit of Christ, who died for us, and is risen for our justification; by which we know we are his. He dwelleth in us by his Spirit, and by the Spirit of Christ we are led out of unrighteousness and ungodliness.”¹

§ 2. “Now observe,” says Pennington, in his treatise addressed to the Royal Society, “the difference between the religion that God hath taught us, and led us into, and the religions of all men upon the earth besides. Our religion stands wholly *out* of that, which all their religion stands *in*. Their religion stands in the comprehension, in a belief of a literal relation or description. Our religion stands *in a principle which changeth the mind*, wherein the spirit of life appeareth to, and witnesseth in the conscience to and concerning the things of the kingdom; where we hear the voice, and see the express image of the invisible one, and know things not from an outward relation, but from their inward

¹ Works of G. F., Vol. II. p. 163.

nature, virtue and power. Yea, here, we must profess, we so know things that we are fully satisfied about them, and could not doubt concerning them, though there never had been word or letter written of them; though indeed it is also a great comfort and sweet refreshment to us, to read that testified of outwardly, which, through the tender mercy of our God, we enjoy inwardly. And *in this our whole religion consists*; to wit, in the silence and death of the flesh, and in the quickening and flowing life of the spirit. For he who is of the new birth, of the new creation, of the second Adam, (the Lord from heaven,) is as really alive to God, and as really lives to him in his spirit, as ever he was really dead in trespasses and sins, in the time of his alienation and estrangement from God.”¹

This passage was published in 1668, a few years subsequent to the restoration of the Stuarts; when religion in England was at a low ebb, the established Church resting in a state of lifeless formality, and the Puritan sects, in their practice, having sunk far below their profession. There were, doubtless, throughout Europe, both among the Catholics and Protestants, many devout souls who had seen beyond the rituals of their church, and attained to that “life which is hid with Christ in God;” nevertheless the language of Pennington was applicable to Christian professors in general; their religion “stood in the comprehension,”—in an effort of the mind to understand Scriptural truth, without having it

¹ Works of I. P., II. 59.

verified in their own experience, through the teaching of the Holy Spirit.

§ 3. Robert Barclay states the doctrine of immediate revelation in this proposition. “Seeing no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him; *Matt. xi. 27.* And seeing the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit, therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be only revealed.” “It is very probable,” he says, “that many carnal and natural Christians will oppose this proposition, who being wholly unacquainted with the movings and actings of God’s spirit upon their hearts, judge the same nothing necessary; and some are apt to flout at it as ridiculous. Yea, to that height are the generality of Christians apostatized and degenerated, that, though there be not anything more plainly asserted, more seriously recommended, nor more certainly attested to in all the writings of the Holy Scriptures, yet nothing is less minded and more rejected by all sorts of Christians, than immediate and divine revelation; insomuch that once to lay claim to it, is a matter of reproach. Whereas of old none were ever judged Christians, but such as had the Spirit of Christ; *Rom. viii. 9.* But now many do boldly call themselves Christians, who make no difficulty of confessing, they are without it; and laugh at such as say they have it. Of old they were accounted the sons of God, who were led by the Spirit of God; *ibid.*, verse 14; but now, many aver themselves sons of God, who know nothing

of this leader: and he that affirms himself so led, is by the pretended orthodox of this age, presently proclaimed a heretic.

“For the better understanding of this proposition, we do distinguish betwixt the *certain* knowledge of God, and the uncertain; betwixt the *spiritual* knowledge, and the literal; the saving heart-knowledge, and soaring airy head-knowledge. The last we confess may be divers ways obtained; but the first by no other way than the inward immediate manifestation and revelation of God’s Spirit, shining in and upon the heart, enlightening and opening the understanding.”¹

§ 4. In confirmation of this doctrine, Barclay quotes from the works of Augustine, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others of the early Christian writers, and also from Luther and Melancthon, showing that the saving knowledge of God can only be derived from the teachings of his own spirit. He might have quoted similar doctrines from the early reformers in England,—the fathers of the Anglican Church,—as well as from Baxter, Bunyan and others then living, who were the opposers of Friends.

The difference between the Friends and most others, in relation to this doctrine, may be briefly stated as follows:

§ 5. In the Church of England, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit’s influence on the heart was recognized in her Liturgy and taught in her Homilies; but in the ministrations of her priesthood it was little

¹ Barclay’s Apology, Prop. 2, § 1.

regarded, if not wholly ignored; while among the Puritan ministers, who were generally Calvinists, the gifts of the Spirit were supposed to be confined to the *elect*, for whom alone, they asserted, Christ died. It was generally taught by both classes, that immediate revelation had ceased, and that the Holy Spirit as an enlightener and sanctifier was only witnessed through the use of the means of grace, such as reading the Scriptures, partaking of the ordinances, and attending on the services of religion. One of the opponents of Friends, a vicar in the established church, wrote as follows: "God has committed his will now wholly to writing, so that former ways of God's revealing his will, as by immediate revelation, are now ceased, and the Scripture is a fixed canon or rule, — and our sole and entire rule of faith and manners, in all that is necessary to our salvation."¹

§ 6. In the Society of Friends, "the Universal and Saving Light of Christ" was held forth continually as their fundamental principle, — the cornerstone of their religion. Not only to those who have the Scriptures, or the historical knowledge of Christ's advent, does his spirit come; but even to the heathen who are sitting in darkness, his light appears. He comes as the Spirit of Truth, "to convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." To the wicked, he appears as a reprover for sin, "a spirit of judgment, and a spirit of burning;" but to the humble, obedient soul, as a comforter in righteousness.

¹ Patrick Smith, quoted in Besse's *Defence of Quakerism*, p. 36.

§ 7. In the brief account we have, in Genesis, of the primogenitors of our race, it appears that not only while they were in a state of innocence did the Lord hold converse with them, but after their transgression they heard his voice, saying, "Adam, where art thou?" With Cain also he conversed, both before and after the murder of his brother: in the first instance, showing him that his acceptance depended upon well-doing; in the second condemning him for the crime he had committed. In these cases the Eternal Word or Spirit of Christ spoke immediately to the human soul, — no outward instrument was employed; and such is still the ordinary process by which the divine will is made known to man, — it is therefore called immediate revelation. It is true, that in the ordering of Divine Providence, instrumental means are often employed, such as the Scriptures of truth, the preaching of the gospel, and the vicissitudes of life; but in all cases, the good effected is from the immediate operation of divine grace upon the heart or conscience.

In fact, there can be no saving knowledge of Christ, but from immediate revelation. "No man can come to me," said Jesus, "except the Father which hath sent me draw him."¹ This drawing of the Father is the operation of his spirit, for "the manifestation of the spirit is given to every man to profit withal."² As the power and virtue of the outward sun can only be known through his light, and as no description of light can give an idea of it without the sense of vision, so the Author of all

¹ John vi. 44.

² 1 Cor. xii. 7.

Good—the sun of the spiritual world—can only be known through the influence of his light, or spirit, immediately revealed to our spiritual perception.

§ 8. In the writings of Friends there is a clear distinction observed between the Divine light which is the medium, and the conscience which is the organ, of spiritual perception. This faculty of the soul may be clouded by prejudice, benumbed by disobedience, and “even seared as with a hot iron,” by long-continued transgression; but the light itself, though obscured, or lost to our vision, remains ever the same, for the Divine nature is unchangeable. “If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light; but if thine eye be evil [or diseased], thy whole body shall be full of darkness.”

William Penn, in treating of this subject, adopts the language of Justin Martyr, viz.: “God hath built to himself a natural temple in the consciences of men as the place wherein he would be worshipped; and it is there men ought to look for his appearance and reverence and worship him.” He quotes also the following passage from Clemens Alexandrinus: “It is the voice of Truth, that light will shine out of darkness. Therefore doth it shine in the hidden part of mankind, that is, in the heart; and the rays of knowledge break forth making manifest and shining upon the inward man, which is hidden;—Christ’s intimates and co-heirs are the disciples of the Light.”¹

Robert Barclay, in his treatise on Universal Love, relates, on the testimony of Francis Xavier, called

¹ Penn’s Select Works, p. 245.

by the Catholics the Apostle of the Indies, that the Japanese, whom the Jesuits endeavored to proselyte, made objections to the Catholic doctrines, saying that God seemed not to be merciful and just in condemning to eternal punishment all the Japanese who died before the coming of the missionaries. To remove this objection and gain converts, the Jesuits assured them that all men have the knowledge of the divine laws from nature, and from God the Author of nature,—this law was implanted in man's heart before any human laws were made.

Thus says Barclay, “To satisfy these Japanese, that their forefathers were not all necessarily damned, and to show that the universal love of God reached unto them to put them in a capacity of salvation, this cunning Jesuit could not find any other way than by asserting this principle,”¹—the Light and Life of God in the soul.

George Fox says in his Journal: “I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus, for to as many as should receive him in his *light*, I saw that he would give power to become the sons of God, which I had obtained by receiving Christ. And I was to direct people to the spirit that gave forth the Scriptures by which they might be led into all truth, and so up to Christ and God as they had been who gave them forth.”²

Such was the truly liberal doctrine held forth by the first preachers and writers in the Society of

¹ Barclay's Works, p. 701.

² G. F's. Journal. London ed. 1694.

Friends, a doctrine that was then assailed on every hand by the pulpit and the press—by Churchmen and Dissenters.

This doctrine, when held in sincerity by enlightened minds, necessarily leads to toleration and religious liberty; for if we believe that those who have not so much as heard of the coming of Christ in the flesh, may nevertheless be saved by obedience to the Light or Spirit of Christ, the conclusion logically follows, that the same divine power will save those professed followers of Christ who obey his spiritual law, although, in our apprehension, they may err in judgment concerning some important points of doctrine.

Accordingly we find that religious liberty was cherished by the early Friends, and consistently carried out in their practice when they attained to power in some of the American colonies.

CHAPTER II.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

§ 1. THE first imprisonment of George Fox resulted from his controverting the views generally entertained concerning the Scriptures. In the year 1649, he went into the parish house of worship at Nottingham, where he heard the priest take for his

text these words of Peter: "We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts." This, he told the people, was the Scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions.

"Now the Lord's power," writes George Fox, "was so mighty upon me and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out, 'Oh! no, it is not the Scriptures;' and told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. For the Jews had the Scriptures, yet resisted the Holy Ghost and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star, and persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures, but erred in judgment and did not try them aright, because they tried them without the Holy Ghost."

The early Friends avowed their belief in the authenticity and divine authority of the Scriptures, but they declined to give them the usual appellation, — the Word of God, — because this title is, by the sacred writers, appropriated to Christ the Eternal Word, that was in the beginning with God and was God.

§ 2. The views expressed by Barclay in the third proposition of his Apology, were those generally held by the Society, viz:—

“From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints have proceeded the Scriptures of Truth, which contain: I. A faithful historical account of the actings of God’s people in divers ages; with many singular and remarkable providences attending them. II. A prophetic account of several things, whereof some are already past, and some yet to come. III. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which by the moving of God’s Spirit, were at several times and upon sundry occasions written unto some churches and their pastors. Nevertheless because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate, primary rule of faith and manners. Yet because they give a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit from which they have all their excellency and certainty. For as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify, that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into all truth; therefore, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader.”¹ * * * * “The principal rule of Christians under the gospel is not an outward letter, nor law outwardly written and delivered, but an inward spiritual law ingraven in the heart, the law of the Spirit of life, the word that is nigh in the heart and in the mouth; but the letter

¹ John xvi. 13; Rom. vii. 14.

of the Scripture is outward, of itself a dead thing, a mere declaration of good things but not the things themselves: therefore it nor is, nor can be, the chief or principal rule of Christians.”

He says moreover of the Scriptures: “The proposition itself declares how much I esteem them; and provided that to the Spirit (from which they came) be but granted that place the Scriptures themselves give it; I do freely concede to the Scriptures the second place, even whatsoever they say of themselves, which the apostle Paul chiefly mentions in two places. *Rom. xv. 4*: ‘Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.’ *2 Tim. iii. 15, 17*: ‘The Holy Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.’ * * * * ‘All Scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work.’” * * * * “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 slipped 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 controversy among Christians, and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony may therefore justly be rejected as false.”¹

¹ Apology, Prop. 3. §§ v. and vi.

CHAPTER III.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH
THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON THE ORIGINAL AND
PRESENT STATE OF MAN.

§ 1. THE doctrine of Original Sin, as generally held, is thus defined by one of its advocates:¹ “Original sin was the rebellion of the first man, Adam, against his Creator, which was a sin of universal efficacy, which derives a guilt and stain to mankind in all ages of the world. The account the Scripture gives of it, is grounded on the relation which all men have to Adam as their natural and moral principal or head.” * * * * “As the whole *race of mankind* was virtually in *Adam’s loins*, so it was presumed to give virtual consent to what he did; when he broke, all suffered shipwreck that were contained in him as their natural original.” * * * * “In *the first treaty* between God and man, Adam was considered not as a single person, but as the representative of a nation and *contracted for all* his descendants by ordinary generation. His person was the fountain of theirs, and his will the representative of theirs. From hence his vast progeny became a *party in the covenant*, and had a title to the benefits contained in it upon his obedience, and was liable to the curse upon his violation of it.”²

§ 2. Such is the doctrine of original sin, which

¹ Cruden’s Concordance.

² *Ibid.*

Robert Barclay in his Apology calls an “invented and unscriptural barbarism.”¹

The notion that all men were virtually in Adam and gave their consent to what he did, is an absurdity that must be obvious to the lowest capacity: No sane person will pretend to assert, that a man is morally responsible for the guilty transactions of his father, his grandfather, or any of his ancestors. As to the *first treaty* between man and his Maker, in which Adam *contracted for all his descendants*, it is a fiction which has no foundation in Scripture or reason.

The imputation of sin to infants is denied and disproved by Barclay, in the following language: “The Apostle saith plainly, *Rom. iv. 15*, ‘Where no law is there is no transgression.’ And again, *v. 13*, ‘But sin is not imputed where there is no law,’ than which testimonies there is nothing more positive; since to infants there is no law, seeing as such they are utterly incapable of it; the law cannot reach any but such as have in some measure less or more the exercise of their understanding which infants have not.” * * * * “Secondly, What can be more positive than that of *Ezek. xviii. 20*, ‘The soul that sinneth it shall die: the son shall not bear the father’s iniquity’? For the prophet here first showeth what is the cause of man’s eternal death, which he saith is his sinning, and then, as if he proposed expressly to shut out such an opinion, he assures us, ‘The son shall not bear the father’s iniquity.’ From which I thus argue: If the son bear not the iniquity of his

¹ Barclay’s Apology, Phila. ed. 1789, p. 108.

father, or of his immediate parents, far less shall he bear the iniquity of Adam.”¹

§ 3. It must not be inferred, however, that Barclay attributed no evil consequences to mankind from the sin of Adam. “Through him,” he says, “there is a seed of sin propagated to all men, which in its own nature is sinful and inclines men to iniquity; yet it will not follow from thence, that infants, who join not with this seed, are guilty.” Again he writes: “All Adam’s posterity, or mankind, both Jews and Gentiles, as to the first Adam or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated and dead; deprived of the sensation or feeling of this inward testimony or seed of God, and is subject unto the power, nature and seed of the serpent which he soweth in men’s hearts, while they abide in this natural and corrupted state: from whence it comes that not only their works and deeds, but all their imaginations are evil perpetually in the sight of God as proceeding from this depraved and wicked seed. Man therefore, as he is in this state, can know nothing aright; yea, his thoughts and conceptions concerning God and things spiritual, until he be disjoined from this evil seed and united to the Divine Light, are unprofitable both to himself and others.”²

Some of the writers among the early Friends refer to the fall of Adam in such language as would lead us to infer that in their opinion mankind have derived some taint or propensity to sin from their progenitors. Thus George Fox writes, in relation to

¹ Apology, Prop. IV., § 4.

² Apology, Prop. IV.

Adam and Eve, "Thinking to be made wise, they became fools, which brought the rod upon the back of them, which also comes upon all their posterity in the fall."¹

And Isaac Pennington says: "The wound of man is deep by the fall: he hath really lost God, he is shut out of his commonwealth; yea, in that estate he is altogether without hope (for the hope springs from God's visitation of him with his light, and from the living promise.)"²

These expressions, and many others of a similar character, will however admit of another construction; they may have been applied to the general corruption of mankind resulting from actual transgression, for all who have lost their innocence through disobedience to the divine law, are in a fallen state; and even those who are least defiled must be born again "by the incorruptible seed and word of God," before they can enter the kingdom of heaven.

4. In a work published in 1678, called the "New England Fire-brand Quenched," written by G. Fox and John Burnyeat, we find the following question and answer addressed to Roger Williams. "Thou sayest these rotten and crooked dispositions in every child bring forth wild asses fruit in youth. Wherein did Jeremiah and John Baptist or such as were *clean and sanctified in the womb* bring forth such fruits as thou speakest of?" * * * * "All these Scriptures do not prove that Jeremiah and

¹ G. Fox, Doctrinals, 723. Work's Am. ed., VI. 9.

² Pennington's Works, I. 339.

John, that were sanctified in the womb, and the children that Paul speaketh of (*Cor.* vii., that he said were *holy*), that they were conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, because David said, he was.”¹

§ 5. The early experience of Fox, Howgill, Pennington, and Burrough were very remarkable, and seem to have been related in great simplicity, without reference to popular theology. G. Fox writes in his Journal: “When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for *while I was a child* I was taught how to walk so as to keep pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, viz., inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; and to keep to yea and nay in all things.”

And William Penn writes of Fox, that “from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid and observing beyond his years.”²

Francis Howgill, who died a martyr in Appleby jail, said just before his death: “I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men; and if any inquire after my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith that I lived in and suffered for.”

Isaac Pennington, in his “Brief Account of his Soul’s Travel” says: “My heart from my childhood was pointed towards the Lord, whom I feared and longed after from my tender years, wherein I felt

¹ Part II., p. 136.

² Preface to Journal of G. F., p. 29.

that I could not be satisfied with (nor indeed seek after) the things of this perishing world, which naturally pass away; but I desired the true sense of, and unity with, that which abideth forever. There was somewhat indeed then still within me (even the seed of eternity) which leavened and balanced my spirit almost continually; but I knew it not distinctly, so as to turn to it and give up to it, entirely and understandingly.”¹

William Penn, after referring to the deep religious exercises of Isaac Pennington, thus continues: “Nor did this sorrow flow from a sense of former vice, for he was virtuous from his childhood, but with holy Habakkuk from the dread he had of the majesty of God, and his desire to find a resting-place in the great day of trouble.”²

Edward Burrough, who died in Newgate prison, a martyr for the testimony of truth, in the 28th year of his age, was a remarkable example of early piety. It is said in the notice of him, in “Piety Promoted,” that he “was *in his childhood* ripe in knowledge and did far excel many of his years. Gray hairs were upon him when but a youth, and he was inclined to the best things and the nearest way of worship, according to the Scriptures, accompanying the best men.” In his last sickness, “he was in prayer often, both day and night, saying at one time, ‘I have had a testimony of the Lord’s love to me from my youth, and my heart hath been given up to do his will. I have preached the gospel freely in

¹ Works of I. P., II. 49.

² Works of I. P., Vol. I.

this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake. Lord, rip open my heart and see if it be not right before thee.' Another time he said, 'There lies no iniquity at my door, but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life, I feel, justifies me.' Afterwards he said to the Lord, 'Thou hast loved me when I was in the womb, and I have loved thee from my cradle and from my youth unto this day, and have served thee faithfully in my generation.'"¹

§ 6. These passages, selected from works that have always been considered standards in the Society, show that the early Friends did not believe in the inherent depravity of man. They were not troubled by the dogmas of theology, and when they came to die they spoke out freely the earnest convictions of their souls. They knew and acknowledged, that the natural propensities of man, if not controlled by divine grace, will lead to sin; but sin cannot be inherent, for it is "the transgression of the law." The divine master said of the Jews, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin." So it is now; we are not sinners by birth, but become so when we disobey his law written in our hearts.

To the unprejudiced mind that confides in the testimony of Jesus Christ, there can be no hesitation in believing that infants are in a state of innocence, for "Of such," he said, "is the kingdom of God;" and "in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father."

¹ Piety Promoted, Phila. ed., 1854. Vol. I. p. 51.

§ 7. Another feature in the hideous doctrine of original sin remains to be considered. The doctors of theology not only asserted, in relation to the lust of the flesh, derived, as they said, from Adam's transgression, that "in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation;" but they maintained, moreover, that "This infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate, whereby the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit."¹

§ 8. This doctrine was rejected by the Friends, and was one of the prominent points of controversy between them and their adversaries. "The Protestant priests, ministers, and teachers," writes George Fox, "preach to the people and teach them both in public and private, that they must carry a body of sin and a body of death, as long as they live on this side the grave; and none can be made free from sin and this body of death as long as they live upon the earth."² This doctrine he utterly denies and calls it "preaching sin for term of life."

"And again," he says, "Satan's messengers and ministers say, 'Paul cried out and said, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"' And he was in a warfare, and therefore people must be in a warfare and carry a body of death and a body of sin about them as long as they live, to the grave, and there is no overcoming nor victory here.' But in this, Satan's messengers

¹ Articles of Church of England; Revised by Westminster Assembly. Neal's Hist. of Puritans, II. 456.

² Works of G. F., VI. 436.

and ministers wrong the apostle's words, and do not take them all; for though he cried out, who shall deliver him from that body of death and sin, yet he thanks God through Jesus Christ our Lord, and saith, 'The law of the Spirit of life which is in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the laws of sin and death.'" * * * * "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." * * * * "Thanks be to God who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." * * * * "They that be in Christ are new creatures."¹

In his Journal, George Fox thus speaks of the joy and peace that succeeded his deep trials and mental conflicts: "Now was I come up in Spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God. All things were new, and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, innocence, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state of Adam, which he was in before the fall." * * * * "But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall."²

§ 9. The doctrine of Perfection, as held by the early Friends, is thus laid down by Isaac Pennington. "That the Lord God is able perfectly to redeem from sin in this life; that he can cast out the

¹ Works of G. F., VI. 442.

² Journal of G. F. New York, 1800. I. 21, 22.

strong man, cleanse the house, and make it fit for himself to dwell in; that he can finish transgression and sin in the heart, and bring in everlasting righteousness; that he can tread down Satan under the feet of his saints, and make them more than conquerors over him; this, they confess, they steadily believe. But that every one that is turned to the light of the Spirit of Christ in his heart, is presently advanced to this state, they never held forth; but that the way is long, the travel hard, the enemies and difficulties many, and that there is need of much faith, hope, patience, repentance, watchfulness against temptations, &c., before the life in them arrive at such a pitch. Yet, for all this, saith Christ to his disciples, ‘Be ye perfect;’ directing them to aim at such a thing; and the apostle saith, ‘Let us go on unto perfection;’ and Christ gave a ministry ‘for the perfecting of the saints:’ and they do not doubt but that he that begins the work, can perfect it even in this life, and so deliver them out of the hands of sin, Satan, and all their spiritual enemies, as that they may serve God without fear of them any more, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of their lives.”¹

§ 10. George Fox, when examined by the magistrates at Derby, was asked, “Are you sanctified?” “Yes,” he said, “I am in the paradise of God.” “Have you no sin?” “Christ my Saviour hath taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin.” “How do you know that Christ abides in you?”

¹ Works of I. P., I. 269.

“By his Spirit that he hath given me.” “Are any of you Christ?” “Nay,” he replied, “we are nothing, Christ is all.”

CHAPTER IV.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON THE DIVINE BEING.

THE doctrine of the Trinity is thus defined in the articles of the Church of England, revised by the Assembly of divines at Westminster in the year 1643.

“There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be *three persons* of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Son which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man’s nature in the womb of the blessed virgin, of her substance, so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one person never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man.”¹ * * * *

§ 2. The commonly received doctrine of the Trinity was rejected by the early Friends. George

¹ Neal’s Hist. of Puritans, II. 454.

Fox, in reply to Christopher Wade, who had asserted that the Holy Ghost is a person and that there was a Trinity of three persons before Christ was born, says: "Thou knowest not him that is in the Father and the Father in him, glorified with the Father before the world began. And the Scriptures do not tell people of a trinity, nor three persons, but the common-prayer mass book speaks of three persons, brought in by thy father the pope, and the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was always one."¹

Priest Ferguson having asserted that "Christ and the Father, and the Holy Ghost, are not one; but they are three, therefore distinct," G. Fox replies: "This is the denying of Christ's doctrine, who said, 'I and my Father are one,' and the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, and he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and they are all one, *not distinct*, but one in unity, that which comes out from him, leads the saints into all truth. (that ever was given forth from the Spirit of Truth,) and so up to the Father of truth, and so goes back again from whence it came."²

Stephen Crisp, in his "Description of the Church of Scotland," says: "The doctrines of your church also are reprobable and corrupt in many things, contrary to the Scriptures. And first in your doctrines of God, whom you say is to be known and believed on as in the distinguishment of three persons; and herein ye teach contrary to the scriptures

¹ Great Mystery, 246; and Works of G. F., III. 397.

² G. F. Great Mystery, p. 293; and Works, III. 463.

of truth, which ye say is your rule, and by it are all such dreamers and deceivers judged, and by the spirit which gave them forth, which speaks nowhere of three persons, as ye imagine and teach, but declares of the only wise God, who is one in his being and subsistence, individual, infinite; who divideth all things and to every sort their portion; who limiteth all things and is not limited; whose power and spirit is inseparable from him, who is the Father of the spirits of all flesh, who by his power createth and by his spirit quickeneth all living creatures; *whose power is the Christ*, and whose spirit is the holy and eternal life which they partake of who wait for his appearance in his power. And these doth not the Scriptures call three persons, but *the one witness in the Heaven*, which you are all ignorant of who dream and divine to the people of a distinguishment of persons in the Godhead.”¹

In relation to “The Trinity of distinct and separate persons in the unity of essence,” Wm. Penn writes as follows: “It is requisite I should inform thee, reader, concerning its original: thou mayst assure thyself it is not from the Scriptures, nor reason, since so expressly repugnant; although all broachers of their own inventions strongly endeavor to reconcile them with that holy record. Know then, my friend, it was born above three hundred years after the ancient gospel was declared, and that through the nice distinctions and too daring curiosity of the bishop of Alexandria, who being as

¹ S. Crisp’s Works, p. 75.

hotly opposed by Arius, their zeal so reciprocally blew the fire of contention, animosity, and persecution, till at last they sacrificed each other to their mutual revenge." * * * * "Be therefore cautioned, reader, not to embrace the determination of prejudiced councils for evangelical doctrine which the Scriptures bear no certain testimony to; neither was believed by the primitive saints, or thus stated by any I have read of in the first, second, or third centuries; particularly Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertulian, Origen, with many others who appear wholly foreign to the matter in controversy."

After quoting many passages of Scripture showing that God is one, and there is no other besides Him, he thus proceeds: "If God, as the Scriptures testify, hath never been declared or believed, but as the Holy One, then will it follow, that God is not an holy three, nor doth subsist in three distinct and separate Holy Ones."¹

From the conclusion of the same work, the following passage is quoted:—"Mistake me not, we never have disowned a Father, Word, and Spirit, which are One, but man's inventions: For, 1. *Their Trinity* has not so much as a foundation in the Scriptures. 2. Its original was three hundred years

¹ Sandy Foundation Shaken. This treatise is included in Penn's *Select Works* published under the care of the London Meeting for Sufferings in 1771. By a minute of London Yearly Meeting, dated 1768, the Meeting for Sufferings was desired to send to the several counties, the new proposals laid before that meeting for printing the selected parts of W. Penn's Works on larger paper and better letter.

after Christianity was in the world. 3. It having cost much blood; in the council of Sirmium, Anno 355, it was decided that thenceforth the controversy should not be remembered, because the Scriptures of God make no mention thereof. Why then should it be mentioned now with a *Maranatha* on all that will not bow to this abstruse opinion? 4. And it doubtless hath occasioned idolatry: witness the popish images of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 5. It scandalizeth Jews, Turks, and Infidels, and palpably obstructs their reception of the Christian doctrine.”

§ 3. Such is William Penn’s clear and decided testimony against the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the Church of Rome, the Church of England, and nearly all the Protestant sects; but in a later work he acknowledges what he calls the “Scripture Trinity.”¹ It being charged that “the Quakers deny the Trinity,” he answers in these words: “Nothing less. They believe in the Holy three, or Trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit, according to Scripture. And that these three are truly and properly one: of one nature as well as will; but they are very tender of quitting Scripture terms for schoolmen’s; such as, ‘distinct and separate persons,’ and subsistences, &c. are; from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”

In this passage he refers to the text 1 *John* v. 7: “There are three that bear record in heaven, the

¹ The Key, Penn’s Select Works, p. 682.

Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." This text is not found in the most ancient Greek manuscripts extant, it is omitted in Luther's translation of the Bible, it is inserted in the *early* English translations, but with marks of doubtfulness, and its genuineness is now considered too doubtful to allow of its use in substantiating Christian doctrine.¹

In the doctrinal writings of the early Friends this text is often quoted, and a marked emphasis is generally placed on the last clause, which they understood to mean that God is truly and properly one Divine Being.

§ 4. When the Act of toleration was about to be passed in the reign of William and Mary, it contained a clause extending its benefits to "All such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, co-equal with the Father and the Son, One God blessed forever: And do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed will and word of God."

This confession being considered by Friends "unscriptural," George Whitehead and John Vaughton presented to a committee of Parliament the following substitute, which was adopted, viz.: "I profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, One God blessed forever; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine inspiration."

¹ See Clark's Commentary.

In relation to this confession of faith, George Whitehead observes: "We were therefore of necessity put upon offering the said confession, it being also our known professed principle, sincerely to confess Christ the Son of the living God, His divinity and as he is the Eternal Word: and that the three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost, are one: *one divine Being, one God blessed forever.*"¹

It will be observed that the confession of faith first proposed in the Bill before Parliament, contained this expression, "The Holy Spirit co-equal with the Father and the Son,"—which seemed to imply the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit, and was not satisfactory to the Friends. They did not admit of any such distinction; but believed in God as a Spirit, holy, wise and good, omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent.

§ 5. Robert Barclay, in his "Apology Vindicated," thus replies to an opponent: "I desire to know of him in what Scripture he finds these words, 'That the Spirit is a distinct person of the Trinity?' For I freely acknowledge, according to the Scripture, that the Spirit of God proceedeth from the Father and the Son, and is God."²

These quotations may be sufficient to prove that the early Friends believed in the unity of the Divine Being, agreeably to the Scripture testimony; "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are

¹ Christian Progress of G. Whitehead, London ed. 1725, p. 635.

² Barclay's Works, London ed. 1692, p. 745.

all things, and we in him.” The second part of the text remains now to be considered: “And one Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things and we by him.”¹

§ 6. The Divinity of Christ, or God manifest in the flesh, was uniformly maintained as one of the doctrines of Friends; they also acknowledged his manhood in accordance with the Scriptures.

Man is an immortal soul united to a mortal body. The body is referred to by the Apostle Paul as a house in which the soul lodges for a time. He says: “We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.”² The Messiah also referred to the body as a temple, saying, “Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up.” * * * * “But he spake of the temple of his body.”³ In this prediction it is the soul that speaks, in the name or power of God, for it is said he was “raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father.”⁴ The soul of Christ is spoken of in the Scriptures. He said, “Now is my soul troubled.” * * * * “My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.”⁵ And in the Acts we read that “His soul was not left in hell [Hades], neither his flesh did see corruption.”

§ 7. The question arises, was it a human soul? He spoke of himself as a man, saying, “Now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth,

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6.

² 2 Cor. v. 1.

³ John ii. 19, 21.

⁴ Rom. vi. 4.

⁵ John xii. 27; Matt. xxvi. 38; Mark xiv. 13.

which I have heard of God.”¹ John the Baptist said of him, “After me cometh a man which is preferred before me; for he was before me.” And Peter, on the day of Pentecost, spoke of him, as “Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God, among you by miracles and wonders and signs which God did by him.”² “He took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham, wherefore, in all things, it behooved him, to be made like unto his brethren that he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest.”³ “For we have not an high-priest which cannot be touched with the feelings of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.”⁴ Now if he was in all things made like unto his brethren, and in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin; it follows that he had the appetites, affection and desires of our animal and spiritual nature which, if unrestrained, will lead to sin; but these propensities were all kept in their places and governed by that Divine power which dwelt in him, “For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell.”⁵

§ 8. Let us now consider who it was that “took on him the seed of Abraham,” thus assuming human nature, in order to redeem mankind, and who brought life and immortality to light through the gospel. It was the Eternal Word (*Logos*) that was in the beginning with God and was God. “The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten

¹ John viii. 40.

² Acts ii. 22.

³ Heb. ii. 16, 17.

⁴ Heb. iv. 15.

⁵ Col. i. 19.

of the Father,) full of grace and truth.”¹ “For the life was manifested, and we have seen it and bear witness and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us.”² When the Most High, “in the beginning,” put forth his creative energy, saying, “Let there be light;” this divine “Word,” by which he spoke the worlds into being, was an emanation from himself, a manifestation of his wisdom and power. The same holy and divine Word was manifested to our first parents, while in a state of innocence,—as their light and life; but when they had transgressed the divine law, it became their reprove, for when they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, they hid themselves, and the Lord called unto Adam, and said unto him, “Where art thou?”

The Apostle Paul refers to this Eternal Word, as being with the children of Israel in the wilderness, for “they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock *was Christ*.”³ Peter also refers to the same, “the Spirit of Christ,” which was in the prophets, and which “testified beforehand of the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow.”⁴

In a treatise by Isaac Pennington, entitled “Life and Immortality brought to Light,” he treats “of the threefold appearance of Christ, to wit, under the law, in a body of flesh, and in his spirit and power.”

¹ John i. 14.

² 1 John. i. 2.

³ 1 Cor. x. 4.

⁴ 1 Pet. i. 11.

Under the first head, he refers to the various appearances of Christ, as related in the Old Testament,—to Abraham on the plains of Mamre,—to Jacob when he wrestled with the angel,—to Moses at the burning bush,—to Joshua at Jericho, as the captain of the Lord's host,—to the three children in the fiery furnace, when he appeared in the midst of the fire in a form like the Son of God,—“and particularly that glorious appearance of God, sitting upon a throne and his train filling the temple, as seen by Isaiah,¹ when the Seraphims cried one unto another and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory.” This was an appearance of Christ to the prophet, as is manifest, *John* xii. 41, where the Evangelist (relating to that place) useth this expression: “These things said Isaiah, when he saw his glory and spake of him.”

“Secondly, concerning Christ's appearance in the body of flesh. When the time of these shadows drew towards an end, and the fulness of time was come, he who thus appeared in several types and shadows among that people of the Jews under the law, now came down from the Father, debased himself, and clothed himself like a man, partaking of flesh and blood, and was in all things made like unto us, (excepting sin, for he was the Lamb without spot,) humbling himself to come under the law (and under the curse) by fulfilling the righteousness thereof, and bringing them through into the righteousness everlasting. Now while he was in the

¹ Isa. vi.

body, his glory did shine to the eye of the children of true wisdom: his disciples, (to whom not flesh and blood, nor the wisdom and knowledge which they could get from the letter, but his Father revealed him,) they saw the hidden glory; they saw through the veil of flesh, and beheld him as the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

“Thirdly. Now the third appearance of Christ, which these two outward appearances made way for, was his appearance in spirit; even his pure, inward, heavenly appearance in the hearts of his children. This he bids his disciples wait for, telling them that he would not leave them comfortless, but would come again to them.” * * * * “Did not Christ send the Spirit, the Comforter? Did he not come in the spirit and power of the Most High, to be with them always to the end of the world?”¹

§ 9. These views of Pennington are in accordance with those generally expressed in the writings of the early Friends; but the objection may arise, in the minds of some: are there not here two Christs held forth,—one the Eternal Word, the other “the man Christ Jesus”? To this it may be answered, it was the indwelling of the Father that constituted Jesus the Christ,—the anointed of God,—the Saviour of men. He said, “I can of mine own self do nothing; as I hear I judge, and my judgment is just, because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which sent me.” “The words that I

¹ Pennington's Works, I. 376, 380.

speak unto you, I speak not of myself, but *the Father that dwelleth in me*, he doeth the works.”¹

§ 10. In none of the writings of the early Friends is this point more fully elucidated than in the account given by Sewel and Penn, of a debate between the Friends and Baptists at the Barbican in London, in the year 1674. The disputants on the part of the Friends were George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, and George Keith. At that time, Keith was in full unity with the Society, it being about eighteen years before his apostasy. An account of this controversy having been given in the Second Volume of this history, Chapter XII., its insertion here is deemed unnecessary. It contains an exposition of the views of the early Friends in relation to the divinity and manhood of Jesus Christ. They affirmed that “these names [Jesus Christ] are given to him most properly and eminently as God, and less properly, yet truly as man.” And in William Penn’s letter to G. Fox, concerning this debate, he says: “Christ is called the head, that is, the most noble member: the church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body.” * * * * “In my confession at the close, I said that we believed in Christ: both as he was the man Jesus, and God over all, blessed forever. And I am sure Paul divides him more than we did, (*Rom. ix. 5.*) since he makes a distinction between Christ as God and Christ as man.”

Another letter of William Penn, addressed to

¹ John v. 30, and xiv. 10.

Robert Turner in 1692, in relation to the Keithian controversy, alludes to the same subject as follows, viz.: "As to believing in Christ's manhood, it is Friends' principle, he is like unto us in all things, sin excepted, and that manhood is not vanished; though out of sight, it is somewhere; and wherever it is, it must be in a glorified state; but what that state is, or where it is, or how to frame ideas of either in our minds, are intrusions or curiosities above what is written or convenient. Can we hope our manhood shall be glorified and deny his to be so, that made way with his within the vail, for ours? He is glorified for us as *our common head*, and we shall with him be glorified too, *as his members*, if we through patience and tribulation overcome also."

* * * * "But now when this is said, that Christ came in our nature, and has glorified it as an eternal temple to himself, yet he is to be known nearer (than so without us), and that is in us. Thus Paul knew him, and preached him as the riches of the glory of the Christian day, the mystery hid from ages and generations, and then revealed Christ in them the hope of glory.'" ¹

§ 11. In the year 1691, at the beginning of the Keithian controversy in Pennsylvania, a number of the most prominent Friends in England addressed an Epistle to the brethren in America, from which the following passage is selected. "Do not we believe our souls are immortal, and shall be preserved in their distinct and proper beings, and spiritual

¹ Janney's Life of Penn, p. 375.

glorious bodies, such as shall be proper for them, as it shall please God to give, that we may be capable of our particular rewards and different degrees of glory after this life, or in the world to come; as one star differs from another star in glory and magnitude, and they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars in the firmament forever and ever? How then can it be otherwise believed, or apprehended in the truth, but that our most blessed and elder brother Jesus Christ, even as mediator, is ever in being in a most glorious state, (as with his Heavenly Father,) who in the day of his flesh on earth, so deeply and unspeakably suffered for us and for all mankind, both inwardly and outwardly, — inwardly by temptations, sorrows, and burthens, (as to his innocent soul by man's iniquities,) and outwardly by persecutions and the cruel death of the cross, as to his blessed body, which arose again the third day, and wherein he also ascended, according to the Scriptures; but it has not seemed proper or safe for us to be inquisitive about what manner of change his body had or met with after his resurrection and ascension, so as to become so glorious, heavenly or celestial as no doubt it is, far transcending what it was when on earth, in a humble, low, and suffering condition."

"Neither has it been our places to be curious or inquisitive about the bodies of the saints hereafter, as to question how the dead are or shall be raised, or with what bodies do they come, (or come they forth). For if the apostle esteemed such questions necessary to salvation, he would not have given them such reprehension and answers as he did in

general terms, and for a spiritual body to be raised and given as it pleaseth God, distinguishing the spiritual from the natural, and the celestial from the terrestrial bodies, which we have always believed, in opposition to carnal professors, gross and carnal conceptions and imaginations, about the *sameness of carnal* or earthly bodies.”¹

§ 12. In this letter, it will be observed, there are two points pertinent to the present inquiry. First. It was the belief of those Friends, that Jesus Christ, the head of the Church, and the saints, his members, in their heavenly state, are not in carnal, but in spiritual bodies. This agrees with the following language of G. Fox: “So if the ‘vile body’ be changed and fashioned like unto his glorious body, it *is not the same*, and consequently do not ye undervalue the Lord Jesus Christ and his body, ye that are giving such by-names to his body, as humane and humanity? Yea, some have been so bold as to say that he is in heaven with a natural and carnal body, but these have been some of the grossest sort of professors.”²

Secondly. The phrase, “our most blessed and *elder brother* Jesus Christ,” which occurs in the foregoing letter, is significant; nor is this the only instance in which it is found in the writings of the early Friends. William Bayly writes of our being

¹ This letter, dated London 28th, 7th month, 1691, was signed by George Whitehead, Samuel Waldingfield, John Field, Benj. Antrobus, William Bingley, John Vaughton, Alex. Seaton, Danl. Monro, and Patrick Livingston. It is inserted in Smith’s Hist. of Pa., Hazard’s Register, Vol. VI. p. 243, and in Bowden’s Hist. Vol. II.

² Doctrinals, 467, and Am. ed., V. 154.

“possessors of a *measure* of the same spirit of grace and truth that was in that person Christ our *elder brother*.”¹ And G. Fox the younger, in a letter addressed to General Monk, referring to the spirit of forgiveness which he felt, says, “This I have learned of Christ my *elder brother*, who is my strength and ability, in whom I have peace, which the world cannot take away.”²

§ 13. The expression is not inconsistent with the sacred writings, but appears to be deduced from them. The first-born, or elder brother, among the Jews, was the head of the family or tribe, and the heir of his father’s authority. The term was used as a title of dignity. The Apostle Paul speaks of the Son of God as the first-born among many brethren,”³ “For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified, are all of one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee.”⁴ The Messiah frequently referred to the believers as his brethren. After he was risen, he said to Mary Magdalene, “Go to my brethren and say unto them, ‘I ascend unto my Father and to your Father, and to my God and your God.’”⁵

§ 14. It will be observed that William Penn in his letter to G. Fox, says, “Christ is called the Head, that is the most noble member, the Church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body.” And in his letter to R. Turner, again writing of the manhood of Christ, he says, “He is glorified for us

¹ W. Bayly’s Works, Phila., 1830, p. 122.

² Writings of G. Fox the younger, London ed., 1665, p. 266.

³ Rom. viii. 29.

⁴ Heb. ii. 11, 12.

⁵ John xx. 17.

as our common head, and we shall with him be glorified too, as his members, if we through patience and tribulation overcome also." This appears to correspond with the Apostolic writings, in which the church or assembly of the righteous is compared to the human body. "For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many are one body: so also is Christ."¹ "He is the head of the body, the Church; who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell."² "Of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace."³ "He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God, for God hath not given the Spirit by measure unto him."⁴ "There is one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all, but to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ."⁵

§ 15. This distinction between the fulness of divine life which dwelt in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the measure of grace imparted to the members of his spiritual body, according to their several capacities or the services required of them, was constantly kept in view by the early Friends. It was so distinctive a feature in their communications, that the phrase, "according to my measure," was considered, by the world, one of the marks of Quakerism.

§ 16. William Penn, in his "Christian Quaker," (ch. xvi.,) writes as follows: "I have these two short arguments farther to prove what I believe and assert

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 12.

² Col. i. 18, 19.

³ John i. 16.

⁴ John iii. 34.

⁵ Eph. iv. 6, 7.

as to the spirituality of the true seed, and a clear overthrow it is to the opinion of our adversaries concerning the true Christ. First, every thing begets its like. What is simply natural produces not a spiritual being. Material things bring not forth things that are immaterial. Now because the nature or image begotten in the hearts of true believers is spiritual, it will follow, that the seed which so begets and brings forth that birth must be the same in nature with that which is begotten, therefore spiritual. Then Christ's body, or what he had from the Virgin, strictly considered as such was not the seed.

“Secondly, it is clear from hence: The Serpent is a spirit. Now nothing bruises the serpent's head in man, but something that is also internal and spiritual, as the serpent is. But if the body of Christ were only the seed, then could he not bruise the serpent's head in all, because the body of Christ is not so much as in any one, (though too many have weakly concluded it upon us, from a perversion or mistake of our doctrine of *Christ in man*, by his light and spirit,) and consequently the seed of the promise is an holy and spiritual principle of light, life, and power, that being received into the heart bruise the serpent's head. And because the seed (which in this sense cannot be that body) is Christ, as testify the Scriptures, *the seed is one and that seed Christ*, and Christ God over all blessed forever, (*Gal. iii. 16.*) we do conclude that Christ was, and is, the Divine word of light and life, that was in the beginning with God, and was and is, God over all blessed forever.”¹

§ 17. Robert Barclay, in his “Apology for the true

¹ Penn's Select Works, p. 260.

Christian Divinity ;” writing of the seed, grace, or word of God,—the Light wherewith every one is enlightened, says, by this: “We understand a spiritual, heavenly and invisible principle in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit dwells; a measure of which divine and glorious life is in all men as a seed, which of its own nature draws, invites and inclines to God.” * * * * “But by this we do not at all intend to equal ourselves to that holy man the Lord Jesus Christ who was born of the virgin Mary, in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, so neither do we *destroy the reality of his present existence*, as some have falsely calumniated us. For though we affirm that Christ dwells in us, yet not immediately, but mediately, as he is in that seed which is in us; whereas he, to wit, the Eternal Word, which was with God and was God, dwelt immediately in that holy man. He then is as the head, and we as the members; he the vine and we the branches. We also freely reject the heresy of Appolinarius, who denied him to have any soul, but said the body was only actuated by the Godhead. As also the error of Eutyches, who made the manhood to be wholly swallowed up of the Godhead. Wherefore as we believe he was a true and real man, so we also believe that he continues so to be glorified in the heavens in soul and body, by whom God shall judge the world, in the great and general day of judgment.”¹

§ 18. The same author, in his treatise called “Quakerism confirmed,” says: “Christ in us, or the Seed, is not a third spiritual nature, distinct from that which

¹ Apology, Prop. V. and VI., § 13.

was in the man Christ Jesus, that was crucified according to the flesh at Jerusalem:" * * * * "the same seed and life is in us, which was in him; and is in him in the fulness, as water is in the spring; and in us as the stream: and this seed and spiritual nature, which is both in him and us, doth belong to him, as he is the second Adam, or man Christ." * * * * "This seed is not our souls; but is a *medium betwixt God and us*: and our union with God is but *mediate* through this; whereas the union of God with this is immediate. Therefore none of us are either Christ or God; but God and Christ are in us."¹ "If a man love me," said Christ, "he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and *we* will come unto him, and make *our* abode with him."²

Now, if this Seed or Divine Word, "is a *medium betwixt God and us*," and our union with him "is but *mediate* through this," it must be through this, that our Holy Head Christ Jesus, in whom all fulness dwells, is the Mediator between God and man. "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus."³ As Moses was a Mediator to ordain the legal dispensation,⁴ so Jesus Christ was and is the Mediator of the New Covenant: first to proclaim and exemplify it, in the day of his outward advent; and, secondly, through all time, in the ministrations of his Spirit. "The Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the

¹ Works of R. B., p. 627 and 628.

² John xiv. 23.

³ 1 Tim. ii. 5.

⁴ Deut. v. 5. Gal. iii. 19.

will of God." * * * * "It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us."¹

In accordance with this view, Geo. Fox writes: "I say, none know him as a *mediator* and a lawgiver, nor an offering, nor his blood that cleanseth them, but as they know him working in them, and they be in the sophistry of their divinity that know not the glory of the grace of Christ working in them."²

§ 19. "We ought to consider," writes Geo. Whitehead, "that Christ as he is God and man, does not act, or give spiritual gifts separately from God the Creator; whether they be light, grace, spirit, power, or wisdom, which are one principle and being; for Jesus Christ, when he speaks as man, or as Mediator, always gives the preference to the Heavenly Father, as when he saith: 'The Son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father do. And my Father worketh hitherto and I work.' And likewise what power, glory, spirit, life, light, and wisdom, the Son hath to give or impart unto men, (especially unto true believers, his followers,) it is all first given him of the Father: He received gifts for men, 'yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord might dwell among them,' *Psalm* lxxviii. 18. Of whom did he receive them, but of his Heavenly Father?"³

§ 20. Those who are familiar with the writings of the early Friends, must have observed the deep reverence with which they speak of the blessed Jesus, as the immaculate Son of God, and Saviour of men.

¹ Rom. viii. 26, 27, 34.

² Great Mystery, 58. Works, Am. ed., III. 119-20.

³ Christian Progress of G. Whitehead, p. 210.

Doubtless the same feeling pervaded their religious discourses; an instance of which is here subjoined, being an extract from a "Farewell Sermon," preached by Wm. Penn, in London just before his second voyage to America in 1699.

"It concerneth us all to live in the exercise of that divine gift, and grace and ability, which our Lord Jesus Christ hath distributed and communicated to every member of his body, that we may come to shine as stars in the firmament of glory. We should do good in our several places and stations, according to our different powers and capacities. And as every member is by the circulation of the blood made useful and beneficial in the natural body, so the divine life and blood of the Son of God circulates through his mystical body, and reaches life to every living member. Here is no obstruction through unfaithfulness or inordinate love of the world, or any temptation from without us, or corruption from within us. Here is a free channel, here is an open passage for life and quickening influences from Christ our glorious Head, in all his members. There is in Christ (in whom the Godhead dwells bodily) a river whose streams make glad the city of God, a fountain to supply and refresh the whole generation of the righteous that desire to be found in him, (as the apostle speaks,) not having their own righteousness, but clothed with the robe of his righteousness, which is the garment of salvation."¹

¹ Janney's Life of Penn, 415; and The Friend, London, 3d mo., 1863.

CHAPTER V.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON SALVATION BY CHRIST.

§ 1. It was a doctrine maintained both by the early Friends and their opponents, that “Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners,” and that this object was promoted, by his life, his teachings and his sufferings, but they differed in regard to the mode in which this work is effected.

§ 2. The Church of England in her second Article teaches that, “Christ, very God and very man, truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to *reconcile his Father* to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.” This Article was modified by the Westminster Assembly by inserting after the word “suffered,” — “most grievous torments in his soul from God.” In her eleventh Article revised, it was asserted that “We are justified, that is we are accounted righteous before God, and have remission of sins, not for or by our own works or deservings, but freely by his grace, only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’s sake, his whole obedience and *satisfaction* being by God *imputed* unto us, and Christ with his righteousness being apprehended and rested on by faith only.”¹

The commonly received doctrine of Atonement is, “the *satisfying* of divine justice by Jesus Christ giving himself a ransom for us, *undergoing the penalty* due to our sins, and thereby releasing us from that punishment which God might justly inflict upon us.” Im-

¹ Neal, II. 454-6.

putation is defined to be, "God's gracious donation of the righteousness of Christ to believers and his acceptance of their persons as righteous on the account thereof. Their sins being *imputed to him*, and his obedience being *imputed to them*, they are in virtue hereof both acquitted from guilt and accepted as righteous before God." Propitiation is defined, "a sacrifice offered to God to *assuage his wrath* and render him propitious."¹ And the *new covenant* is said to be "ratified afresh by the blood and actual sufferings of Christ."²

§ 3. It was moreover taught, as a part of the commonly received doctrine, that justification *precedes* sanctification, and is not the result of any righteousness in the person justified; but from the righteousness of Christ imputed to sinners who believe in him. Hence the assertion—"The person therefore that is justified, is accepted *without any cause in himself*."³

§ 4. Now the questions to be examined are these. 1. Did the early Friends believe or teach the doctrine of imputative righteousness? 2. Did they teach the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction, viz., That Jesus Christ, as a substitute, paid the penalty of our sins, or was punished for man's transgressions, to satisfy divine justice, or that he died to appease the wrath of God, and *reconcile his Father to us*? 3. Did they teach that justification precedes sanctification, or that justification may take place without the subject of it being made just? 4. And finally, did they believe that "the blood of the everlasting covenant" by which redemption is effected, was the material blood of the Messiah shed on Mount Calvary?

¹ Buck's Theological Dictionary.

² Cruden's Con.

³ Buck's Theological Dictionary.

§ 5. In regard to imputative righteousness. The question being asked, “whether a believer be justified by Christ’s righteousness *imputed*, yea or no?” George Fox answered, “He that believeth is born of God, and he that is born of God is justified by Christ alone *without imputation*.”¹

Wm. Penn, in his “Sandy Foundation Shaken,” has one section with the following heading, viz., “The justification of impure persons, by an imputative righteousness, refuted from Scripture.” Among the texts quoted are these: “Keep thee far from a false matter and the innocent and righteous slay thou not, for I will not justify the wicked;” *Ex. xxiii. 7*. “He that justifieth the wicked and he that condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord;” *Prov. xvii. 15*. “The son shall not bear the iniquity of his father; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.”

“From whence it may be very clearly argued that none can be in a state of justification from the righteousness performed by another imputed to them, but as they are actually redeemed from the commission of sin.”

Robert Barclay, in refuting the commonly received doctrine, “That as our sin is imputed to Christ who had no sin, so Christ’s righteousness is imputed to us without our being righteous,” makes use of the following argument. “Though Christ bore our sins and suffered for us, and was *among men* accounted a sinner and numbered among transgressors; yet that

¹ Saul’s Errand to Damascus, London ed. 1654, p. 12, and Works of G. F., III. 595.

God reputed him a sinner is nowhere proved. For it is said, 'he was found before him holy, harmless and undefiled, neither was there found any guile in his mouth.' That we deserved these things and much more for our sins which he endured in obedience to the Father, and according to his counsel, is true; but that ever God reputed him a sinner, is denied: neither did he ever die that we should be *reputed righteous*; though no more really such than he was a sinner, (as hereafter appears). For indeed, if this argument hold, it might be stretched that length as to become very pleasing to wicked men, that love to abide in their sins. For if we be made righteous as Christ was made a sinner, merely by *imputation*, then as there was no sin, not in the least in Christ, so it would follow, that there needed no more righteousness, no more holiness, no more inward sanctification in us than there was sin in him. So then by his 'being made sin for us,' (2 *Cor.* v. 21,) must be understood his suffering for our sins that we might be made partakers of the grace purchased by him; by the *workings whereof* we are made the righteousness of God in him. For that the apostle understood here a being made *really* righteous, and not merely a being *reputed* such, appears by what follows, seeing in verses 14, 15, 16 of the following chapter he argues largely against any supposed agreement of light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness, which must needs be admitted, if men be reckoned ingrafted in Christ and real members of him merely by an imputative righteousness, wholly without them, while they themselves are actually unrighteous. And indeed, it may be thought strange how some men have made this so *fundamental* an article of their faith, which is so con-

trary to the whole strain of the gospel; a thing Christ in none of his sermons and gracious speeches ever willed any to rely upon; always recommending to us works as instrumental in our justification: and the more 'tis to be admired at, because that sentence or term (so frequent in their mouths and so often pressed by them as the very basis of their hope and confidence), to wit, the *imputed righteousness of Christ*, is not to be found in all the Bible, at least, as to my observation.”¹

“Alas!” says Isaac Pennington, “how do men mistake about the righteousness of Christ, about the gospel righteousness; and in effect, make it but the righteousness of the old covenant, performed in the person of another for us, and imputed to us! Whereas it is the righteousness of another covenant, even of the new and living covenant, which the Lord Jesus worketh both in us and for us. Now whoever receiveth this righteousness from him, and is clothed with it by him, he findeth it to be the righteousness of the gospel, the new and living righteousness, the true and everlasting righteousness, both of the father and son, which the souls of those that truly believe partake of in them and with them.”²

§ 6. Did the early Friends teach the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction; viz., that Jesus Christ, as a substitute, paid the penalty of our sins, or was punished for man's transgressions to satisfy divine justice, or that he died to appease the wrath of God, and *reconcile his Father* to us?

Geo. Whitehead, in his work entitled “The Divi-

¹ Barclay's Apology, London ed. 1692, Prop. VII. § 6.

² Works of I. P., II. 519.

nity of Christ," in answer to Thomas Vincent and others, states the difference between Friends' doctrines and those of their opponents, as follows:—

“Query by G. W. How is this satisfaction made by Christ?”

“T. V. It depends upon him as the second person in the Trinity.”

“Query by G. W. Does it depend upon him as man, or as God and man?”

“T. V. ‘It was necessary that the person that should make satisfaction, should be man, because none but a creature could suffer.’ But then he adds, ‘It were necessary he should be God, otherwise the sufferings and satisfaction would have been but finite.’”

“Query by G. W. What then, were the sufferings infinite that the wicked inflicted upon the body of Christ, seeing nothing but a creature could suffer, he saith, and yet as a creature could give no proportionable satisfaction to infinite justice. What confusion is here! For as God he could not suffer nor die, as is confessed; but God did strengthen the manhood to bear up under such a pressure of wrath: But where doth the scripture say, ‘that Christ, the second person in the Trinity, did suffer under infinite wrath, either as God or man or both?’” * * * *

“What amounts this to, that God made a satisfaction to, and paid himself either by inflicting infinite wrath upon Christ as God (which cannot be), or else that he satisfied himself by the finite sufferings of Christ as man, whereas that which was finite could not satisfy infiniteness, (they say). And as God-man can, they say he was the subject of wrath or vindictive justice (as their term is). How these things

should be reconciled, I leave to the ingenious readers to judge.”¹

In an Appendix to his treatise entitled “The Presbyterian’s Antidote Tried,” Geo. Whitehead writes as follows:—

“*Question.* The satisfaction, what? and in what did it consist?”

“*Answer.* 1. Not rigid payment from Christ to God. 2. *Not of the nature of payment* for all sins past, present, and to come, as stated by sin-pleasers. 3. *Not Christ’s undergoing infinite wrath* or revenge from his Father, for these were never exacted nor required of him. But the satisfaction was in Christ as the son of the Father’s love, the delight of his soul, and as he was a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour to him. Both the Father and the Son condescended in one and the same infinite love for man’s recovery out of sin and death, and for his deliverance from wrath to come, they being equally kind to man and equally angry at man’s sin. God so loved the world that he freely sent his only-begotten Son, &c. And in the same love the Son freely gave his life, yea, even himself, a ransom for all, for a testimony in due time.”

“*Question.* Whether divine justice did properly and strictly require a full payment and punishment upon Christ, in man’s stead, for all the debt contracted and injury done by fallen man?”

“*Answer.* No; Christ’s sufferings were not of that nature or intent; but as it was by the grace of God that he tasted death for every man, they showed God’s patience and proclaimed his mercy, in order

¹ The Divinity of Christ, by G. W. London ed. 1669, pp. 45, 46.

to pardon all that return to him from the evil of their ways.”¹

In another work, Geo. Whitehead thus replies to an opponent: “That all men’s debts should be so strictly paid, or such a severe satisfaction made, to vindicate justice, by Christ in their stead, which God never imposed upon the son of his love, and that for sins past, present, and to come (as some say) is inconsistent. Besides the gross liberty this gives to sin, how agrees it with his teaching them to pray, ‘Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors?’ For what needed that, if they be all so strictly paid in their stead.”²

Wm. Penn says, “I can boldly challenge any person to give me one scripture phrase which does approach the doctrine of satisfaction, (much less the name,) considering to what degree it is stretched, not that we do deny, but really confess, that Jesus Christ, in life, doctrine, and death, fulfilled his father’s will, and offered up a most satisfactory sacrifice; but not to pay God or help him (as otherwise being unable) to save men.”³

Robert Barclay, in the 5th and 6th Propositions of his Apology, treats of “Universal Redemption by Christ.” “God,” he says, “hath so loved the world that he hath given his only son a Light, that whosoever believeth in him shall be saved, who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world and maketh manifest all things that are reprovabable, and teacheth all temperance, righteousness and godliness, and this

¹ The Presbyter’s Antidote Tried, published with Christian Quaker. Phila. 1824, p. 448.

² Lux Eorta Est, ditto, p. 322.

³ Sandy Foundation Shaken, Penn’s Select Works, p. 22.

Light enlighteneth the hearts of all for a time in order to salvation; and this is it which reproves the sin of all individuals and would *work out* the salvation of all if not resisted." It is obvious from this passage, that he attributes Redemption and Salvation to that change of heart which is wrought in man by obedience to the Light. This Light he says is universal, "being the purchase of his death who tasted death for every man."

In these propositions, Barclay does not maintain the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction, — he does not say that the Messiah suffered death as a substitute for sinners to satisfy a broken law, or to appease divine wrath. There is however a passage in the argument connected with these propositions, (§ XV.) which is erroneously supposed by some to bear that construction. It reads as follows: "Nevertheless as 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."

The meaning intended to be conveyed may be elucidated by reference to other passages in the same work, and by bearing in mind the belief of the early Friends, that through the obedience and sufferings of Christ he obtained for his Church Divine favor and spiritual gifts, for "when he ascended up on high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men;" *Eph. iv. 8.* These gifts being "for the perfecting of

the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ," had a direct relation to the salvation of mankind.

It is therefore not warrantable, in construing the passage last quoted from Barclay, to draw the conclusion that he believed the sufferings of Christ had the effect of appeasing the wrath, or satisfying the justice of God. On the contrary, he attributes both sanctification and justification to the work of Christ in the obedient soul. "As many," he says, "as resist not this light, but receive the same, in them is produced a holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God: by which holy birth (to wit) Jesus Christ formed within us and working his work in us, are we sanctified; so are we justified in the sight of God, according to the apostle's words, 'But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.'"¹

The necessity of sacrifice to obtain Divine favor has, from the earliest ages and throughout the world, been very generally felt. To enlightened minds it has been shown that the sacrifice acceptable to God is "a broken spirit and a contrite heart," accompanied by the offering up of every impure affection and lust. These being understood to spring from the animal nature, were typified by the beasts offered in sacrifice, the flesh being consumed, and the blood, which is the life, sprinkled on the altar.

Such were the offerings made by Abel, Noah, and the patriarchs. They were subsequently ordained

¹ Apology, Prop. VII.

and amplified in the ritual of Moses, which was doubtless adapted to the condition of a people that had for centuries been held in Egyptian bondage. In the fulness of time the Messiah appeared to call men from outward types to inward realities, and from the letter to the spirit. "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances," he "took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross."¹ The idea of sacrifice being familiar to all, the term was applied figuratively, by the writers of the New Testament, not only to the death of the Messiah on the cross, but to the martyrdom of the saints, to the surrender of the human will and affections to the Divine government, and to the good deeds performed by the believers in Christ. Thus Paul says of his own expected martyrdom, "I am now ready to be offered."² "If I be offered upon the *sacrifice* and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all."³ He writes to the brethren, "I beseech you by the mercies of God that ye present your bodies a living *sacrifice*, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service."⁴ And in acknowledging a gift sent him by the Philippians, he terms "it an odour of a sweet smell, a *sacrifice* acceptable, well-pleasing to God."⁵

The same kind of figurative language is still in use; we speak of the reformers having *sacrificed* their lives for the cause of truth, and of religious liberty having been purchased by the blood of the martyrs; but no one thinks of taking such expressions literally.

§ 7. The doctrine of Reconciliation, as taught in the writings of the early Friends, is strictly in accord-

¹ Col. ii. 14.

² 2 Tim. iv. 6.

³ Phil. ii. 17.

⁴ Rom. xii. 1.

⁵ Phil. iv. 18.

ance with the Scriptures, being a change *wrought in man* whereby he becomes reconciled to God. There can be no change in Deity,—he has always loved mankind. “God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself;”—not reconciling himself to the world,—for there is no such language in the sacred volume. On this point the views of Isaac Pennington are clear and explicit, viz. :

“*Question 1.* What is reconciliation?

Answer. It is a bringing together the minds and hearts of God and man into one.

Quest. 2. How is this wrought?

Ans. By taking away the enmity of man’s nature, which is therein against God, and by planting him into, and causing him to grow up in, that nature and life which God loveth, whereby that is removed from man which God hateth, and which is the cause of separation; and man brought into and brought up in that which is the love and delight of God’s heart.

Quest. 3. By what is this reconciliation wrought?

Ans. By the Word of God’s power. That comes forth from the love of God unto man; and man being gathered out of himself into that, the evil seed is thereby destroyed, and the good seed of the kingdom thereby cherished, and groweth up in its shadow and nourishment.

Quest. 4. How doth the Word work this?

Ans. By winning upon man, and gathering him into its light, out of man’s own darkness, exercising man various ways to empty him of himself, and make him weak in himself, and putting forth its own strength in and for man, as it hath emptied and weakened him in himself.”¹

¹ Works of I. Pennington, I. 609.

§ 8. Did the early Friends teach that Justification precedes Sanctification, or that Justification may take place without the subject of it being made just?

Geo. Fox has expressed his view on this point in unmistakable language, viz.: “They that are not complete in sanctification are not complete in justification, for they are one, they that are complete in the one are complete in the other; and so far as a man is sanctified, so far he is justified, and no farther; for the same that sanctifies a man justifies him; for the same that is his sanctification is his justification, and his wisdom, and his redemption. He that knows one of them, knows all: he that doth not feel one of them, feels none of them at all, for they are all one.”¹

Richard Claridge, in a conference with a Baptist, quoted the text, 1 *Cor.* vi. 11, “But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God;” and said, that it was evident by the Apostle’s words that he did not lead us to an outward righteousness only for our justification, but to an inward righteousness as being the immediate cause thereof. For if we attend to the order of the Apostle’s testimony, we must be washed and sanctified before we can be justified. And if we come to witness the efficacious work of the spirit of Christ, in our cleansing and sanctification, then we shall know ourselves to be in a state of justification, and not till then. For though Christ be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, yet no man can comfortably apply him as such to his own soul, but as he first experiences the sanctifying work of the Spirit.”²

¹ Great Mystery, 284. Works of G. F. III. 450.

² Works of R. Claridge, London ed. 1726, p. 78.

Robert Barclay, after quoting the same text, (1 *Cor.* vi. 11,) proceeds to show that the term justified, as there applied, “must needs be, a being *really made just*, and not a being merely imputed such; else sanctified and washed might be reputed a being esteemed so, and not a being really so: and then it overturns the whole intent of the context. For the Apostle showing them in the preceding verses, how the unrighteous cannot inherit the kingdom of God, and descending to the several species of wickedness, subsumes, that they were sometimes such, but now are not any more such. Wherefore, as they are now washed and sanctified, so are they justified.”

It is further shown by Barclay, that the proper and genuine interpretation of justified is *being made just*; the word is “a composition of the verb *facio*, and the adjective *justus*, which is nothing else than thus: *justifico*, i. e. *justum facio*, to make just.”¹

§ 9. Did they believe or teach that the “blood of the everlasting covenant,” by which redemption is effected, was the material blood of the Messiah shed on Mount Calvary?

George Fox wrote a tract, entitled “A Testimony concerning the Blood of the Old Covenant and the Blood of the New Covenant,” from which the following passages are quoted: “As Moses in the old covenant sprinkled the people with the blood, the life of beasts; so Christ our high priest sprinkles the *hearts and consciences* of his people, in the new covenant, with his blood, his life, ‘from their dead works that they may serve the living God in newness of life.’
* * * * So the blood of the old covenant was the

¹ Apology, Prop. VII. § 7.

life of the beasts and other creatures: and the blood of the new covenant is the life of Christ Jesus, who saith, ‘except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.’ So the blood of the new covenant is not according to the old, and so with this blood of the new covenant must every one feel their hearts sprinkled if they have life; and in this new covenant they shall all know the Lord, &c. And by this blood of Jesus, his life in the new covenant, they are justified, in whom we have redemption and the forgiveness of sins; and Christ hath purchased his Church with his own blood, his life, and their faith doth stand in his blood which is the life of the Lamb. Therefore the Apostle saith, ‘If ye walk in the light as he is in the light, then ye have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ Jesus, his Son, cleanseth from all sin.’”¹ This testimony is in accordance with that of the Apostle John, viz., “God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life.” * * * * “In him was life, and the life was the light of men.”²

Isaac Pennington has expressed his sentiment on this point in the following passage:—

“*Question* 1. What is redemption?

“*Answer*. It is the purchasing of the vessel out of the captivity and misery of death, into the liberty and blessedness of divine life, sown, revealed, grown up and perfected in the heart.

“*Quest.* 2. Who is the Redeemer?

“*Ans.* The Son of God, the child of God’s beget-

¹ Works of G. F., V. 363–4; Doctrinals, 644–5.

² 1 John v. 11, 12, and John i. 4.

ting, the divine image who naturally believes and fulfils the will of the Father, in every vessel which it hath prepared.

“*Quest.* 3. By what doth he redeem ?

“*Ans.* By his blood ; by his life ; by his power ; by his nature sown in the vessel, and transforming the vessel into its own likeness. Yea, this is indeed redemption, when the creature is changed into and brought forth in the image, power, nature, virtue and divine life of him that redeemeth ; and the old contrary image perfectly blotted out by the presence and indwelling of the new. This is perfect redemption, the least measure whereof is redemption in a degree.”¹

Robert Barclay, in his work entitled “Truth cleared of Calumnies,” replies to an opponent as follows, viz. :

“Whereas thou sayest, ‘Is not the application of Christ’s blood and sufferings necessary to them that would profit and get good thereby ; for though the blood of Christ be a healing plaster, yet the plaster must be applied ere the sore can be healed. Now what application can the soul make of Christ’s blood, who knows no such thing ? The blood of Christ is applied by faith, but true faith is not a blind faith.’

“*Answer.* It is granted : but this blood is known and felt within, to wash and purge the conscience ; for Christ, as he is within is not without *his blood, which is spiritual*, even the pure blood of the vine ; and is that wine of the kingdom which is inwardly felt to wash and to refresh, which he gives to them who know not distinctly the outward shedding of the blood as it was many hundred years ago, and which many

¹ Pennington’s Works, I. 610.

are ignorant of who have heard much of the outward shedding of his blood, but know not the blood as shed and poured forth in them, to sprinkle their consciences from dead works? for it is a mystery sealed up from all who stand in opposition to his light within. But there mark thy own words, ‘the plaster must be applied, ere the sore can be healed.’ Must not the saving grace be applied ere the soul can be converted or healed?”¹

It is observed by Wm. Penn, that “one outward thing cannot be the proper figure or representative of another. Nor is it the way of holy Scripture so to teach us. The outward Lamb shows forth the inward Lamb; the Jew outward the Jew inward.”²

In accordance with this view, Geo. Whitehead asks, “Did not the killing and sacrificing of bulls, goats and heifers typify or figure forth the killing and destroying that corrupt, beastly nature and enmity in man, which is for death and destruction, and of which those beasts were as a lively emblem?”³

§ 10. Having shown by the foregoing extracts from the writings of the most prominent among the early Friends, that they did not believe or teach some of the doctrines then deemed essential by the churches called orthodox; it is proper now to demonstrate that they did believe and teach the doctrine of salvation by Christ, as set forth in the New Testament.

The healing of the soul, as suggested by Barclay, is one of the most appropriate figures to illustrate the nature of salvation; for as sin is a malady of the soul that will cause spiritual death, so salvation is the

¹ Barclay’s Works, p. 10.

² Select Works, p. 260.

³ Presbyter’s Antidote Tried, Appendix.

health of the soul, and will secure eternal life. As the Messiah, through the divine power that dwelt in him, wrought many great miracles, healing the sick and cleansing the lepers, causing the blind to see and the deaf to hear, and even restoring the dead to life; so the same Divine Power, or Spirit of Christ, now heals the maladies of the soul, cleanses it from pollution, enables it to see his light and to hear his word, and thus restores it from death to life.

The redemption that is wrought for us by Christ as a spirit of light and life in the soul, and the work of reconciliation that was effected by him while in that "body prepared" in which he came to do his Father's will, are explained at large in the 17th and 18th chapters of Wm. Penn's "Christian Quaker." In order to present both aspects of the subject as treated by him, the following selections may suffice.

"As at any time disobedient men have hearkened to the still small voice of the *Word*, that messenger of God in their hearts, to be affected and convinced by it, as it brings reproof for sin, which is but a fatherly chastisement; so upon true brokenness of soul and contrition of spirit, that very same Principle and word of life in man, has *mediated and atoned*, and God has been *propitious*, lifting up the light of his countenance, and replenishing such humble penitents with divine consolations. So that still the same Christ, Word-God, who has lighted all men, is by sin grieved and burdened, and bears the iniquities of such as so sin and reject his benefits. But as any hear his knocks and let him into their hearts, he first wounds and then heals. Afterwards he atones, mediates and reinstates man in the holy image he is fallen from by sin. Behold this is the state of restitution! and this

in some measure was witnessed by the holy patriarchs, prophets and servants of God in old time, to whom Christ was *substantially the same Saviour* and seed bruising the serpent's head that he is now to us, what difference soever there may be in point of manifestation.

“But, notwithstanding, it was the same light and life with that which afterwards clothed itself with that outward body, which did in measure inwardly appear for the salvation of the souls of men, yet, as I have often said, never did that Divine Life so eminently show forth itself, as in that sanctified and prepared body.” * * * * “Consider what I say with this qualification, that ultimately and chiefly, not wholly and exclusively, the Divine Life in that body was the Redeemer. For the sufferings of that holy body of Jesus had an engaging and procuring virtue in them, though the Divine Life was that fountain from whence originally it came. And as the Life declared and preached forth itself through that holy body, so those who then came to the benefit procured by the Divine Life, could only do it through an hearty confession to it as appearing in that body, and that from a sense first given by a measure of the same in themselves. This is the main import of those places, ‘whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation,’ and ‘in whom we have redemption through faith in his blood.’ *Rom. iii. 25.* For who is this He, whom God hath set forth, and in whom is redemption? Certainly, the same He that was before Abraham, the rock of the Fathers, that cried: ‘Lo I come to do thy will, O God; a body hast thou prepared me;’ which was long before the body was conceived and born.”¹

¹ Select Works of W. Penn, pp. 262, 266.

These extracts from the works of Barclay, Penn, and Pennington, the ablest authors among the early Friends, might, if it were deemed needful, be corroborated by many passages from the writings of other Friends contemporary with them.

§ 11. In treating of the sufferings of Christ, there is, perhaps, no part of the Old Testament so frequently quoted as the 53d chapter of Isaiah. It is referred to by the evangelist Matthew in the following remarkable passage, viz : “When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils; and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias, the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses.” In considering this passage, the query arises, how did he take their infirmities and bear their sicknesses? Assuredly not by becoming himself infirm and sick, nor were they healed by having his health imputed to them; but “he cast them out by his word,” which was “the power of God and the wisdom of God.” In like manner the same divine Word, or Spirit of Christ, still removes our iniquities; not by imputation, but by healing our spiritual diseases, if we have faith in him and obey his law.

It is admitted, even by trinitarian writers, that “the doctrine of atonement, as far as relates to sin, is nothing more than the doctrine of reconciliation. And indeed, in a sense agreeable to this, that of bringing into a state of concord and reconciliation, the word atonement itself had been originally used by our old English writers, with whom, according to Junius, Skinner, and Johnson, it was written at-one-ment; signifying to be at-one or to come to

an agreement.”¹ Now, as “the carnal mind is enmity against God,” and as no change can take place in Deity, the change must be wrought in man, in order that reconciliation may be effected. Hence the peculiar force and propriety of the expression used by the Apostle Paul, “We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ’s stead be ye reconciled to God.” This language is similar to that of the Most High through his prophet Ezekiel, “I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?”

It is evident that there is nothing implacable in the character of the Deity; the mission of Christ was an evidence of his love and mercy to mankind. “God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.”

The object of his mission is thus stated by himself: “To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.”² He could not bear witness to the truth among that perverse and wicked people without suffering for it. Foreseeing the result, he prophesied of his death and resurrection,—and willingly laid down his life as a testimony for the truth, in order to promote the salvation of the world. His sufferings were both mental and corporeal, and being endured in obedience to the will of his Father, (for he said, not my will but thine be done,) the sacrifice thus made was an offering acceptable to God, and an

¹ Magee on Atonement, pp. 184, 186.

² John xviii. 37.

evidence to man that "He who spared not his own son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?"¹ There can be no doubt that his agony in the garden of Gethsemane, as well as his mental sufferings on Mount Calvary, when he cried out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" were occasioned by the deep sense he had of the sins of mankind, the burden of which lay upon him and induced him to say, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." He was "baptized into death," he entered into sympathy and suffering for a fallen world; "he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." Before his crucifixion it was said, "the Holy Ghost was not yet given because Jesus was not yet glorified;" that is, it was not poured forth so abundantly as on the day of Pentecost. But after his resurrection, "He ascended up on high, he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men." "Therefore," said Peter, "being by the right hand of God exalted, and having *received of the Father* the promise of the Holy Ghost, *he hath shed forth* this which ye now see and hear." It may therefore be truly said he is our "propitiation," "the mediator of the new covenant," through whom favor is received.

The personal ministry of Christ, his sublime doctrines, pure life, and wonderful miracles, made, comparatively, few converts; but when he laid down his life for the sheep, and sealed his testimony with his blood, the impression was far deeper, and then the apostles going forth in his name and power, were

¹ Rom. viii. 32.

instrumental in gathering many thousands to his fold. They preached not themselves, “but Christ Jesus, the Lord,” and to the gift of grace through him, they attributed the wonderful success of their ministry. Thus we see that the effect of Christ’s sufferings upon great numbers in that day, was to remove the enmity from their hearts, and by this means reconcile them to God; and the same result has been witnessed to some extent in every age of the Christian Church. But it is the life or power of Christ operating in the soul, that saves from sin, and hence the Apostle Paul says, “If when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.”¹ For in him was life, and the life was the light of men.²

§ 12. They who would reign with Christ must be willing to suffer with him. The Apostle Paul wrote to the Colossians: “I now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ, for his body’s sake which is the Church.” The true ministers of the Gospel must, at times, be baptized into sympathy and suffering for the condition of the people, in order that they may minister to their wants; for the whole Church is represented as one body, and, “whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.”

An instance of this spiritual suffering is mentioned in the Journal of G. Fox, who, being asked by Priest Stevens, “Why Christ cried out upon the cross, ‘My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’ and why

¹ Rom. v. 10.

² John i. 4.

he said, ‘If it be possible let this cup pass from me,’” replied as follows: “At that time the sins of the whole world were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions, with which he was wounded, which he was to bear and be an offering for, as he was man, but died not as he was God; so in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spoke being at that time in a measure *sensible of Christ’s sufferings* and what he went through.” Thus it appears that George Fox was brought into fellowship with Christ in his sufferings, even as Paul was enabled to know him and “the power of his resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death.”¹

§ 13. In the letter of Geo. Fox and others to the Governor and Council of Barbadoes, a full testimony is borne to the divinity of Christ, his miraculous conception, his sufferings, resurrection, and mediation. The following extract may suffice, viz.: “This Jesus who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles is our foundation, and we do believe that there is no other foundation to be laid, but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, who, we believe, ‘tasted death for every man and shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. According as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, ‘Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.’” * * * * “He it is that is now come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true; and he rules in our

¹ Phil. iii. 10.

hearts by his law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death, and we have no life but by him, for he is the quickening Spirit, the Second Adam, the Lord from heaven: by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works to serve the living God.”¹

In one of his tracts, Geo. Fox writes as follows: “The blood of Christ which satisfies the Father, which the saints drink, and his flesh which they eat, which in so doing they have life, is that which the world stumble at; which who drinks lives forever. And the Apostle preached the word of faith in their hearts and in their mouths, and the word reconciles to the Father, and hammers down, and cuts down, and burns up that which separates from the Father; and over it gives victory.” * * * * “Whosoever hath not Christ within, is a reprobate, and whosoever hath Christ within, hath the righteousness.² Now Christ that suffered, Christ that was offered up, is manifest within, and the saints are of his flesh and of his bone, and eat his flesh and drink his blood, and not another. The Christ that ended the priesthood, ended the offering, ended the temple, ended the law, and the first covenant, the seed of God, Christ Jesus, this is manifest within; he that hath him hath life, justification, sanctification, and redemption.” * * * * “And none lift up the Son of God, as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, but as every one is in the light, that the Son of God hath enlightened him withal, and then they know

¹ See letter of G. Fox to Gov. of Barbadoes, Appendix to Vol. II. of this History.

² “He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life.” 1 John v. 12.

him that draws all men after him.”¹ In this passage and in many others that might be adduced from the writings of G. Fox, he explains what he means by that blood of Christ, which “satisfieth the Father,” and “reconciles to the Father,” even that blood which the saints drink, — that life or Spirit of Christ which renovates the soul.

In accordance with this view Robert Barclay writes, “The body then of Christ, which believers partake of, is spiritual and not carnal, and his blood, which they drink of, is pure and heavenly, and not human or elementary.”

In conclusion, it may safely be asserted that the early Friends believed and taught the scriptural doctrine of salvation by Christ, as a work effected by divine power in the humble obedient soul; but while they relied upon “the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus,” which made them “free from the law of sin and death,” they failed not to acknowledge their gratitude to Him, “who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works.”

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF FRIENDS' DOCTRINES FROM 1690 TO 1814.

HAVING shown what were the doctrines generally held by Friends *in the time of Geo. Fox*, the next point for consideration, is the inquiry, whether any

¹ Works of G. Fox, III. 227 228. Great Mystery, 131.

changes have subsequently taken place in the religious views of the Society in Great Britain and Ireland, or in America.

Soon after the death of Fox, a controversy sprung up in America caused by the disaffection of George Keith and the charges of unsoundness in doctrine which he brought against the Society. This controversy having been treated of in a preceding chapter, requires but a brief notice here.¹

The Keithians assumed the name of Christian Quakers, adopted a confession of faith, and issued a testimony against their former brethren, charging them with heresy. The chief points of difference between the views of George Keith and those of Friends, at the time of his separation, were, that he held the doctrines of original sin, the Trinity, and imputative righteousness.² He afterwards embraced the other doctrines of the Church of England, and was ordained a minister of that body.

In the year 1693, thirty-one Friends in England, among whom was George Whitehead, caused the following confession of faith to be presented to Parliament, in order to clear the Society of aspersions cast upon it by "Francis Bugg, an envious apostate."³

"Be it known to all, that we sincerely believe and confess, I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the very Christ, the son of the living God, to whom all the prophets gave witness: and that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemp-

¹ See History, Vol. III. chap. 3.

² See, examination of Keith's doctrines, Hist. of Fds., Vol. III. chap. 3.

³ Sewel, II. 357.

tion of mankind, together with his laws, doctrine, and ministry.

II. That this very Christ of God, who is the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive, and lives forever in his divine, eternal glory, dominion and power with the Father.

III. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are of divine authority, as being given by the inspiration of God.

IV. And that magistracy or civil government is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil-doers, and praise of them that do well."

The Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London in 1694, issued the following advice to the subordinate meetings: "If there be any such gross errors, false doctrines, or mistakes held by any professing truth, as are either against the validity of Christ's sufferings, blood, resurrection, ascension, or glory in the heavens, according as they are set forth in the Scriptures; or any ways tending to the denial of the heavenly man Christ; such persons ought to be diligently instructed and admonished by faithful Friends and not to be exposed by any to public reproach; and when the error proceeds from ignorance and darkness of their understanding, they ought the more meekly and gently to be informed; but if they shall wilfully persist in error in point of faith, after being duly informed, then such to be further dealt with according to gospel order, that the truth, church, or body of Christ may not suffer by any particular pretended member that is so corrupt."¹ This

¹ Extracts from Minutes and Advices, &c. London, 1802, p. 50.

minute was incorporated into the rules of discipline of London Yearly Meeting.

The Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in the year 1694, and again in 1704, issued "A General Testimony" addressed to its members, which contained a declaration of faith in relation to several points of doctrine expressed *entirely* in scripture language.¹

In 1732, the same Yearly Meeting issued the following advice: "We tenderly and earnestly advise and exhort all parents and heads of families, that they endeavor to instruct their children and families in the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, as contained in the Holy Scriptures; and that they incite them to the diligent reading of those excellent writings, which plainly set forth the miraculous conception, birth, holy life, wonderful works, blessed example, meritorious death, and glorious resurrection, ascension and mediation, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and to educate their children in the belief of those important truths, as well as in the belief of the inward manifestation and operation of the Holy Spirit on their own minds, that they may reap the benefit and advantage thereof, for their own peace and everlasting happiness; which is infinitely preferable to all other considerations."²

In the year 1726, Richard Claridge published a treatise entitled, "An Essay on the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction for the Sins of Mankind, wherein Wm. Penn's book called the 'Sandy Foundation Shaken,' is defended against the exceptions of Francis Bugg; and the vulgar doctrine of Satisfac-

¹ MS. records.

² Book of Discipline.

tion farther refuted from the testimony of the Holy Scriptures and the concurrent opinions of many, both ancient and modern writers."

In this work he says: "As we distinguish between a Scripture Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which we unfeignedly believe; and that humanly devised Trinity of three distinct and separate persons, which we receive not, because the Holy Scriptures make no mention of it: so we distinguish between Scripture redemption and the vulgar doctrine of Satisfaction. The first we receive, the second we reject."

The vulgar, or commonly received, doctrine of Satisfaction he thus defines, in the words of William Penn: "That it is impossible for God to remit or forgive sin, without a plenary Satisfaction, &c.," which, he says, "is not to be found in Scripture, so it is disallowed of by many, both ancient and modern writers."¹ * * * * "As it was," continues R. Claridge, "the main design of Christ's life, doctrine and miracles to call men to repentance, faith, and obedience, so it was also the great end of his sufferings and death to accomplish the same glorious design. For 'he gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father, *Gal.* i. 4. 'He loved the church and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing: but that it should be holy and without blemish.' *Ep.* v. 25, 26, 27. This was a principal end

¹ Life of R. Claridge, p. 423.

of his giving himself for us, or offering himself a sacrifice of propitiation for the sins of mankind. 'For he died for all, that they which live should not live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again.' 2 *Cor.* v. 15. This is the argument that the apostle much insisted upon, and for the further enforcing of it, I shall mention but two places more. 'Ye are bought,' saith he, 'with a price, therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit which are God's.' 1 *Cor.* vi. 20. 'And you that were sometimes alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh through death, to present you holy and unblamable, and unreprouvable in his sight.' " *Col.* i. 21.¹

In the year 1732, a book was published in London, entitled "A Defence of Quakerism," by Joseph Besse. In this work the false charges against Friends and misrepresentations of their writings made by Patrick Smith, a vicar in the established Church, are ably refuted, and the doctrines of the Society established by many quotations from their earliest and most valued authors, corroborated by scripture testimony. It maintained that the views originally promulgated by Geo. Fox and his coadjutors were still held by the Society.

From the date of the publication last noticed, until near the close of the 18th century, there appears to have been but little religious controversy in the Society, and there is no reason to suppose there was any change in its doctrines. A strict adherence to scriptural language on controverted points

¹ Life of R. Claridge, 445.

had the advantage of securing peace and concealing from public view any difference of sentiment that may have existed among its ministers. The work of Joseph Phipps, published about the year 1788, on "the original and present state of man," is so nearly in accordance with the doctrines of Barclay's "Apology," that a particular notice of it is deemed unnecessary.

At the desire of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, a "Summary of the History, Doctrine and Discipline of the Society of Friends" was written by Joseph Gurney Bevan, and published in the year 1790.¹ The first three paragraphs, relating to the "general belief" of the Society, are here subjoined, viz. : —

"We agree with other professors of the Christian name, in the belief of one eternal God. the creator and preserver of the universe ; and in Jesus Christ his Son, the Messiah and Mediator of the new covenant.

"When we speak of the glorious display of the love of God to mankind in the miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, death, resurrection and ascension of our Saviour, we prefer the use of such terms as we find in Scripture ; and contented with that knowledge which Divine wisdom hath seen meet to reveal, we attempt not to explain those mysteries which remain under the veil ; nevertheless we acknowledge and assert the Divinity of Christ, who is the wisdom and power of God unto salvation.

¹ London Ed. 1800, appended to "A Refutation of Modern Misrepresentations, &c." The "*Summary*" was republished in 1846, *with sundry alterations*, for the Tract Association of Friends in England.

“To Christ alone we give the title of the Word of God, and not to the Scriptures; although we highly esteem these sacred writings, in subordination to the Spirit from which they were given forth; and we hold with the Apostle Paul, that they are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.”

In America, the writings of Woolman, Benezet, and some others, published about the middle of the 18th century, contributed to promote practical piety, but were not designed to elucidate those points of doctrine which have been the chief subjects of religious controversy.

In the year 1793, Job Scott, of Providence, R. I., one of the most eminent ministers in the Society, while engaged in a gospel mission to Great Britain and Ireland, was called to exchange the trials of time for the rewards of eternity. He left behind him a Journal and other writings on religious subjects, most of which have since been published, and are found to be replete with spiritual instruction.

In a letter written just before his death, he says: “I trust I as firmly believe in the Divinity of Christ as any man living, but I have no more belief that there are two divinities than two Gods. It is altogether clear to my mind, that, that one Divinity actually became the seed of the woman, and bruised the serpent’s head, as early as any man ever witnessed redemption from sin, and is one in the head and in all the members, he being like us in all things, except sin. My only hope of eternal salvation is on this ground; nor do I believe there has ever been any other possible way of salvation, but that of a real conception and birth of the divinity in man.” This passage was omitted in the

first edition of his Journal published in New York in 1797; but having obtained publicity in England, through a letter of Ann Tuke, (afterwards Ann Alexander,) who attended him in his last sickness, it was severely criticised by some, and defended by John Bevan, junior, in a work entitled, "A Defence of the Christian Doctrines of the Society of Friends against the charge of Socinianism."¹ The doctrine embraced in the foregoing extract, being treated of very fully in the writings of Job Scott, the following passages, selected from his works, are deemed appropriate.

"Some zealous trinitarian may think me as wicked as the Jews thought Christ, my Lord and Saviour, and be ready to pronounce me as they did him, a blasphemer for thus exposing the sandy foundation on which that Babel of confusion, the *common doctrine* of the trinity is built. And did I not believe that God is determined to confound the wisdom of the wise, I should greatly marvel that wise and sober men of every religious name in Christendom have not long ago united in exploding such a monster of absurdity."²

"Christ as he is God is the same with the Father, and no more a distinct person from him, than God as light, and God as love, is two distinct fountains; one of light, the other of love. Hence with the strictest propriety his name is, and ought to be, 'The everlasting Father.' Now if he is the everlasting Father,

¹ Published in London, 1805.

² "On the Knowledge of the Lord," &c.; Works of Job Scott, II. p. 298. The original MSS. of Job Scott, comprising this essay and another entitled "Salvation by Christ," together with his "Journal," and many other writings, were placed by his father-in-law and children in the hands of John Comly, by whom they were published in two volumes, octavo, in the year 1831.

who can distinguish him from the Father, or make him a distinct person? Observe well, that I speak of Christ now as he is God."

"The Word was God, and this word took flesh, according to that testimony, 'Lo! I come, a body hast thou prepared me.' Here is both he that came, the eternal Word, and the body that was prepared for him. He told Philip, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father also.' Surely many saw that outward body, who did not see the Father, but all who saw through the veil, so as to have a full view and clear sight of him, for whom the body was prepared, him who came to do the Father's will in that body, saw the Father.

"'My Father,' said he, 'is greater than I.' Here he speaks of himself in a different respect from what he did in saying, 'I and my Father are one.' Why will the wisdom of man through ages strive so hard to fix the crown of Godhead on flesh and blood? Did not Jesus tell of a day and hour, of which neither the angels nor the Son himself knew, but the Father only? Surely Christ, the holy Word, that was and is God, knows, and always did know all things. If he knew not something which yet the Father did know, then he could not be God. Hence we may safely conclude, that by the Son which he here says *knew not*, he meant the same as when he said, 'My Father is greater than I,' but it is certain there is no greater or less in God nor any lack of knowledge."¹

"The death and sufferings of Christ in that body are of great price in the sight of God, and in all things have the pre-eminence in the views of the

¹ Works of Job Scott, II. 302, 303.

saints. Therein was wonderfully held forth the way of salvation, as a work of God in man and of man by God; that it is all through *suffering*; a wounding to heal, and a killing to make alive in God. He, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, has always borne the chastisement of our peace; nor without his stripes were any ever healed. God hath laid on him the iniquities of us all, but unless we *partake* in the chastisement and *feel* his stripes, we are not healed; for he that will save his life shall lose it; but he that will lose his life and *die* with Christ, shall save it unto life eternal. Ever of old, 'in all their afflictions he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them;' *Isa.* lxiii. 9. They had his real presence, or all else had been useless; they were afflicted with him, as well as he with them, and those who know not reconciliation with God and remission of sins in this way are not reconciled to him. But this is *death to man's will and wisdom too*; he won't endure it; he had rather believe or pretend to believe anything than die into life. His whole aim as man, in his own activity in religion, is to climb up some other way; and among his many inventions that he may seem to come in by Christ, he has hewn out the broken cistern of the imputation of Christ's righteousness to man in transgression! But his righteousness is forever unimputable to all who have not died with him to sin, and risen in the power of his resurrection to newness of life; it can be no further imputed to any, than they are actually conformed to his death and the fellowship of his sufferings. There is an eternal distance and separation between Christ and all that is unholy. No grain of his righteousness was ever imputed to any soul, but in exact proportion to

its actual sanctification or submission to the divine will." ¹

The high esteem in which Job Scott was held as a minister of the gospel, both in Europe and America, has been noticed in a preceding chapter of this history. He was called by Luke Howard, "a powerful preacher, though but a *mystical* divine." ² His mysticism was of the same stamp as that of Isaac Pennington, — "a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven," who "brought forth out of his treasures, things new and old."

About the beginning of the present century, Thos. Clarkson published his "Portraiture of Quakerism," a work that was well received by Friends in England and America, extensively circulated, and presented by members of the Society to many distinguished persons, including some of the crowned heads of Europe. ³ For many years, while advocating the abolition of the slave-trade, Clarkson had been brought into close intimacy with some of the most intelligent Friends in England, and was thus made acquainted with the religious views that generally prevailed among them in the latter part of the 18th century.

After showing that the work of Creation, the illumination of the mind, and the redemption of the soul, are in the Scriptures attributed alike to the spirit of

¹ "Salvation by Christ," Job Scott's Works, Vol. I. p. 488.

² Luke Howard, the editor of "The Yorkshireman," was a man of parts and learning, and at one time an influential Friend, much employed in meeting affairs. He was very *orthodox*, and in 1837 concluded he could no longer "walk together" with the Society of Friends. He then submitted to the rite of water baptism, and communed with another church.

³ The Yorkshireman, II. 334.

God and to Christ, Clarkson proceeds to state as the doctrine of Friends, "That Christ in all the offices stated in the proposition is neither more nor less than the Spirit of God, there can surely be no doubt. In looking at Christ, we are generally apt to view him with carnal eyes. We can seldom divest ourselves of the idea of a body belonging to him, though this was confessedly human, and can seldom consider him as a pure principle or fountain of divine life and light in men." ¹ * * * *

"That Christ therefore, as he held the offices contained in the proposition, was the Spirit of God, we may pronounce from various views which we may take of him, all of which seem to lead us to the same conclusion. And first let us look at Christ in the scriptural light in which he has been held forth to us in the fourth section of the seventh chapter, where I have explained the particular notions of the Quakers relative to the new birth. God may be considered here as having produced, by means of his Holy Spirit, a birth of divine life in the soul of the 'body which had been prepared,' and this birth was Christ. But 'that which is born of the Spirit,' says St. John, 'is spirit.' The only question then will be as to the magnitude of the Spirit thus produced. In answer to this, St. John says, 'that God gave him not the spirit by measure,' and St. Paul says the same thing: 'For in him all the fulness of the godhead dwelt bodily.' Now we can have no idea of a spirit without measure, or containing the fulness of the godhead, but the Spirit of God."

The disastrous controversy and separation among

¹ Vol. II. pp. 158, 161. New York ed. 1806.

Friends in Ireland, which came to an end about the beginning of this century, most probably had some influence upon the doctrinal views of Friends in England. It occurred at a time when there was, among the most conservative minds, much anxiety to prevent the inroads of skepticism and infidelity, which in France had made great progress; and so intent were they in watching against these evils, that some were led to the opposite extreme. The controversy related chiefly to the historical part of the Old Testament, to the uncovering of the head in time of public prayer, and to the mode of solemnizing marriages. There was, on the part of the disaffected members, too much boldness and latitude of speculation, and too little regard for the rules and advices of the Yearly Meeting; while on the part of the conservative members, there was a rigid administration of discipline, without the evidence of that Christian meekness and restoring love which alone can preserve "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."¹

Nearly the same remarks will apply to the doctrinal views of Hannah Barnard, and the course pursued in dealing with her both in England and America.² The *first* charge made against her in the London Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders was, "for maintaining opinions not consonant with those of the Society, and especially concerning the divine authority of the Jewish wars as stated in the Old Testament." She said in her defence, that "she had not called in question the truth of the facts stated in the Scriptures relative to the Jewish wars; but

¹ See History of Friends, Vol. IV. chap. 1.

² See Hist. of Friends, Vol. IV. chap. 1.

thought they were mistaken in their belief that God approved of their wars, or commanded them to slaughter their enemies." She referred to the writings of Anthony Benezet to corroborate her views. In his "Considerations on War," after quoting from the Sermon on the Mount, he says: "Hence we have reason to believe, that the injunction and allowance granted to the Jews, of making war upon their enemies and one upon another, was in consequence of that hardness of heart, which prevailed amongst them; and that this permission was granted from the same motive as that mentioned by our Lord, when the Jews were pleading the license given them by Moses to put away their wives and marry other women," *Mark* x. 5. "For the hardness of your hearts Moses wrote you this precept; but from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female—what therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." This, as well as war, slavery, and other practices of the like nature, were a violation upon that union, purity, and brotherly love which subsisted in the beginning in the original constitution of things, whilst man retained his primitive innocency. And that the spilling of human blood was not acceptable in the eyes of perfect Purity, whom the apostle denominates under the appellation of love, *God is Love*, appears from the prohibition laid upon king David, not to build an house unto God on account of his having been concerned in the destruction of his fellow-creatures, as himself declared, *1 Chron.* xxii. 8. "The word of the Lord came to me saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars; thou shalt not build an

house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight.”

There is no doubt that the tract from which this passage has been extracted, was extensively circulated in America, and generally approved by Friends. In approving these sentiments of Benezet, we cannot suppose they intended to call in question the veracity of Moses, who, in accordance with the ideas entertained by his nation, attributed to the *immediate* action or command of God, much that is now ascribed to his *providential* government. When we speak of Divine Providence, we mean the care and superintendence which the Most High exercises over all creatures and all events; allowing at the same time full scope to the free agency of man.

In order to secure this free agency, without which man could not be a responsible being, many things are permitted to take place that are not right in themselves; but even these, by the overruling of Divine Providence, may be made to promote some good purpose. The sacred writers never refer to an overruling Providence, but ascribe events immediately to God; thus the prophet Daniel declares a great truth in these words: “The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.”

It would seem by the opposition made to Hannah Barnard, on the ground that she did not believe in the rectitude of the Jewish wars, that the most influential Friends in England differed from Benezet, and most of the American Friends, on this point. It is worthy of note, that in the testimony of disownment issued against H. Barnard, by Hudson Monthly Meeting, the Jewish wars were not men-

tioned; but the grounds of accusation were that she called in question the authenticity of various parts of the scriptures of truth both of the Old and New Testament, and particularly that she did not unite with the Society in acknowledging the truth of that part which relates to the *miracles* and *miraculous conception of Christ*.

It has been remarked by Luke Howard, that the case of Hannah Barnard was “one of the first occasions of calling the attention of our Society more closely than at any former period, to the doctrines preached among us, and to the Scriptural proofs of Christian doctrine in general.”¹

In the Yearly Meeting held in London in 1805, it was stated by the committee on epistles, that there was, in the Society, great remissness in the instruction of youth in the principles of the Christian religion. The further consideration of the subject was postponed to the next Yearly Meeting, and then it was referred to the Meeting for Sufferings, with a suggestion that, *as a first step*, a small work be prepared by way of question and answer for the use of children at an early age. In pursuance of these directions, a small tract (24 pages, 12mo.) entitled “Early Christian Instruction in the form of a Dialogue between a Mother and a Child,” was presented to the Yearly Meeting in 1807, and, after being revised by the committee on epistles, was adopted by the meeting and distributed to the families of Friends.

This being avowedly only the *first step* in the proposed measure of Christian instruction, the Meeting for Sufferings kept the subject under its notice, and

¹ The Yorkshireman, V. 28.

after deliberating two years upon it, reported to the Yearly Meeting in 1809, "that it had, at different sittings, had under its revision *a draught of a catechism*, to which it had given great attention, and proposed various amendments; but doubts whether it may be expedient for any work of this description, *which enters very minutely into questions of doctrine*, to be issued in the name of the Yearly Meeting." This report being accepted by the Yearly Meeting, the subject was dismissed and the proposed manual of doctrinal instruction abandoned.¹

In the early part of this century, a controversy was for several years carried on between some of the Friends in England on the Doctrines of the Trinity, and the Divinity of Christ. Thomas Foster, writing under the name of Verax, published in the year 1801, "An Appeal to the Society of Friends on the primitive simplicity of their Christian principles." In the following year a reply, supposed to be written by Joseph Gurney Bevan, was published under the signature of Vindex. And a rejoinder by Verax appeared in the year 1803, entitled "A Vindication of Scriptural Unitarianism," &c.

Thomas Foster in his "Vindication," says: "That I consider our early Friends to have been generally Unitarians, I readily admit, and notwithstanding there is considerable ambiguity in their writings, the scale of evidence has always appeared to me to preponderate decidedly in favor of that opinion. They were no doubt, as even Vindex allows William Penn to have been at all times, 'deeply impressed with the importance of holding up the doctrine of

¹ The Yorkshireman, V. 97, 98.

the complete unity of the Deity.’ The consistent acknowledgment and reverent belief of this truly scriptural and primitive doctrine, is pure and simple unitarianism. It is in *this sense only*, I have used the phrase, as descriptive of the sentiments of our early Friends.”

“That they ‘denied the eternal Divinity of Christ,’ in the sense in which they used those terms, I am so far from having asserted, that I have given some of the strongest of their expressions in favor of that doctrine. But as with the voice of one man, they rejected all distinction of personality in the Deity; if they affixed any definite or consistent idea to the terms they used on the subject, it must surely have been their intention to ascribe supreme divinity to God the Father only, the uncreated cause of all things. It has been judiciously observed, respecting our early Friends, ‘That on the subject of Christ, they sheltered themselves behind the broad shield of allegory, and thus did not clearly discriminate between Christ as a person and Christ as a principle. And this led to great ambiguity of expression in them, and their successors down to the present day. Under the idea of possessing a sound sentiment, clear to their own conceptions, many of them have personified the spirit of divine illumination under the name of Christ, or Christ within, or, in other words, Christ as a principle.’

“I apprehend it was the oneness of this principle with God, which our early Friends alone considered as properly divine and an object of worship.”¹

In 1805, “A Defence of the Christian Doctrines of

¹ T. Foster’s Narrative, &c. London, 1813, p. 192.

the Society of Friends against the charge of Socinianism," &c., by John Bevans, Jur., was published in London. In this work, the views of Thomas Foster are controverted, in order to show that the early Friends were not Unitarians, and the impression is attempted to be conveyed, that they were in fact believers in the Trinity. Thus he says: "They, however, not only believed in the Trinity, notwithstanding their objections to the metaphysical terms of the schools, but they also have in the most undisguised terms expressed their belief in the Divinity of Christ. As to the insinuation of Verax, that 'there is considerable ambiguity in their writings,' and 'that on the subject of Christ they sheltered themselves behind the broad shield of allegory; and thus did not discriminate between Christ as a person and Christ as a principle;' I reject it as false, and inconsistent with that 'manly boldness' wherewith, as he elsewhere says, they avowed their sentiments."¹

Those who are conversant with the writings of Friends published in the time of Geo. Fox, know, that they not only objected to the terms used in defining the Trinity, *as three persons*; but they rejected the idea intended to be conveyed. "There are many names," wrote Isaac Pennington, "but the thing is one. The life, the power, the wisdom in the Father, Son, and Spirit is all one: yea, they themselves are one, perfectly one, not at all divided or separated; but where the Father is, the Son is; and where the Son is, the Spirit is; and where the Spirit is there is both the Father and the Son, who tabernacle in man in the day of the gospel."²

¹ Defence, &c., p. 36.

² Works of I. P., I. 693.

Although John Bevans may have been right in denying that the early Friends “sheltered themselves behind the broad shield of allegory,” yet it is unquestionably true that they did write of “*Christ in us, or the Seed,*” as a *principle*. “By this,” says Barclay, “we understand a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible *principle*, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells, a measure of which divine and glorious life is in all men as a seed which of its own nature draws, invites, and inclines to God.”¹

W. Penn says of Geo. Fox: “In his testimony or ministry he much labored to open truth to people’s understandings, and to bottom them upon the *principle* and *principal*, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world; that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.”² Again, he says of the Friends: “Their testimony was to the *principle of God* in man.” * * * * Numerous passages to this effect may be found in his works and other writings of the early Friends. “Principle, *in a general sense,*” is defined by Webster as, “the cause, source, or origin of any thing.” And we may affirm that Christ, as the divine Word, is the origin of all things. Principal, the chief or head, is also a term that may properly be applied to Christ, as the “first-born among many brethren,”—the head of the Church.

In the year 1809, a treatise by Rd. Phillips, entitled “Hints chiefly Scriptural respecting Regeneration,” was published in London after receiving the

¹ Apology, Prop. V. and VI. § 13.

² Rise and Progress. Select Works, p. 275.

usual sanction of the Society. It is said to be almost exactly in accordance with the views of Job Scott, as expressed in his work called "Salvation by Christ." He closes one branch of his argument with these words, viz.: "From what has been said respecting the new birth or regeneration, it appears that there is *no other way of salvation*, than by a real conception and birth of the divine nature in man."

In the year 1812, Ratcliff Monthly Meeting issued a Testimony of disownment, from which the following extract is taken: "It having been represented to this meeting that Thomas Foster, one of its members, had imbibed and aided in propagating some *opinions* contrary to the principles of our Society, and that private labor had been unavailingly extended, a committee was appointed to visit him thereon, who have had several interviews with him, and from their report it appears, that he has joined a society who publicly avow their disbelief of the eternal divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord; that he has circulated some anonymous papers, entitled 'Remarks on the Quakers' Yearly Epistle,' calculated to promote such sentiments; and that he is publicly stated to be the author of some publications under the assumed name of Verax, (which he does not deny,) apparently intended to prove that doctrine to have been held and supported by our early Friends.¹ Against this decision, Thomas Foster appealed to the Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex, and the disownment being there confirmed, he appealed to the Yearly Meeting of London."

Joseph John Gurney, who was one of the Yearly

¹ Foster's Narrative, &c. London, 1813, p. 112.

Meeting's Committee on Appeals, has left an account of this case. He says: "In the year 1814,¹ Thomas Foster, a man of talent and education, was disowned by the Monthly Meeting of Ratcliff, for *subscribing to the Unitarian Book Society*. He had long been supposed to entertain low views of the person of Christ; and had he kept those views to himself, he would probably have been left by Friends to pursue his own course. But no sooner did he publicly assist in the diffusion of them, than he became from this overt act, a proper object of the discipline of the Society, and accordingly lost his membership." Joseph John Gurney, after stating that he, as clerk of the committee, drew up a series of resolutions which terminated with one confirming the disownment, thus continues: "Our unanimity being ascertained by the signatures of the whole committee, our report confirming the disownment was presented to the Yearly Meeting. Against our decision Thomas Foster, as in right entitled to do, made his final appeal to the body at large, consisting of about 1200 men Friends of various ages and conditions, *without any written creed*, and without any human president. Then, indeed, came on the trial of the Society's faith, the great question being immediately before us, whether Orthodox Christianity or Unitarianism was the belief of Friends. The appellant's speech was long and insinuating, calculated to amuse the young and perplex the old. The reply of the respondents was plain and luminous, and accompanied by abundant evidence selected from the writings of the early Friends, of

¹ It should be 1812. The *Yearly Meeting's* decision was in 1814.

the uniform adherence of the Society to the doctrines of the Deity and atonement of Christ.”¹ * * * *
The judgment of the Quarterly Meeting was confirmed, many of the most influential Friends, and some of the younger class, expressing their approval.

The respondents, on behalf of the Quarterly Meeting, near the close of their reply, expressed the following sentiments: “As to the appellant’s assurance that he fully believes all that Christ is recorded in the New Testament to have said concerning himself and his doctrines, it is not for us to assert the contrary; but it is plain that he differs from us as to the sense in which many important texts of Scripture are to be understood. A profession of agreement with all the doctrines laid down in the Scriptures, is not a sufficient bond of union; for all Protestants profess to appeal to the Scriptures in defence of their various and opposite principles; and we might as well retain persons in membership who hold that oaths and war are lawful to Christians, as those who do not believe in the *eternal divinity of that power which dwelt in Christ Jesus.*”² This expression seems to refer to the charge made against him by Ratcliff Monthly Meeting, concerning a “disbelief of the eternal divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord.”

Thomas Foster insisted that he never hesitated to acknowledge the *eternal divinity of that Power* which dwelt in Christ Jesus, for “all divine power strictly speaking is eternal.” “It was not this,” he says,

¹ Life of J. J. Gurney, Phila. ed. 1855, I. 108.

² It is proper to inform the reader that this paragraph is reported by Thos. Foster, who took notes of the respondents’ reply. They declined to give him a copy or to examine his notes. See Foster’s *Sequel to an Appeal*. London, 1816, p. 65.

“but the eternal divinity and omnipotence of Jesus Christ, which my accusers and judges disowned me for not holding, as their own records will prove. And that too, refusing to say whether they meant to apply those terms to the man Christ Jesus, or to that divine power which dwelt in him; nor have I been since informed during any part of the discussion.”¹

The course pursued by the English Friends in this case, contrasts remarkably with the liberality of the English Methodists in relation to the celebrated Adam Clarke. He dissented from the orthodox creed, and from the opinions of his fellow-laborers in the ministry, in relation to “the eternal sonship of Christ,” yet he continued in unity with the Society, and at his death “the conference honored him in its minutes as ‘one of the great men of his age.’”²

Prior to this date, the difference of sentiment on doctrinal subjects, that undoubtedly existed to some extent among Friends, was less obvious, because they usually expressed themselves in scriptural terms; but about this period there appeared an increasing disposition to examine and discuss those theological questions which have so often agitated the Christian world.

CHAPTER VII.

DOCTRINAL VIEWS OF THE ENGLISH FRIENDS.

IN England, the religious views entertained by Luke Howard, John Bevans, William Forster, Josiah Fors-

¹ Foster's Sequel to an Appeal. London, 1816, p. 65.

² Steven's History of Methodism, III. 266, 475.

ter, George Withey, Jonathan Hutchinson, Lindley Murray, Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, Anna Braithwait, and many other influential Friends, were of the stamp usually called orthodox; that is to say, they favored or fully embraced the doctrines of the Anglican Church in relation to the Trinity, original sin, vicarious atonement, and imputed righteousness.

Among this class of Friends, whose influence was very effective in the Yearly Meeting of London, Joseph John Gurney may be considered the representative man, inasmuch as his discourses and writings have contributed more than those of any other person to mould the opinions of Friends in Great Britain. His native talents, intellectual culture, high social position, extensive charities, and sincere piety, entitled him to great consideration; but his education under a clerical preceptor at Oxford, and his subsequent intimacy with bishops and rectors of the established Church, had a tendency to withdraw his attention from the writings of Friends, and to imbue his mind with those doctrines which, in England, are called evangelical.

The ability evinced in expounding his views and his candor in avowing them, render the study of his works the most direct method of ascertaining the doctrines held by influential Friends in England. That the sentiments expressed in his published works were generally coincident with those entertained by leading minds in the Yearly Meeting of London, may be concluded from the fact that his standing in the Society remained unimpaired, and his labors in the ministry were sanctioned by certificates expressive of unity.

On the publication, in 1825, of his "Essays on Christianity," the most elaborate of all his works, and

the most thoroughly orthodox, according to the standard of the Church of England, he received letters of congratulation and approval, not only from the bishop of Norwich and other distinguished churchmen, but from members of his own religious society, among whom were William Forster, Jonathan Hutchinson, and Lindley Murray, prominent members of London Yearly Meeting. "It would be strange," said Wm. Forster, "if I did not feel more than a common and passing interest in the work; for I think I never found myself upon any occasion so much anticipated; it gives utterance to my own views and feelings in such lucid and convincing language, and withal, it solves some of my difficulties so thoroughly and satisfactorily." Jonathan Hutchinson wrote: "I have lately finished a very deliberate reading of thy Essays, and on the whole with a satisfaction that enables me honestly to say, that I am glad to have seen such a book before I die." And Lindley Murray expressed his approbation thus emphatically: "Thou hast indeed by this pious labor very materially served the cause of truth and righteousness."¹

It must not be understood, however, that Friends in Great Britain were unanimous in approving his works; there were, doubtless, many who dissented from some of his views, but they were either in a minority in the Yearly Meeting, or of a class who had not sufficient influence to stem the popular current.

In order to compare the doctrines of J. J. Gurney, and others of his class, with the writings of the early Friends, the subjects or points to be examined will

¹ Memoirs of J. J. Gurney. Phila. ed. pp. 306, 308.

be taken up in the same order as stated in the first five chapters of this treatise, and reference will be made to the several sections of those chapters for proofs and illustrations.

IMMEDIATE REVELATION.

§ 1. It has been shown in Chap. I. § 9 and 10, "That God has given to every man a measure of the light of his Son, a measure of grace, or a measure of the Spirit, by which he calls, exhorts, and strives with every man in order to save him." This saving power is called by Barclay "an evangelical *principle* of light and life wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world." Apology, Prop. VI.

Joseph John Gurney, alluding to the fall of Adam, writes as follows: "But degraded as man is under the baneful influence of this mournful event, God has been pleased to bestow upon him, in all ages, those 'reproofs of instruction,' which 'are the way of life.' *Prov.* vi. 23. He has graciously communicated to us a law, by which we may so regulate our conduct in the world as to obtain happiness, both here and hereafter. It will, I presume, be without difficulty allowed, that these observations are in a general, yet very important, sense, applicable to all men, whether they are partakers in the benefit of an outward revelation, or are left to that which is usually described as the *light of nature*." After quoting from *Romans* ii. 13-15, proving that the Gentiles "show the work of the law written in their hearts, their consciences bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another," he continues as follows: "Thus it appears that there

were individuals in ancient times, destitute of an outward revelation, who nevertheless obeyed the will of our Heavenly Father as it is made manifest in the heart, — persons who were taught of God to fear him and to ‘work righteousness;’ and on the other hand the multitude of the gentiles, who gave themselves up to idolatrous and other vicious practices, were condemned for this very reason, that they sinned against the *light of nature*; and both practised and promoted iniquity, although they knew the ‘judgment (or the righteous decision) of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death.’”¹

Again, he writes: “God has written his moral law on the hearts of all men; or, in other words, has *interwoven a sense of it with their very nature.*”² * * * *

These passages which describe the law written in the heart, as *the light of nature*, and as being *interwoven with man’s very nature*, are not consistent with the doctrines of Fox, Penn, and Barclay, already quoted; for these writers describe that inward law, to which the conscience bears witness, as “the grace of God which hath appeared to all men,” — “the light of Christ within, as God’s gift for man’s salvation.” Chap. I. § 9 and 10.

It must be observed, however, in justice to J. J. Gurney, that he is not, in this instance, consistent with himself, for he has, elsewhere, acknowledged that the law written in the heart proceeds from the Holy Spirit.

Thus he says, in reference to “the immediate and perceptible operation of the Spirit,” * * * * “I have in the first place plainly to declare my belief in

¹ Essays on Christianity, London ed. 1825, pp. 516, 517.

² Ibid. 558.

unison with that of Friends from their first rise to the present day, that the influence of the Holy Spirit is very far from being confined to those who have a knowledge of Holy writ, and of the incarnate, crucified, and risen Saviour of whom it testifies. On the contrary, it is my firm conviction, that as Christ died for all men, so all men, through his mediation and sacrifice on the cross, are placed in a capacity of salvation and receive a *measure of divine light*, which, although in numberless instances shining ‘in darkness,’ and overborne by ignorance and superstition, is in its own nature pure and holy, and perceptible to the rational mind of man — so that those who believe in it, and obey it, are thereby led to fear God and to keep his law as it is written in their hearts; that such as these are accepted for Christ’s sake, even though they may never have heard his name; and thus sharing in the benefit of his atoning death on the cross, through faith in the degree of light bestowed upon them, they are to be regarded as *partakers in their measure, and according to their capacity, of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*”¹

What he means by partaking of the body and blood of Christ he elsewhere explains as follows: “As eating the bread of life is identical with believing in Christ the incarnate Son of God, so eating his flesh is identical with such a *belief in him* as is especially directed to his atoning sacrifice.” The obvious question arises, How can those believe, in this manner, who “never have heard of his name?”

¹ J. J. G’s Declaration of Faith, Phila. ed. 1847, p. 8.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

§ 2. In the second chapter of this treatise (sect. 1) it has been shown that the first imprisonment of George Fox resulted from his denying the commonly received doctrine, that, by the Scriptures were to be tried “all doctrines, religions, and opinions.” He told the people, it was “the Holy Spirit by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried.” And Robert Barclay says of the Scriptures, “because they are only a declaration of the fountain and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate *primary rule* of faith and manners.” They are “a secondary rule subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty.” “The letter of the Scriptures is outward of itself a dead thing, a mere declaration of good things, but not the things themselves, therefore it neither is or can be the *chief or principal rule* of Christians.” § 2. Nevertheless, the early Friends acknowledged the authenticity and divine authority of the Scriptures, and expressed their willingness that “all their doctrines and practices should be tried by them;” but they believed that none could rightly understand and interpret them without the aid of the Holy Spirit, “which is the first and *principal* leader.” § 2 and 4.

Joseph John Gurney, in some passages of his writings, assigns to the Scriptures the *principal*, instead of the *secondary* place, in the *illumination* and *conversion* of the soul. Thus, he writes: “In the fulfilment of the written prophecy; in the wisdom of the

written doctrine; in the purity of the written law—in the harmony of the contents of the Bible, and almost endless variety—and in its efficacy, as the *principal* means employed by divine Providence for the *illumination, conversion,* and spiritual edification of men—the inquirer cannot fail to perceive unquestionable indications of the divine origin of Holy Writ.”¹

“Whatsoever in the preachings or writings of modern Christians, has *any tendency to convert,* purify, and save the souls of men, never fails to be found in its *original* form, in the Bible.”²

“The moral law as *revealed in Scripture,* partakes of the character of its Author: first, because it prescribes the practice of every virtue, and is therefore holy, just, and good; and secondly, because it is spiritual, insinuates itself into the heart, reaching the spirit, and convincing the understanding. It applies to all circumstances, comprehends all conditions, regulates all motives, directs and controls all overt acts.”³

“The Bible which *alone fully reveals* the nature and character of sin, expressly declares that all men have sinned and are guilty in the sight of God. Although it is *chiefly from the light of Scripture* that we obtain a knowledge of this doctrine, we are quite certain now that we have obtained it, that the doctrine is true.”⁴

Compare these passages with the language of Geo. Fox. “I directed them to the divine light of Christ and his Spirit in their hearts, which would let them

¹ Essays on Christianity, p. 543.

² Portable Evidence, Phila. ed. 1856, p. 14.

³ Ibid. 46.

⁴ Ibid. 126.

see all their evil thoughts, words, and actions, that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which light they might *see their sin*, and also their Saviour Christ Jesus to save them from their sins.”¹ This accords with the declaration of Christ, concerning the Comforter or Spirit of Truth, “He will reprove the world of sin.”

It has been shown in chap. II. § 1, that Geo. Fox regarded the “more sure word of prophecy,” spoken of by Peter, (2 *Pet.* i. 19,) not as the Scriptures, but as the Holy Spirit. The same view is thus expressed by Robert Barclay: “As for the more sure word of prophecy, we grant it to be the rule; but deny that that more sure word is the Scriptures, but it is that *word in the heart* from which the Scriptures came and in and by which the Scriptures are to be interpreted.”² This view is also supported by the writings of Wm. Penn and Geo. Whitehead.

Joseph John Gurney, in his “Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture,” writes as follows: “The idea was at *one* time rather prevalent among the members of our Society that when the Apostle used the term, ‘a more sure word of prophecy,’ he was alluding not to any thing written, but to that divine illuminating influence by which the prophets were inspired, and which guides the Christian believer into all truth. Such a view of the passage is indeed but seldom insisted on at the present day; but as it is still sometimes advanced, I think it right to acknowledge my own sentiment that

¹ Journal of G. Fox, Vol. I. 187.

² Truth cleared of Calumnies. Barclay’s Works, London, 1692, p. 17.

it is at variance with that simplicity which we ought always to maintain in the interpretation of the sacred writings. That the very ‘sure word of prophecy,’ which *had been uttered and was written*, is here meant, is evident from the immediate context, in which the Apostle distinguishes this word from the day-star which arises in the heart, and at the same time identifies it (as I conceive) with prophecy of the Scriptures.”

A still more important difference between the doctrinal views of J. J. Gurney and those of the early Friends relates to the acceptation of the word gospel as used in the New Testament. It signifies literally glad tidings, and by Geo. Fox and his coadjutors was understood to mean “the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.” (*Rom. i. 16.*) And which Paul says, “came not in *word only* but also in *power.*” (*1 Thes. i. 5.*)

Geo. Fox writes in his Journal: “I was speaking in the meeting, that the gospel was the *power of God*, and how it brought life and immortality to light in men.”¹ At another time he declared that the *gospel was the power of God*, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, or any of them were printed or written; and it was preached in every creature; of which a great part might never see nor hear of those four books.”²

Isaac Pennington held the same doctrine; and Robert Barclay has thus expressed it in his Apology, (Prop. V. and VI. § 23:) “This *saving spiritual light is the gospel*, which the Apostle saith expressly is preached in every creature under heaven; even that very gospel

¹ Journal G. F., I. 160.

² Ibid. Vol. II. p. 25.

of which Paul was made a minister. (*Col. i. 23.*) For the gospel is not a mere declaration of good things, being the power of God unto salvation unto all those that believe, *Rom. i. 16*, though the outward declaration of the gospel be taken sometimes for the gospel; yet it is but figuratively and by a metonymy. For to speak properly, the gospel is this in word, power, and life, which preacheth glad tidings in the hearts of all men, offering salvation unto them, and seeking to redeem them from their iniquities, and therefore it is said to be preached in every creature under heaven: whereas there are many thousands of men and women to whom the outward gospel was never preached.”

Joseph John Gurney, on the contrary, limits the application of the term “gospel” to the records of the New Testament. Thus, he says, in reference to persons who have received outward instruction: “Their case is not to be confounded with that of the uninstructed *heathen*, who have *never heard the truth*. To these, the gospel has been preached; *it is written in the book of God* for their instruction, and if they reject it, they do so at their peril.”¹ In reference to regeneration, he writes: “In effecting this blessed change in the affections of fallen man, the Holy Spirit makes use of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, as his grand appointed instrument. The *gospel written in the Holy Scriptures*, and preached by the Lord’s messengers, is a spiritual weapon of heavenly mould, and when wielded by a divine hand, it penetrates the heart and becomes the power of God unto salvation.”² After commenting on the

¹ Portable Evidence, p. 164.

² Essay on Love to God, p. 5.

Scripture text, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation," he thus continues: "It is surely much to be regretted, that by *some persons under our name*, the passage on which these remarks are offered has been misunderstood, and (without the smallest intention, as I believe, to deviate from accurate truth,) *wrested* from its obvious meaning. The declaration that 'the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation,' has been regarded not as a description of the efficacy of that gospel for the salvation of sinners, but as a definition of the gospel itself, as if the 'gospel of Christ' and the 'power of God' were convertible terms. Hence it is that 'the gospel' is not the good news of salvation through a crucified Saviour, but the 'power of God,'—or, in other words, the influence of the Holy Spirit in the heart. The tendency of this mistake to dismiss from our view a most important and fundamental part of Christian truth,—that very part on which all the rest is built,—is too obvious to require notice."¹

THE ORIGINAL AND PRESENT STATE OF MAN.

§ 3. In the third chapter of this treatise the doctrines of the early Friends in relation to the original and present state of man were examined, and the following points established. First. That the doctrine of original sin was not held by them, but was called by Barclay "an invented and unscriptural barbarism." "For if a son bear not the iniquity of his father, (*Ezekiel* xviii. 20,) or of his immediate parents, far less

¹ Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture. New York ed. p. 7.

shall he bear the iniquity of Adam.” Therefore no sin is imputed to infants. § 2. Secondly. It was shown that, according to Barclay, there is a seed of sin propagated to all men, which inclines them to iniquity, but it is only by joining with it, or yielding to its influence, that men become sinners. § 3. Thirdly. That the recorded experience and dying expressions of some of the most prominent of the early Friends shows that they did not believe they were born in sin. § 4 and 5. Fourthly. They believed a state of perfection or freedom from sin, attainable in this life. §§ 8, 9, and 10.

Joseph John Gurney, alluding to the fall of Adam and Eve, says: “Their original natural virtue was lost forever; their bodies were condemned to death; and morally they were dead already, prone to wickedness, and destitute of any power of their own to perform a good action. Such is the condition of those persons who are ‘dead in trespasses and sins,’ a condition common by nature to all mankind. It is a proverb familiar to reason as well as to religion, that no man can ‘bring a clean thing out of an unclean,’ and the Scriptures teach us that the *moral condition* of Adam was *transmitted* to his descendants of all generations.”¹ Again he says in relation to the fall, it “was the immediate cause of a moral degeneracy, and therefore of a *punishable guilt* in the whole family of his descendants.”² “The whole race of their descendants have inherited a nature infected with sin, and prone to evil.”³ “In consequence of this mournful change, the whole race of their descendants *inherit a sinful*

¹ Portable Evidences, 129.

² Essays on Christianity. London, p. 209.

³ Ibid. p. 548.

nature," &c.¹ "We are by nature the children of wrath. Prone to iniquity, and *transgressors from the womb*, we are alienated from God who is the source of all happiness ; and in the world to come, eternal separation from Him, and therefore eternal misery is the appointed consequence of our evil doings."²

THE DIVINE BEING.

§ 4. In the fourth chapter of this treatise, the doctrines of the early Friends concerning the Supreme Being were exhibited. They may be recapitulated as follows: First. They denied the doctrine of "The Trinity of three distinct and separate persons in the unity of essence." Chap. iv. § 2. Secondly. "They believed in the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit 'as one Divine Being, one God blessed forever.'" § 3 and 4. Thirdly. They denied that the Holy Spirit is a person distinct from the Father and the Son. § 5. Fourthly. They believed in the Divinity of Christ, as God manifest in the flesh; they also acknowledged his manhood, (the soul and body,) according to the Scriptures. § 6. Fifthly. They maintained that the Eternal word that was in the beginning with God and was God, manifested himself as the "Spiritual rock" that followed the Israelites in the wilderness,—as "the Spirit of Christ" that spoke through the prophets,—as the glory of the Lord that appeared to Isaiah in the temple,—as the "only-begotten of the Father" that took flesh, and dwelt in fulness, or without measure, in Jesus of Nazareth,—and as the Comforter or Spirit of Truth that comes "in the spirit and power of the Most High" to "be with his disciples always to the end of the world." § 7 and 8. Sixthly. They held

¹ Essays on Christianity. London, p. 219.

² Ibid. 510.

that Jesus Christ is the head, or chief member of that spiritual body, of which all are members who are born of the spirit. Hence some of them spoke of him, “as our most blessed and elder brother” who, “*even as mediator is ever in being in a most glorious state.*” §§ 9, 10, 11.

Seventhly. They believed that Jesus Christ, the head of the church, and the saints his members, in their heavenly state, are not in carnal but in spiritual bodies. §§ 11, 12, 13, 14.

Eighthly. That “since one outward thing cannot be the proper figure or representative of another,” * * * * “then Christ’s body, or what he had from the virgin, strictly considered, was not the seed.” § 16. “The seed, grace or word of God — the Light wherewith every one is enlightened — is “a spiritual, heavenly and invisible *principle*, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells, *a measure* of which divine and glorious life is in all men as a seed, which of its own nature draws, invites, and inclines to God.” * * * * “But by this,” says Barclay, “we do not at all intend to equal ourselves to that holy man, the Lord Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, so neither do we destroy the reality of his present existence, as some have falsely calumniated us.” § 17.

Ninthly. They acknowledged “The man Christ Jesus” as the “one mediator between God and man,” who “received gifts for men” which were “first given him of the Father.” Yet, as Geo. Fox writes: “None know him as a *mediator* and a lawgiver, nor an offering, nor his blood that cleanseth them, but as they know him working in them.” §§ 18, 19, 20.

Joseph John Gurney, while avoiding the use of the

term Trinity, held the doctrine of the Church of England on this subject, attributing to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit a distinct and separate personality. Thus he writes: "I have never thought it right, either in preaching or writing, to make use of this term, [Trinity,] which is scholastic in its origin, and is liable to misconstruction; but I consider the *doctrine itself*, though far beyond the reach of the natural understanding of man, to be plainly set forth in Scripture; and so far am I from regarding it as merely theoretical in its nature, that I accept it as of the highest practical importance in the experience of every believer."¹ "Such is the scriptural evidence of which we are in possession, that the Father is God, that the Son is God, that the Holy Spirit is God. Having considered this evidence, we may now proceed to take a view of some additional passages of the New Testament, in which the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, whose *deity is thus distinctively and separately* indicated, are presented to our attention as the united *sources* of the Christian's help and consolation, the united *objects* of the Christian's belief and obedience. This description is indeed applicable to the passages already cited from the *Gospel* of John, in relation to the *personality* of the Holy Ghost: *vide* xiv. 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 8."

"With respect to the Holy Spirit, we must in the first place direct our attention to those passages of the Scripture in which he is described not merely in his influence and operation, but in his *personal* character." * * * * "The very pointed allusions made by our Saviour to the *personality* of the Holy

¹ A Declaration of his Faith by J. J. G. Phila. 1847, p. 19.

Spirit are in exact accordance with the mode of expression which was often adopted in allusion to the same subject by his inspired disciples. From various passages in the Book of Acts, and the Epistles, we can scarcely do otherwise than deduce the inference, that these servants of the Lord regarded the Holy Spirit as one possessing a *personal* authority, exercising *personal* powers, and requiring a *personal allegiance*.”¹

“Now if the inquiry be addressed to us, Who is *this person*, of whom Christ and his apostles thus bear witness?” * * * * “the fundamental principles of our religion and the whole analogy of Scripture, will assuredly admit but of one answer, *This Person is God*.”²

“In order to complete our views of the Scriptural evidences which bear upon the present subject, I have now to observe, that, although this *threefold distinction* in the divine nature is the most clearly revealed to us in the New Testament, yet there are also various passages in the Sacred writings of the ancient Hebrews, which appear to indicate a *plurality* in the *One God*.”³ “On a careful perusal of the whole of the sacred volume, he [the honest inquirer] is led to take a view, first, of the *natural* and moral attributes of the Supreme Being; secondly, of the *personality* and unity in Him of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit,” &c.⁴

In relation to the manhood of Jesus Christ, Joseph

¹ Essays on Christianity, 145, 148.

² Essays, London ed. 1825. I am informed that in the 3d edition, these words [this Person] are omitted and the pronoun He substituted.

³ Ibid. 153.

⁴ Ibid. 559.

John Gurney writes as follows: "His body was a human body, and his mind a human mind; and therefore we cannot with any reason refuse to allow, that he was really and absolutely man."

"Now I conceive that no one who takes a just and comprehensive view of these prophecies on the one hand, and of the gospel narratives on the other, can refuse to admit the doctrine of the *real and proper humanity* of Jesus Christ." * * * * He "was unquestionably man—a creature of God, endued with a human body and a human soul."¹ "If we admit that Jesus of Nazareth was endued with a human soul, (and where is the unsophisticated reader of the *four* Gospels who will question the fact?) we must also admit, on principles already recognized, that after he expired on the cross *his soul continued* to exist; and continuing to exist, that soul was presently reunited to his body, which was raised on earth and glorified in heaven."² "Wonderful indeed are both the equity and the love God has manifested in ordaining that his rational children shall be judged by a *Person* who in one point of view is their brother and their *peer*."³

This expression—their *peer*—though *less reverential*, was probably meant to be understood in the same sense as that of "our elder brother," found in the writings of the early Friends. A peer is "*an equal*, one of the same rank,"⁴ but the elder brother, in the Jewish economy, was the heir of his father's authority and the head of the tribe. So also, in the aristocratic families of Europe, the eldest brother is

¹ Essays, London ed. 1825, pp. 222, 258.

² Essays, 323

³ Essays, London ed. 1825, p. 351.

⁴ Webster.

the heir of the title and estate. The term *peer*, as used by Gurney, is improperly applied. — “We do not at all intend to *equal* ourselves,” says Barclay, “to that holy man the Lord Jesus Christ.”

But this “*Person*” who is thus characterized as “a creature of God” — a “brother and peer,” — is by the same author represented as God. For instance, he says: “Who was that *Person* who thus became incarnate, was born, lived, died, and rose again, *a man*? It was *he* who shared the glory of the Father before the world was — the only-begotten Son of God, who dwelt in his bosom — the Word by whom all things were made, by whom all men were enlightened, and who was himself Jehovah. Since then eternity is the very first of the attributes of Deity, since the divine nature is unchangeable, so that he who was God in the beginning was God forever, it plainly follows, that when the Son or Word of the Father assumed our nature and was born a child into the world, he who before had been God *only*, became *God* and *man*. While, however, this inspired narrative plainly unfolds and establishes the doctrine, that Jesus was *man*, it abounds with a variety of evidence that he was also God.” “The doctrine of the godhead or deity of Christ is a necessary deduction from that of his eternal pre-existence: for while the being of every creature of God has necessarily commenced at some particular point of time, God alone has existed from eternity.”¹

“Since therefore, when Jesus was born, when a body was prepared for him, — when he was made incarnate of a woman, and thus came into the world, — he

¹ Essays, 258, 264, 230.

proceeded forth from God and descended from heaven, it follows that *before his birth, before his incarnation*, he was with God in heaven. As the doctrine that Jesus Christ pre-existed in glory with the Father, is thus plainly to be deduced from the declarations of Scripture, so there are other passages of the sacred volume (perfectly accordant with these declarations) from which we may derive much information respecting the *antecedent extent* of his pre-existence." After quoting many passages of Scripture, the conclusion from them is thus expressed: "Such are some of the principal passages in Scripture on which Christians ground their belief, that their Redeemer pre-existed in some higher condition than that which appertains to mortals; and which enable them to trace his pre-existence backward, even to the 'days of eternity.' What then was the nature in which Christ thus pre-existed? I venture to reply on what I deem to be the clear authority of the Sacred records,—not the nature of men—not that of angels—not that of any order of creatures, however eminent in the scale of being, but the nature of God himself."¹

In relation to the Spirit of Christ, Joseph John Gurney writes as follows: "It has always been the doctrine of the Society of Friends that Christ—even that very Saviour who became incarnate—was crucified and rose again—is "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." *John* i. 9. "For my own part, I cordially concur with the sentiment, that He who dwells and reigns by his Holy Spirit *in the souls of his believing children*, appears by a measure of the same spirit, in the hearts of *all men*, to

¹ Essays, 225, 229.

enlighten and direct their consciences, to bring them to a sense of their responsibility to God, and to lead them in the paths of virtue. It is my belief, that all men, everywhere, have their day of visitation, and that a ray from the Sun of righteousness enters every dark heart of the rational children of God. And where *the ray is, there is the Sun*. Where the *influence of the Spirit is, even in its smallest measure, there is Christ*. By it he is conveyed to the mind, by it he *dwells there*. From the emanations of his own light, life, and power, he can never be separated. And further — where Christ is by his Spirit, there are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost — one God blessed forever.”

These views are truly in accordance with the doctrines of Friends; but the same author thus continues: “But to say that this ray is itself the Sun — that this divine principle or influence is itself the Christ, to allege that Jesus was divine, only because this influence dwelt in the temple of his body, even as it dwells in the righteous of all generations; to apply to it the common terms of an orthodox faith, — to call it the Son of God, the Saviour, Immanuel, God with us, the Son and sent of the Father — the Lamb of God, — to ascribe to it the attributes and offices of the Messiah, — is a practice, as I believe, utterly opposed to the testimony of Scripture, and fraught with the deepest danger to the souls of men.”¹

To the unsophisticated mind the following query will probably present itself. As it is acknowledged that Christ dwells by his Spirit “in the souls of his believing children,” — and “where Christ is by his

Letter to “The Followers of Elias Hicks” in Balt., p. 17.

Spirit, there is the Father and the Son," — whence is the danger of calling him the Son — or the Lamb of God?

George Fox says: "Here you may see what men get by their outward knowledge; for when Adam and Eve fed upon the tree of knowledge, then the *Lamb was slain in them* from the foundation of the world. And when the Lamb Christ was manifest in the flesh, they that were in this outward brutish knowledge and wisdom below, crucified Christ outwardly without the gates of Jerusalem. And after, when Christianity was spread up and down in the world, and many got an outward form of Christianity and denied the power and got into this brutish outward knowledge and wisdom below, they crucified to themselves Christ afresh, as in *Hebrews* vi. 6."¹ The Apostle Paul writes, "It pleased God to reveal *his Son in me.*" *Gal.* i. 10. "Christ liveth in me." *Gal.* xi. 20. "God sent the spirit of his son into your hearts." *Gal.* iv. 6. And John declares, "He that hath the son hath life, and he that hath not the son of God hath not life." *1 John* v. 12.

William Penn, in his "Christian Quaker," writes concerning "the *Light of Christ within*; the great *principle of God in man*, the root and spring of divine life and knowledge in the soul; that by which salvation is effected for man, and which is the characteristic of the people called Quakers, their faith and testimony to the world." And in his "Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers," he speaks of "their fundamental principle, which is the corner-stone of

¹ Works of G. Fox, Am. ed. 1831, Vol. VI. p. 448.

their fabric," — "the *light of Christ within as God's gift for man's salvation.*"

This doctrine of the early Friends is thus controverted by Joseph John Gurney: "The misinterpretation which I wish to notice, is that of certain writers who appear to suppose that because Christ is called the light (*i. e.* the enlightener), he is therefore to be identified with the influence which he bestows; in short, that the light of the Spirit of God in the heart of man is itself actually Christ. The obvious tendency of this mistake is to deprive the Saviour of his personal attributes, and to reduce him to the rank of a *principle.*" Yet Gurney has himself asserted, that "Where the *influence of the Spirit is, even in its smallest measure, there is Christ.*"

A favorite text of the early Friends was that passage of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, (chap. i. v. 27,) where he speaks of "this mystery among the Gentiles, which is *Christ in you* the hope of glory." Joseph John Gurney refers to it as follows: "The words, 'Christ in you,' are often recited by mistake as '*Christ within,*' and these expressions are sometimes used amongst us as a synonym for the light of the spirit of Christ in the heart, a view which *some have imagined* to be supported by the apostle's treating the whole subject as a 'mystery.' Hence it necessarily follows that the light of the spirit of Christ in the heart is the same as *Christ* himself, and is represented as the hope of glory. The plain fact, however, appears to be that the mystery of which the apostle is speaking, is that of the incarnation of the Son of God, a subject which had been typically shadowed forth to the Jews, but had been totally concealed from the Gentiles, kept secret since the world began, but was now made

known to the saints, and without controversy great is the mystery of godliness.”¹

The application of the term *principle* to the seed or life of God in the soul, appears to have been particularly objectionable to Joseph John Gurney, as shown by the passages already quoted. In another passage addressed to those Friends in Baltimore, whom he improperly calls the followers of Elias Hicks, he alludes to the early Friends, and says: “Alas that any of their descendants should have forsaken the Rock of their salvation, and should have reduced the Saviour of men, in their estimation to the rank of a mere *principle or influence!*”² Yet, strange as it may appear, the learned author has himself made a similar application of the term, as shown by the following quotations: “Since it is only through the influence of the Holy Spirit, that men are converted and sanctified, and since the work of conversion and sanctification is plainly attributed to the power of the Son, as well as to that of the Father, it can be no matter of surprise that the *Holy Spirit*, which is usually described as the spirit of God, is also called the *spirit of Christ.*”

“There is provided for us in the economy of the grace of God, an invisible, intangible, though not always imperceptible, *influence*, an illuminating quickening *principle*, by which degenerate man is born a second time, morally changed — introduced to a new condition of life, and gradually restored to the image of his Creator.”³

“Having thus examined the evidences of Scripture

¹ Brief Remarks on the Interpretation of Scripture, pp. 9, 10.

² Letter to the Followers of E. Hicks, Balt. 1840, p. 17.

³ Essays, p. 445.

respecting the nature and origin of the *regenerating principle*, and having ascertained the channel through which alone it is derived to mankind, we may now direct our remarks to the Holy Spirit in his divine and *personal* character.”¹ * * * *

It will be observed that in these passages he truly represents the Holy Spirit to be the same as the Spirit of Christ; this Spirit he calls an invisible *influence*,—a quickening *principle*,—a regenerating *principle*,—and then he proceeds to speak of his personal character.

Notwithstanding the unprofitable speculations which he borrowed from the schools of theology, it appears that in seasons of devotion he was favored to obtain a clearer and more sublime view of the Divine nature. Thus he writes: “While the Christian rejoices in the distinct characters and offices of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, so graciously revealed to us for our instruction and edification, he probably never finds his soul bowed down with so deep a reverence, or filled with so pure a delight, as when he contemplates the Almighty as an ineffable glory—an incommunicable name—an infinite and incomprehensible Unity.”²

SALVATION BY CHRIST.

§ 5. The doctrine of salvation by Christ, as held by the early Friends, has been exhibited in the *fifth* chapter of this treatise, and may be recapitulated as follows:

1. They rejected the doctrines of imputative right-

¹ Essays, p. 457.

² A Declaration of Faith, p. 23

eousness and vicarious satisfaction, *as held by Trinitarians*, § 5 and 6.

2. They held the Scriptural doctrine, that Christ died for all men, (2 *Cor.* v. 14, 15,)—not however to appease the wrath of God, nor to satisfy his justice by suffering as a *substitute* for the guilty;—but “to bear witness to the truth,” (*John* xviii. 37,) “leaving us an example that we should follow his steps;” (1 *Pet.* ii. 21;) and as an evidence of his love; “for greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.” (*John* xv. 13.) They believed, moreover, that through the obedience and sufferings of Christ he procured for his Church divine favors and spiritual gifts. (*Acts* ii. 33.) “Jesus Christ, in life, doctrine, and death, fulfilled his Father’s will, and offered up a most satisfactory sacrifice; but not to pay God, or help him as otherwise being unable to save man.”¹ “As it was the main design of Christ’s life, doctrines, and miracles, to call men to repentance, faith, and obedience, so it was also the *great end of his sufferings* to accomplish the same glorious design.”² § 6.

3. The doctrine of Reconciliation as taught in the writings of the early Friends,—is a *change wrought in man*, taking away his enmity, and “causing him to grow up in that nature and life which God loveth.” § 7

4. They taught that man “must be washed and sanctified before he can be justified;” the same that sanctifies him justifies him, *i. e.*, “in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God.” (1 *Cor.*

¹ Penn’s Select Works, p. 22.

² Life of R. Claridge, 445.

vi. 11.) To be justified signifies “a being *made just*, and not merely imputed such.”¹ § 8.

5. They maintained that “the blood of the New Covenant is the *life* of Christ Jesus, who saith, ‘except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood ye have no life in you.’”² “This blood is known and felt within, to wash and purge the conscience, for Christ as he is within, is not without his blood *which is spiritual*.”³ Redemption is by the “blood” of the Son of God,—“by his life, by his power, by his nature sown in the vessel, and transforming the vessel into its own likeness.”⁴ § 9.

6. They taught that God “hath so loved the world that he hath given his only Son (a Light) that whosoever believeth on him should be saved.” * * * * * “As many as resist not this light, but receive the same, in them is produced a holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those blessed fruits which are acceptable to God: by which holy birth, to wit, *Jesus Christ formed within us*, and working his works in us, as we are sanctified, so we are justified in the sight of God.”⁵

This innocent, lamb-like nature being oppressed with evil and grieved with iniquity, has been referred to, metaphorically, as “a lamb slain from the foundation of the world.”⁶ § 10. And those who “fall away,” after having “tasted the good word of God,” are said to “crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.” (*Heb. vi. 6.*)

¹ Barclay's Apology, Prop. VII. § 7. ² G. Fox, Works, V. 363-4.

³ Barclay's Works, p. 10.

⁴ I. Pennington, I. 610.

⁵ Barclay's Apology, Prop. V. and VII.

⁶ Penn's Select Works, pp. 262-266.

7. "Christ Jesus," writes Geo. Fox, "tasted death for every man, and shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." According as John the Baptist testified of him when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." * * * * "He it is that is now come and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and he rules in our hearts by his law of love and life." &c.¹ * * * *

Joseph John Gurney held the doctrines of imputative righteousness and vicarious satisfaction, as the following extracts will show, viz.: "Such was the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ; and such is the righteousness which through faith is *imputed to the Christian*. A very slight degree of reflection on the divine nature and infinite dignity of the Son of God, as well as on the perfections of his human character, may serve to convince us that as, on the one hand, he was, on account of his spotless innocence, entirely suited to be a sacrifice for sin; so on the other hand his fulfilment of the whole moral law, and more especially his obedience unto death, were infinitely meritorious in the sight of God the Father. When, therefore, we read that the righteousness of Jesus Christ is *imputed to the believer*, we may reasonably understand such a doctrine to import that we are not only saved through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, but rewarded through his merits. *Our sinfulness* may properly be said to be *imputed to Christ*, because when he *underwent the penalty* which that sinfulness demanded, he *was dealt with as if he had been*

¹ G Fox' Letter to Gov. of Barbadoes.

himself the sinner ; and it is, I apprehend, on a perfectly analogous principle that his righteousness is said to *be imputed to us* ; because through the boundless mercy of God, we are permitted to reap the fruits of it. We are regarded as if, like him, we were absolutely guiltless, and are therefore delivered from everlasting punishment. We are graciously accepted, as if like him we had meritoriously fulfilled the whole law of God, and are *therefore* rewarded with never-ending felicity. Thus it is, that, in consequence of *his union through faith* with Jesus, the Head of the Church, the Christian is not only protected from the pains of hell, but is in possession of a well-grounded *claim* on the joys of heaven.”¹

It will be observed that in this passage, the salvation and eternal felicity of the soul are made to depend, not on its moral fitness or spiritual condition, but on the belief that the punishment due to sin has been inflicted on a substitute, and that the righteousness of that substitute is imputed to the believer.

This doctrine is also avowed in the following quotations, viz.: “The Christian’s hope of deliverance from eternal death is founded on the glorious doctrine, that a ransom has been offered for his soul, by a Saviour of infinite dignity and power; and he anticipates the boon of everlasting felicity, not as the reward of his *own polluted works*, but as the just and necessary consequence of a *righteousness imputed* to the believer, the perfect righteousness of Him who is not only man but God.”²

“Behold the glorious partner of the Father’s throne freely opening his bosom to the *vials of his*

¹ Essays on Christianity, 437.

² Biblical Notes, 363.

wrath, groaning and bleeding on the cross in the nature of man, and bearing in his own body on the tree the penalty of the sins of mankind." * * * *

"Let us call to mind, that in that hour of unutterable desertion the righteous vengeance of God against a guilty world was poured forth upon the innocent *substitute*." ¹

Here again, justice towards J. J. Gurney requires the exhibition of sentiments from another of his works, not consistent with the last two quotations, but far more satisfactory, viz.: "There is nothing in Scripture which in the least degree supports the notion that our Heavenly Father is naturally implacable, and that his wrath was appeased by the Sacrifice of an innocent victim. While the prevalence of bloody sacrifices among the heathen nations in all ages of the world plainly indicates the feeling that without an atonement there is no forgiveness of sin, and while it affords an evidence of some original revelation on the subject, the *vulgar notion* that a wrathful deity is by this method *rendered placable* receives no countenance from Christianity." ²

Yet, in still another of his works, he speaks of "those who know that God is *their reconciled Father*, and that Jesus has bought them with the precious price of his own blood;" ³ which seems to imply that the Father required the shedding of that blood in order to reconcile him to man; whereas the true

¹ Essay on Love to God, English ed. pp. 40, 45, quoted in Appeal for Ancient Doctrines of Friends, Phila. 1847, by Orthodox Yearly Meeting. The two passages here quoted are omitted in an American edition.

² Portable Evidence of Christianity, 154.

³ Essays on Christianity, 465.

Scriptural doctrine is, that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." The change by which reconciliation is effected, must be wrought in man; there can be no change in the Deity.

"Jesus Christ," writes J. J. Gurney, "was a *vica-rious sufferer*, because his death on the cross was graciously undergone by him, and as graciously accepted by the Father, *in the place of that everlasting death* to which all men would otherwise have been exposed as the certain punishment and legitimate consequence of sin."

Again he writes, of the sufferings of Christ being "ordained by the Father himself, as *the means* through which in his own infinite knowledge and wisdom, he saw fit to provide for the *satisfaction of his justice*, and at the same time for the pardon and restoration of a lost and sinful race of his creatures."¹

William Penn writes as follows, concerning "The absurdities that unavoidably follow the comparison of this doctrine with the sense of scripture."

"1. That God is gracious to forgive, and yet 'tis impossible for him, unless the debt be fully satisfied.

"2. That the finite and impotent creature is more capable of extending mercy and forgiveness than the infinite and omnipotent creator.

"3. That God so loved the world he gave his only Son to save it; and yet that God stood off in high displeasure, and Christ gave himself to God as a complete satisfaction to his offended justice: with many more such like gross consequences that might be drawn."²

¹ Essays on Christianity, pp. 423, 427.

² Sandy Foundation Shaken, Select Works, p. 16.

Concerning Justification and Sanctification, J. J. Gurney writes as follows: "From these premises it follows, that, in the order of the grace of God, *justification precedes sanctification*, and that faith in Jesus Christ, by which the ungodly are justified, has respect in a very pre-eminent manner to the *atonement* which has been made for the sins of the world."

* * * * "While however the justification of the sinner through faith in a crucified Redeemer *precedes* the work of sanctification. its close and inseparable connection with that work is evinced by the fact, that in the economy of God's spiritual government, this very faith is the constituted means through which we obtain the gift of the Holy Spirit."¹

Again he says: "Man by nature is a child of wrath, laboring under the curse of the law — the awful sentence of eternal death. What then can be conceived more adapted to this need than *justification* — a plenary remission of all his sins through the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and a free acceptance of him as righteous, for the sake of a righteous Saviour? Here he finds reconciliation with a God of Justice, deliverance from condemnation and eternal punishment, and a well-founded hope of immortal bliss. The utmost claims of the law are satisfied; the holiness of the Creator is more than ever manifested; and the broken-hearted sinner reposes in peace, on the bosom of infinite mercy. In himself, indeed, as a transgressor from his birth, *he is vile and polluted*, but by the blood of Jesus sprinkled on his heart, his conscience is purged from every dead work, and having obtained an interest in the Saviour of men,

¹ Essays on Christianity, p. 505.

he wears a robe of righteousness in which there is no spot.”¹

From this it appears, that he, who is *in himself vile and polluted*, may nevertheless wear a robe of righteousness; but Geo. Fox writes: “So far as a man is sanctified, so far as he is justified and no farther.”²

And Barclay says: “The manner and way whereby his [Christ’s] righteousness and obedience, death and sufferings *without*, become profitable unto us, and *made ours*, is by receiving him and becoming one with him in our hearts, embracing and entertaining that *holy seed*, which as it is embraced and entertained, becometh *a holy birth in us*, which in Scripture is called, *Christ formed within*; Christ within the hope of glory. *Gal. iv. 19; Coloss. i. 27.*”³

Joseph John Gurney, commenting on the discourse of our Saviour, concerning eating his flesh and drinking his blood, (*John vi. 31–32 and 47–48,*) says: “Hence it follows that the bread which Christ gives to eat is his flesh which he offered upon the cross for the sins of the whole world. As eating the bread of life is identical with believing in Christ, the incarnate Son of God, so eating his flesh is identical with such a belief in him as is especially directed to his atoning sacrifice. Our Lord’s meaning becomes yet more indisputable when he pursues his use of this expressive figure, and adds to the eating of his flesh the drinking of his blood: ‘Verily I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. He that eateth my

¹ Portable Evidence, Phila., 1856, pp. 163, 164.

² Works of George Fox, III. 450.

³ Truth cleared of Calumnies, Barclay’s Works, p. 19.

flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him,' ver. 53 to 56. That the flesh and blood of Christ are here spoken of in relation to his incarnation and atoning Sacrifice, is made abundantly clear by the comparison of all the other passages in the New Testament, and especially in the writings of this apostle, in which mention is made of that flesh or of that blood. These passages are numerous, and on a careful examination of them, it will be found that the flesh always means his human body — that body which was born, died, and rose again — and that his blood always means his very blood, — which was his natural life, and which was naturally shed on the cross for the remission of sins."¹ “*Those only* can be truly said to ‘eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood,’ whose whole reliance for salvation is placed upon him, *as the sacrifice for sin*; and these are they who receive ‘the Spirit that quickeneth’ — who dwell in Christ and know Christ to dwell in them — who through the Spirit are made alive unto God in this world, and therefore live forever in the world to come.” *John vi. 53–63.*²

If spiritual life depends upon eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ, — and *those only can partake of it whose whole reliance is placed upon him as the sacrifice for sin*, — what becomes of those who have never heard of that sacrifice? Yet Joseph John Gurney admits that even these, when they believe in and obey the Light, are “partakers in their measure

¹ Brief Remarks on Interpretation of Scripture, pp. 13, 14.

² Essays on Christianity, 506.

and according to their capacity in the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”¹

How much more simple and consistent is the doctrine of the early Friends on this point as expressed by Barclay: “The communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his flesh and blood by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells.”

“The *body* then of Christ which believers partake of is *spiritual* and not carnal, and his *blood* which they drink of is *pure* and *heavenly* and not human or elementary, as Augustine also affirms of the body of Christ; Tractat. *Psalm* xcviiii.”²

The early Friends believed that Jesus Christ the head of the church, and the saints his members, in their heavenly state, are not in carnal but in spiritual bodies. Joseph John Gurney writes as follows: “He [man] has within him a never-dying spirit; and *even that part of him* which is destined to moulder in the grave, shall in the end be found *the seed of a spiritual body*, and shall be clothed with incorruption and immortality.” “The man who sleeps in the dust of the earth shall be quickened—shall be raised from a state of death—shall stand alive before the judgment-seat of the Almighty.”³ “Now it is in *revealed religion*, and there only, that blind and erring man receives an illumination exactly proportioned to the depths and completeness of his ignorance.” * * * *
“There he is taught the lesson of the immortality of the soul, of the *resurrection of the body* and of judg-

¹ J. J. G's. Declaration, quoted in § 1 of this chapter.

² Apology XIII. § 2. ³ Essays on Christianity, pp. 193, 187.

ment to come." "As it relates to the faithful followers of Christ, the *resurrection of the body* clearly forms a part of the scheme of redemption."¹

Wm. Penn, in reply to the Bishop of Cork, says: "We have indeed been negative to the gross conceit of people concerning the rising of this carnal body we carry about us, which better agrees with the Alcoran of Mahomet, than the gospel of Christ. But that there is a resurrection of the just and unjust, to rewards and punishments, we have ever believed. And indeed, we cannot but wonder that any should be displeased with us, for being pleased with that which God is pleased to give us. Bodies we shall have, but *not the same*, says the Apostle, and so believes the Quaker."²

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DOCTRINES OF ELIAS HICKS

IN America, the Society of Friends, during the first quarter of this century, generally held the views inculcated by Fox, Penn, Pennington, and Barclay, and were accustomed, in their ministry, to lay great stress on the Grace of God, or Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul, as the efficient cause of salvation. It is believed that the ministry and writings of Job Scott had much influence in promoting this spiritual view of Christianity; and Elias Hicks, who began his ministry about the year 1775, had long been a distin-

¹ Portable Evidence, pp. 160, 179. ² Penn's Select Works, 827.

guished advocate of the same doctrine. He had travelled much as a minister of the gospel, and for more than forty years his services had been highly esteemed throughout the Society, there being then little or no opposition to his religious views. "In declaring what he believed to be the counsel of God, he was bold and fearless, and his ministry, though unadorned with the embellishments of human learning, was clear and powerful. In argument he was strong and convincing, and his appeals to the experience and convictions of his hearers were striking and appropriate." ¹ In private life he was a bright example of the Christian virtues; a peace-maker, a friend to the poor, and especially concerned to bear an uncompromising testimony against the enslavement and oppression of the African race.

The doctrinal views of Elias Hicks have been diversely understood or construed by different individuals according to the point of view from which they were contemplated. By his adversaries he was charged with holding and promulgating doctrines at variance with the fundamental principles of Christianity; while on the other hand his friends maintained, that his views were generally in accordance with the Scriptures of Truth, and with the writings of the early Friends.

A fair and candid investigation of this subject requires a thorough examination of his writings and acknowledged discourses; and in making selections to illustrate his views, a due regard will be had to the context, and to the general scope of his remarks.

¹ Testimony of Jericho Monthly Meeting of Friends.

IMMEDIATE REVELATION.

§ 1. It has been shown in Chapter I., sections 9 and 10, that according to the writings of the early Friends there is “an evangelical principle of light and life, wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world.”¹

On this point, Elias Hicks writes as follows: “God is a Spirit, invisible and incomprehensible to every thing but spirit, agreeably to the doctrine and conclusive argument of the Apostle Paul, ‘What man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man which is in him? even so, the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;’ and again, ‘the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually,’ and only spiritually, ‘discerned.’ It therefore necessarily follows that man, with all the wisdom he can acquire, aided by human science, however elaborately studied, and with the further assistance of all the books and writings in the world, if void of *immediate divine revelation*, never has known, nor ever can know God, in relation either to his essence, or those excellent attributes which are in correspondence and unison with his pure, holy, and unchangeable nature; for that which may be known of God is manifest within man,² and that not by his reasoning powers, but by the immediate impression and unpremeditated sensations which the immortal spirit of man feels and sees, by being brought into contact with and under the certain and self-evident influence of the Spirit of

¹ Barclay's Apology, Prop. VI.

² Rom. i 19.

God upon it. And hence a man is enabled to attribute to God his due only from sensible and self-evident experience.”¹

“Hence the necessity of every individual rallying to the standard, the light within, for in that only can we as a people unite our strength; that being our only standard principle from the beginning; and if we desert that or add anything to it, as essential, besides good works, we shall become a broken and divided people, and must remain so until all recur to this first principle as our only rule of faith and practice; and prove by our fruits that we are led and guided by it, that is, by our just and righteous works, doing unto all others as we would that others should do unto us.”²

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

§ 2. The views of the early Friends in relation to the Scriptures have been exhibited in Chapter II. of this treatise. They believed in the authenticity and divine authority of the sacred writings, and expressed a willingness that “all their doctrines and practices should be tried by them.” Nevertheless, “because they are only a declaration of the fountain and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners.” They are “a secondary rule, subordinate to the spirit from which they have all their excellency and certainty.”³

Elias Hicks writes as follows: “As to the Scriptures of Truth, as recorded in the book called the

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, New York, 1834, p. 25. ² Ibid. p. 186.

³ Barclay's Apology, Prop. III.

Bible, I have ever believed that all parts of them that could not be known but by revelation, were written by holy men as they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, and could not be known through any other medium, and they are profitable for our encouragement, comfort and instruction, in the very way that the apostle testifies; and I have always accounted them, when rightly understood, as the best of books extant. I have always delighted in reading them, in my serious moments, in preference to any other book, from my youth up, and have made more use of their contents to confirm and establish my ministerial labors in the gospel than most other ministers that I am acquainted with. But at the same time, I prize *that from whence they have derived their origin*, much higher than I do them; as ‘that for which a thing is such, the thing itself is more such.’ And no man, I conceive, can know and rightly profit by them, but by the opening of the same *inspiring spirit by which they were written*; and I apprehend I have read them as much as most other men, and few, I believe, have derived more profit from them than I have.”¹

In another letter he says: “As respects the Scriptures of Truth, I have highly esteemed them from my youth up, have always given them the preference to any other book, and have read them abundantly more than any other book, and I would recommend all to the serious and diligent perusal of them. And I apprehend I have received as much comfort and instruction from them as any other man. Indeed they have instructed me home to the sure unchangeable foundation — the light within, or spirit of truth, the

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, p. 215.

only gospel foundation that leads and guides into all truth, and thereby completes man's salvation, which nothing else ever has, or ever can do. But why need I say these things, as all men know that have heard me, that I confirm my doctrine abundantly from their testimony: and I have always endeavored sincerely to place them in their true place and station, but never dare exalt them above what they themselves declare; and as no spring can rise higher than its fountain, so likewise the Scriptures can only direct to the *fountain from whence they originated—the spirit of truth*: as saith the apostle, 'The things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;' therefore when the Scriptures have directed and pointed us to this light within, or Spirit of Truth, there they must stop—it is their ultimatum—the top stone of what they can do. And no other external testimony of men or books can do any more. And Jesus, in his last charge to his disciples, in order to prevent them from looking without for instruction in the things of God, after he had led them up to the highest pinnacle that any outward evidence could effect, certified them that this light within, or spirit of truth, by which only their salvation could be effected, dwelt with them and should be in them. And this every Christian knows to be a truth; and there never was a real Christian made by any other power than this spirit of truth; and everything that can be done by man without it, must fail of effecting his salvation." ¹

These passages, written in the year 1829, may be considered as expressing the settled opinions of Elias Hicks in the last year of his life. It is much to be

¹ Answer to Six Queries, Letters of E. Hicks, p. 227.

regretted that in some letters of an earlier date, written apparently without due consideration, and in the confidence of friendship, (which proved to be misplaced,) he expressed sentiments apparently at variance with those above quoted.

In a letter to Phebe Willis, dated 5th mo. 19th, 1818, and first published by his opponents without his consent, the following passages are found: "Among other subjects I have been led, I trust carefully and candidly, to investigate the effect produced by the book called the Scriptures since it has borne that appellation; and it appears from a comparative view, to have been the cause of fourfold more harm than good to Christendom, since the apostles' days, and which I think must be indubitably plain to every faithful honest mind that has investigated her history free from the undue bias of education and tradition. Mark the beginning of the apostasy. When the professors of Christianity began to quarrel with and separate from each other, it all sprung from their different views and different interpretations of passages of Scripture; and to such a pitch did their quarrels arise, as that a recourse to the sword was soon deemed necessary to settle those disputes. And the strongest party in that line finding, that as long as the people were at liberty, and had the privilege of searching the Scriptures and putting their own interpretations upon them, and making them their rule, diversity of opinion and differences would increase, this led the strongest party to that disagreeable and unchristian alternative of wresting them out of their hands, and forbidding their being read by the people at large. And this state of things continued for many years, until the beginning of the Reformation by Martin Luther. It

will be now necessary to consider whether the Scriptures were in any wise accessory to this infant beginning of reformation? I think it is clear they were not; but as Luther and his adherents gained strength, they began to shake off the yoke of papal oppression, and among other things, the restriction on the Scriptures was taken off, and every citizen that joined Luther's party had the privilege of reading the Scriptures at his pleasure. And what was the result? A diversity of sentiment respecting what they taught, which soon set the reformers one against another and produced such divisions and animosities among them that recourse was again had to the sword to settle disputes. In this condition things continued until Geo. Fox was raised up to bear testimony to the light and spirit of truth in the hearts and consciences of men and women as the only sure rule of faith and practice, both in relation to religious and moral things, and which was complete and sufficient without the aid of books or men, as his doctrine and example clearly evinces, as his reformation was begun and carried on without the necessary aid of either." * * * * "What I have written has been done in scraps of time that I have, as it were, stolen from my other many avocations, without any time to copy it, or *give it much examination*; therefore I hope thou wilt excuse the improprieties that may have escaped my notice, believing that thou wilt be able to apprehend the main drift of the arguments, and be *willing to put the best construction* on such parts as may, to thee, appear erroneous."¹

In considering this ill-digested letter, the query naturally arises: If the Scriptures "have been the

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, pp. 43-50.

cause of fourfold more harm than good to Christendom," why was the "forbidding their being read by the people at large," an "unchristian" act. The remark in relation to the Protestant Reformation, that the Scriptures were not "in any wise accessory" to its beginning, is also founded in mistake; for it appears that the New Testament was, through divine grace, made instrumental to enlighten the mind of Luther and discover to him the errors of Romanism. As to George Fox, we know that the Bible was his constant companion; his writings are replete with Scripture texts, and probably no other teacher ever referred more constantly to the sacred volume. It was "his frequent advice to Friends, to keep to Scripture language, terms, words, and doctrines, as taught by the Holy Ghost, in matters of faith, religion, controversy, and conversation, and not to be imposed upon and drawn into unscriptural terms, invented by men in their human wisdom."¹

Justice towards Elias Hicks requires that we should give due weight to the extenuating circumstances that attended the writing and publication of his letters to Phebe Willis, whom he regarded as a cordial friend. If he erred in writing them, how much more blameworthy were they, who gave them publicity without his consent!

He stated his views more explicitly in a letter to Moses Brown, dated 3d mo. 30th, 1825, as the following passage will show, viz.: "As to what thou sayest of my contradicting myself, by saying at one time, that the Scriptures were the best book, and at another time, that it does more hurt than good; if this is, to thee, a paradox, it is one, I conceive, thy own com-

¹ Works of G. F., IV. 3.

mon sense and every day's observation would easily solve. For it is my candid belief, that those that hold and believe the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith and practice, to these it does much more hurt than good. And has anything tended more to divide Christendom into sects and parties than the Scriptures? and by which so many cruel and bloody wars have been promulgated. And yet at the same time, may it not be one of the best books, if rightly used under the guidance of the Holy Spirit? But, if abused, like every other blessing, it becomes a curse. Therefore to these it always does more hurt than good; and thou knowest that these comprehend far the greatest part of Christendom."¹

There is, however, sufficient evidence to show that a vast amount of good has been derived from the proper use of the Scriptures: if evil has resulted from their abuse, it is no more than may be said of other precious gifts received from a bountiful Creator.

A number of passages extracted from the printed sermons of Elias Hicks, have been published and circulated by his adversaries, most of which, being separated from the context, give an erroneous view of his religious opinions. Some of these extracts relating to the Scriptures are here subjoined, together with a portion of the context. The sentences extracted by his opponents are included in brackets,² viz. :—

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, pp. 174-5.

² These extracts may be found in "A Declaration," &c., published by order of the Yearly Meeting of "Orthodox Friends," held in Phila., in the year 1828. For a refutation of the charges contained in that Declaration, see a Review by Wm. Gibbons, published by T. E. Chapman, Philadelphia, 1847.

“We find, that although these things are so plainly written in the book which we call the Bible, yet we feel and know certainly that there is *no power in it* to enable us to *put in practice* what is therein written. [One would suppose that, to a rational mind, the hearing and reading of the instructive parables of Jesus would have a *tendency* to reform, and turn men about to truth, and lead them on in it. *But they have no such effect.*]” In the following paragraph he says: “We may read of this; but has the letter ever turned any one to the right thing, *unless the light opening it to the understanding* has helped him to *put in practice* what the letter dictates?”

The meaning intended to be conveyed by the speaker is evidently the same as thus expressed by Isaac Pennington: “Life cannot be received from the Scriptures, but only from Christ the fountain thereof; no more can the Scriptures give the rule, but point to the fountain of the same life, where alone the rule of life, as the life itself, can be received. The Scriptures cannot ingraft into Christ nor give a living rule to him that is ingrafted; but he that hath heard the testimony of the Scriptures concerning Christ, and hath come to him, must abide in him and wait on him for the writing of the law of the Spirit of life in his heart, and this will be his rule from the law of sin and death, even unto the land of life.”¹

Another garbled quotation from the Sermons of Elias Hicks, when united with a portion of the context, reads as follows:—

“O that the spirit that dwelt in David might dwell

¹ Works of I. Pennington, London, 1761, Vol. I. p. 268.

in us; that, from a sense of our impotence and weakness, our prayers might ascend like his; ‘Lord show me my secret faults.’ And what are these faults that are so various and so many? Why, some are led away to the worship of images by being deceived and turned aside by tradition and books; they worship other gods beside the true God. [They have been so bound up in the letter, that they think they must attend to it to the exclusion of everything else. Here is an abominable idol worship of a thing without any life at all, — a dead monument!] Oh! that our minds might be enlightened, — that our hearts might be opened, — that we might know the difference between thing and thing. Most of the worship in Christendom is idolatry, dark and blind idolatry; for all *outward worship* is so, — it is a mere worship of images. For if we make an image merely in imagination, it is an idol.” — *Phila. Sermons*, pp. 129, 130.

In this passage the censure intended to be conveyed was not against the use, but the abuse of the Scriptures. The same idea is expressed in the following quotation from Pennington. “They run to the Scriptures with that understanding which is out of the truth, and which never shall be let into the truth; and so being not able to reach and comprehend the truth as it is, they study, they invent, they imagine a meaning; they form a likeness, a similitude of the truth as near as they can, and this must go for the truth; and this they honor and bow before as the will of God; which being not the will of God, but a likeness of their own inventing and forming, they worship not God, they honor not the Scriptures, but they honor and worship the work of their own brain.

And every scripture which man hath thus formed a meaning out of, and hath not read in the true and living light of God's eternal Spirit, he hath made an image by, he hath made an idol of; and the respect and honor he gives this meaning is not a respect and honor given to God, but to his own image, to his own idol."¹

The following passage from a sermon of Elias Hicks has been selected by his opponents to show that he and his friends assert "that the direction of our Lord to search the Scriptures is not correct," viz.: "Now the book we read in says, 'Search the Scriptures.' But this is incorrect; we must all see it is incorrect; because we have all reason to believe they read the Scriptures, and hence they accused Jesus of being an impostor."² The remainder of the paragraph was withheld; it reads as follows: "They were more intent upon reading the Scriptures than any other people under heaven. They read them, thinking that through them they should become wise by the letter."

The learned Adam Clark affirms, that the text here referred to should be translated, "Ye search the Scriptures diligently;" and adds: "Perhaps the Scriptures were never more diligently searched than at that very time."

Barclay says: "That place may be taken in the indicative mood, 'Ye search the Scriptures;' which interpretation the Greek word will bear; and so Pasor translatheth it: which, by the reproof following, seemeth also to be the *more genuine interpretation*; as Cyrillus long ago hath observed."³

¹ I. Pennington's Works, I. 13.

² Phila. Sermon, p. 314.

³ Apology, Prop. III. § 7.

THE ORIGINAL AND PRESENT STATE OF MAN.

§ 3. By reference to the third chapter of this treatise, it will be seen that the commonly received doctrine of original sin was not held by the early Friends.

In accordance with their views, Elias Hicks writes as follows: "As to the doctrine of original sin, according to the acceptation of some professors of Christianity, that we are under the curse for the transgression of our first parents, I abhor the idea, as it casts a great indignity on the divine character to think that a gracious and merciful God should condemn us for an act that was wholly out of our power to avoid! I consider it very little short, if any, of blasphemy against God. For I have never felt myself under condemnation for any sin but my own, neither have I felt any justification for any righteousness but what has been wrought in me by the grace of God: believing with the apostle, that "by grace we are saved through faith, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works lest any man should boast;" that is, not any works of our own, "for we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."¹

In a sermon, at Pine Street Meeting, Philadelphia, Elias Hicks is reported to have spoken as follows, viz.: "He [the Most High] gives us the grace of repentance, and enables us so to walk as to be reconciled to him, and gain a greater establishment in himself, and in the truth, than when we first came

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, p. 213.

out of his creating hands. For although man was made pure and without defilement, — for He declares that all that he made ‘was very good,’ — yet man had no virtue, for he had no knowledge: we bring no true knowledge into the world with us. But God, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, saw that the only way in which man could rise and be a communicant with Him, was to place him in a state of probation, and furnish him with means whereby he might go on in the warfare that this state of probation opened in his soul. For having endued his creature man with propensities both of body and mind, these propensities tempted him to turn aside from the will of his Creator. Here was immediately a warfare begun — God was on one side, and everything good was united with him and in him. The creature — the rational creature, as it was united to the animal body, was of the earth and therefore earthy. As the apostle says: ‘The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man,’ that is the birth of God in the soul, is spiritual. Every one that is born of God has this inward birth; as we read, ‘that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.’ And here now, this has been the experience of every rational soul under heaven: and it is the only medium whereby we can ever be united again to God. And if man had not fallen, as we come into the world without knowledge and capacity to do anything, though innocent: so we must know another birth — a birth of the immortal spirit, which is as invisible as God himself. We must come to witness a birth of the Spirit, a second birth, as Jesus de-

clared to Nicodemus, 'Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.'"¹

ON THE DIVINE BEING.

§ 4. It has been shown in the fourth chapter of this treatise, that the early Friends rejected the commonly received doctrine of the Trinity, or distinct and separate personality of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and that they acknowledged the Divinity of Christ as taught in the Scriptures.²

In order to institute a comparison between their doctrines and those of Elias Hicks, the following selection has been made from his writings and reported discourses.

"The doctrine of the Trinity, as held by many professing Christians, I also consider a weak and vulgar error: that of three *distinct persons* in one God, and that each of these persons is whole God, as, I think, is inserted in some of the confessions of faith. As I believe there cannot be a greater absurdity than to apply *personality* to God, in any right sense of the word, as personality implies locality, which signifies limited to place, which would be very impious to say of the infinite Jehovah; it is also a doctrine unwarranted by Scripture, as the word Trinity is not to be found in the Bible; for although the apostle is made to say, agreeably to our present translation, that there are three that bear record in Heaven, yet he assures us that *these three are but one.*"³

The following extract from a Sermon delivered by

¹ The Quaker, I. 56.

² See, also, recapitulation in Chapter VII. Section 4.

³ Letters of E. Hicks, p. 55.

Elias Hicks in Pine Street Meeting, Philadelphia, 12th month 10th, 1826, is one of the passages on which a charge against him of promulgating “anti-christian doctrines” was made by the ruling party in that meeting, and sent by a committee to his own monthly meeting, viz. :—

“I say, dearly beloved, my soul craves it for us, that we may sink down and examine ourselves; according to the declaration of the Apostle: ‘Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves: know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?’ Now we cannot suppose that the Apostle meant that outward man, that walked about the streets of Jerusalem; because he is not in any of us. But what is this Jesus Christ? He came to be a Saviour to that nation, and was limited to that nation. He came to gather up and look up the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But as he was a Saviour in the outward sense, so he was an outward shadow of good things to come; and so the work of the man Jesus Christ was a figure. He healed the sick of their outward calamities,—he cleansed the leprosy,—all of which was external and affected only their bodies,—as sickness don’t affect the souls of the children of men, though they may labor under all these things. But as he was considered a saviour, he meant by what he said, a saviour is within you, the anointing of the Spirit of God is within you: for this made the ways of Jesus so wonderful in his day, that the Psalmist in his prophecy concerning him exclaims: ‘Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.’

He had loved righteousness, you perceive, and therefore was prepared to receive the fulness of the Spirit, the fulness of the divine anointing; for there was no germ of evil in him or about him: both his soul and body were pure. He was anointed above all his fellows, to be *the head of the church*, the *top stone*, the *chief corner-stone*, elect and precious. And what was it that was a saviour? Not that which was outward; it was not flesh and blood: for ‘flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven:’ it must go to the earth from whence it was taken. It was that life, that same life that I have already mentioned, that was in him and which is the light and life of men, and which lighteth every man, and consequently every woman that cometh into the world. And we have this light and life in us; which is what the apostle meant by Jesus Christ; and if we have not this ruling in us, we are dead, because we are not under the law of the spirit of life. For the ‘law is light, and the reproofs of instruction the way of life.’”

After Elias Hicks took his seat, Jonathan Evans, an elder of Pine Street Meeting, arose and declared that the Society of Friends believed in “the atonement, mediation, and intercession of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” “We believe him,” said he, “to be King of kings and Lord of lords, before whose judgment-seat every soul shall be arraigned and judged by him. 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.” Isaac Lloyd, another elder of the same meeting, said: “I unite with Jonathan Evans, — we never have believed that our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, came to the Jews

only, for he was given for God's salvation to the ends of the earth."¹

Elias Hicks added, "I have spoken; and I leave it for the people to judge, — I don't assume the judgment-seat."

On this point Wm. Penn writes as follows: "The coming of Christ in that blessed manifestation [in the flesh] was to *the Jews only*: he says it himself, 'He was not sent but to the lost sheep of *the house of Israel*.' *Matt. xv. 24*. Again: 'He came unto his own, and his own received him not.' *John i. 11*."²

Isaac Pennington, on behalf of the Friends, writes: "Now they distinguish, according to the Scriptures, between that which is called *the Christ* and the bodily garment which he took. The one was flesh, the other spirit. 'The flesh profiteth nothing,' saith he; 'the Spirit quickeneth, and he that eateth me shall live by me, even as I live by the Father.' *John vi. 57, 63*. This is the manna, itself the true treasure; the other but the visible or earthen vessel which held it. The body of flesh was but the veil. *Heb. x. 20*. The eternal life was the substance veiled. The one he did partake of as the rest of the children did; the other was he which did partake thereof. *Heb. ii. 14*."

George Whitehead writes: "Christ, as God, his soul was increated. As man, *his soul or spirit was not the Deity*, but formed and assumed by the Word. The Word or Son of God who made the world, was not a creature, because he made all creatures."³

The following passages, from the letters of Elias

¹ The Quaker, I. 68, 72.

² Ibid. W. Penn, Vol. V. p. 385.

³ Antidote against the Venom of Snake in the Grass. London, 1697, p. 191.

Hicks to some of his intimate friends, disclose his sentiments in relation to the Divinity of Christ, his miraculous conception, miracles, resurrection and ascension, viz. : “Jesus Christ in his *outward manifestation* was more blest and abundantly more glorified than any other man, *and was above all*, and *therefore was the representative of God on earth*, visible to the external senses, although the power by which he did his mighty works was the invisible power of God, conferred upon him for that end, he being the instrument through whom God, by his power, wrought all those mighty works, that declared him to be the Son of God with power; but it was only the effects of the power, and not the power that was visible to the outward senses of his disciples and the people. Hence it was expedient that he should leave them as to his visible appearance, as nothing short of that could open the way for their reception of the Holy Spirit as a leader. And in another respect he stood in the place of God to that people, in raising their dead outwardly, and healing all their outward maladies, and forgiving those he healed of all their legal sins, by which he qualified them to enjoy all the privileges and good things of their outward Heaven [Canaan], and all the happiness it comprehended. In which he and his mighty works outwardly wrought were a complete figure of the work of God on the believing soul; raising it from the death of sin, healing it of all its spiritual maladies, and fitting it for the enjoyment of the divine presence, which is Heaven in the substance. And as he stood in the place of God outwardly to Israel, so he was likewise a real and true man, as the Scriptures abundantly assure us, being the son or offspring of Abraham and David after the flesh; born of an Israelitish *virgin*,

brought up and nursed by his parents, and was subject unto them until he arrived at the state of manhood; complying faithfully with all the requisitions and ordinances of the Jewish law, by which he justified his Heavenly Father in giving that law and those commandments; proving by his faithfully fulfilling all of them, that it was within the capacity and power of every Israelite to have done the same, had they faithfully improved the ability they had received for that end; and by which he condemned their unfaithfulness. And the last ritual was John's water baptism, by complying with which he fulfilled all the righteousness of the outward law and testament, and was then prepared for entering upon his mission by the more full effusion of the Holy Spirit, which descended upon him as soon as he had finished all the work of shadows relative to the law state, and which qualified him for his gospel mission, in which he went forth clothed with power from on high, preaching the glad tidings of peace and salvation; very few, however, understood or believed his doctrines, being so outward and worldly-minded. And when he had finished his ministration, in which he fulfilled the righteousness of both the law and the gospel, setting thereby an example to all his followers, — showing them that by faithfulness to the operations of the same spirit and power, *according to the measure received*, they might do the same; yea, he assured his immediate followers that even greater works than these which he had done, should they do. When he had thus finished his course, he surrendered himself to his enemies who crucified him, that is his outward body, which was all they could do. But when he gave up the ghost, his immortal spirit rose superior to all their malice, and

ascended immediately into Paradise. This ascension was not visible to the outward senses; his body was laid in the tomb, — and to complete the figure of our redemption, it was *raised again* outwardly; by which is typified the crucifixion of the old fallen man with all his deeds, which is affected by the cross of Christ, as saith the apostle: ‘Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ,’ that is, into the Spirit and power of God, ‘were baptized into his death?’ Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up, outwardly, ‘from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should’ be spiritually raised up to ‘walk in newness of life.’ And this outward ascension as it was manifest to the external senses of his disciples, must have been the outward man, as the immortal spirit of the Saviour never was, nor ever could be seen by outward eyes, — hence this outward ascension was a complete type of the inward or spiritual ascension of the immortal soul of man from an earthly to a heavenly state; by which it regains Paradise, and which must and will be regained by every redeemed soul on this side the grave.”¹

In another letter written by Elias Hicks, less than three years before his decease, he says: “Thy next query respecting the miraculous conception, &c., is to me a very plain, simple thing. All the external miracles of the Jewish covenant had but one aim and end; and the miraculous conception of Jesus, and of Isaac and John the Baptist were among the greatest; all of which were intended to prove to that dark and ignorant people, debased by their bondage, that there was a living and invisible God; for such was their

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, pp. 75, 77.

degraded state that no other means seemed calculated to awaken them, and raise in them a belief in that invisible power that made and governed the world, but an external manifestation thereof, through the medium of outward miracles. And as Moses and the prophets had foretold of the coming of their last great prophet, it was of singular importance to that people, that they should know and believe in him when he came; and as they depended on outward miracles as the highest evidence under that dispensation, so it is not only reasonable, but even natural to suppose that he would be ushered in by some miraculous display of divine power. Hence the reason, likewise, of the many miracles that Jesus was empowered to work among them, as they were too outward and carnal to receive evidence through any other medium. And we likewise see that none but those who believed on him as their promised Messiah were prepared to receive and obey his last counsel and command to turn from outward and external evidence to that which is inward and spiritual;¹ the latter being as much above the former as the gospel state is above the law state, or the spirit above the letter.”

“As to the divinity of Jesus Christ the son of the virgin — when he had arrived at a full state of sonship in the spiritual generation, he was wholly swallowed up into the divinity of his Heavenly Father, and was one with the Father, with only this difference: his Father’s divinity was underived, being self-existent; but the Son’s divinity was altogether derived from the Father. for otherwise he could not be the Son of God, as in the moral relation to be a son

¹ John xiv. 16, 17, and xvi. 7.

of man, the son must be begotten by one father, and he must be in the same nature, spirit, and likeness of his father, so as to say, I and my father are one, in all those respects. But this was not the case with Jesus in the spiritual relation until he had gone through the last institute of the law dispensation, viz., John's watery baptism, and had received additional power¹ from on high by the descending of the Holy Ghost upon him as he came up out of the water.² He then witnessed the fulness of the second birth, being now born into the nature, spirit, and likeness of the Heavenly Father, and God gave witness of it to John, saying, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.'"³

SALVATION BY CHRIST.

§ 5. The doctrine of salvation by Christ, as held by the early Friends, has been exhibited in the fifth Chapter of this treatise, and recapitulated in the fifth section of Chapter VII.

The views of Elias Hicks on this subject are expressed in the following passages from his letters and sermons:—

“All the persecution and cruel deaths that have transpired in the world among mankind; not only the persecution and crucifixion of Jesus Christ; but also all the sufferings and martyrdom caused by wicked men, have had their rise and spring from man's unjust and unrighteous use of his liberty and power, conferred upon him only to do his master's will in all things.” * * * * “Had the Israelites all

¹ Luke ii. 52.

² Matt. iii. 16.

³ Letters of E. H., pp. 203, 204.

been faithful to the outward covenant given them through Moses, they would all have been prepared to have received their Messiah in the way of his coming, as did those that believed on him, and by which the end of his coming would have been much more fully answered; as all Israel then, like the disciples of Jesus Christ, would willingly have passed from the old, and cheerfully entered into the new dispensation. Hence no crucifixion, no suffering or death of Jesus Christ would have taken place; but when his ministry on earth was finished, by fulfilling the law and abolishing that outward covenant, and turning the minds of the people to the inward, to the law written in the heart, and when, by a life of perfect righteousness and self-denial, he had introduced his disciples into the gospel, he would then have been (like Enoch and Elijah) translated, without suffering the pains of death. But as Divine Wisdom foresaw that his people Israel would revolt from his commandments, and rebel against his law and become cruel and hard-hearted, so likewise he foresaw that the wicked among them would cruelly persecute and slay many of the righteous, and his son Jesus Christ among the rest. Therefore he inspired many of his servants to testify of these things amongst them before they came to pass, as warning and caution, that so those who were seeking after the right way, might be preserved from taking any part therein, while those who wilfully hardened their hearts against reproof might suffer the penalties resulting from their crimes, which they had committed in their own free choice, contrary to the counsel and will of their Creator.”¹

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, pp. 54, 55.

In a letter to Dr. Nathan Shoemaker, Elias Hicks wrote as follows:¹ “By what means did Jesus suffer? The answer is plain — by the hands of wicked men, and because his works were righteous and theirs were wicked. Query. Did God send him into the world purposely to suffer death by the hands of wicked men? By no means; but to live a righteous and Godly life (which was the design and end of God’s creating man in the beginning), and thereby be a perfect example to such of mankind as should come to the knowledge of him and his perfect life. For if it was the purpose and will of God that he should die by the hands of wicked men, then the Jews by crucifying him would have done God’s will, and of course would all have stood justified in his sight, which could not be. But it was permitted so to be, as it had been with many of the prophets and wise and good men that were before him, who suffered death by the hands of wicked men for righteousness’ sake, as ensamples to those that came after, that they should account nothing too dear to give up for the truth’s sake, not even their own lives.

“But the shedding of his blood by the wicked Scribes and Pharisees and people of Israel, had a particular effect on the Jewish nation, as by this, the topstone, and worst of all their crimes, was filled up the measure of their iniquities, and which put an end to that dispensation, together with its law and covenant. That, as John’s baptism summed up in one, all the previous water baptisms of that dispensation, and put an end to them, which he sealed with

¹ Foster’s Report, Vol. II. p. 422, being Exhibit No. 37, by the orthodox party.

his blood, so this sacrifice of the body of Jesus Christ, summed up in one all the outward atoning sacrifices of the shadowy dispensation and put an end to them all, thereby abolishing the law, having previously fulfilled all its righteousness, and, as saith the apostle, ‘He blotted out the handwriting of ordinances nailing them to his cross;’ having put an end to the law that commanded them, with all its legal sins, and abolished all its legal penalties, so that all the Israelites that believed on him, after he exclaimed on the cross, ‘It is finished,’ might abstain from all the rituals of their law, such as circumcision, water baptisms, outward sacrifices, Seventh-day sabbaths, and all their other holy-days, &c., and be blameless: and the legal sins that any were guilty of, were now remitted and done away by the abolishment of the law that commanded them, for ‘where there is no law there is no transgression.’ But those that did not believe on him, many of them were destroyed by the sword, and the rest were scattered abroad in the earth. *But I do not consider that the crucifixion of the outward body of flesh and blood of Jesus on the cross, was an atonement for any sins but the legal sins of the Jews;* for as their law was outward, so their legal sins and their penalties were outward, and these could be atoned for by an outward sacrifice; and this last outward sacrifice was a full type of the inward sacrifice that every sinner must make, in giving up *that sinful life of his own will*, in and by which he hath, from time to time, crucified the innocent life of God in his own soul; and which Paul calls ‘the old man with his deeds,’ or ‘the man of sin and son of perdition,’ who hath taken God’s seat in the heart, and there exalteth itself above all that is called God, or

is worshipped, sitting as judge and supreme. Now all this life, power, and will of man must be slain and die on the cross spiritually, as Jesus died on the cross outwardly, *and this is the true atonement*, which that outward atonement was a clear and full type of. This the Apostle Paul sets forth in a plain manner, *Romans vi. 3 and 4.* ‘Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead,’ (outwardly,) ‘by the glory of the Father, even so we,’ having by the spiritual baptism witnessed a death to sin, shall know a being raised up spiritually and so walk in newness of life.”¹

In a letter of later date he writes: “As to the advantage the reviewers have taken or pretended to take, on what they construe as an admission on my part, in my letter to Dr. Shoemaker, that the death of Christ merely of itself was an atonement at all, I had no such idea; for I believe I rested it principally *on the effects of his mission and death.* As is very clear, not only from the apostle’s testimony where he asserts that Jesus had abolished the law, and ‘blotted out the handwriting of ordinances, nailing them to his cross,’ &c.; but also by the facts which followed, some of which were manifest while he was with his disciples, in justifying them for a breach of their shadowy Sabbath, and divers other things in their conduct which made a breach upon the letter of their law. By which the design of his mission is proved, that it was purposely to put an end to that law and covenant, and to introduce a better: not

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, p. 124 to 126.

another outward one, but an inward one, agreeably to the prophecy of Jeremiah. And this he clearly and amply did in his sermon on the mount, as is before shown, but was finished by his last act of surrender on the cross, when he bowed his head and said, 'It is finished.' At which time the vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom."¹

In his sermon at Pine Street, Philadelphia, delivered 12th month 10th, 1826, Elias Hicks, after referring to "the blood of the Lamb," by which the soul "is washed clean," proceeds as follows: "And what is the blood of the Lamb? It was his life, my friends; for as outward material blood was made use of to express the animal life, inspired men used it as a simile. Outward blood is the life of the animal, but it has nothing to do with the soul; for the soul has no animal blood,—no material blood. The life of God in the soul, is the blood of the soul, and the life of God is the blood of God; and so it was the life and blood of Jesus Christ his son. For he was born of the spirit of his heavenly Father, and swallowed up fully and completely in his divine nature, so that he was completely divine. It was this that operated in that twofold state, and governed the whole animal man, which was the son of Abraham and David—a tabernacle for his blessed soul."²

In the year 1829, "Six Queries" were proposed by Thomas Leggett, Jr., of New York, and answered by Elias Hicks. The last was as follows:—

Sixth Query. What relation has the body of Jesus to the Saviour of man? Dost thou believe that the

¹ Letters of E. Hicks, p. 170.

² Quaker, Vol. I. p. 62

crucifixion of the outward body of Jesus Christ was an atonement for our sins?

Answer. “In reply to the first part of this query, I answer, I believe, in unison with our ancient Friends, that it was the garment in which he performed all his mighty works, or as Paul expressed it, ‘Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you,’ therefore he charged them not to defile those temples. What is attributed to that body, I acknowledge and give to that body, in its place, according as the Scripture attributeth it, which is through and because of that which dwelt and acted in it. But that which sanctified and kept the body pure (and made all acceptable in him) was the life, holiness, and righteousness of the Spirit. And the same thing that kept his vessel pure, it is the same thing that cleanseth us.’”¹

“In reply to the second part of this query, I would remark that I ‘see no need of directing men to the type for the antitype, neither to the outward temple, nor yet to Jerusalem, neither to Jesus Christ or his blood [outwardly], knowing that neither the righteousness of faith, nor the word of it doth so direct.’”²
 “The new and second covenant is dedicated with the *blood, the life of Christ Jesus*, which is the alone atonement unto God, by which all his people are washed, sanctified, cleansed, and redeemed to God.”³

¹ I. Pennington, Vol. III. p. 34.

² G. Whitehead, *Light and Life of Christ*, Phila. ed. 1823, p. 34.

³ G. Fox, *Doctrinals*, p. 646, and Am. ed. Vol. V. p. 365.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSY.

ON comparing the doctrines promulgated by Jos. John Gurney with those held by Elias Hicks, it is obvious that they are totally irreconcilable with each other, and on a close examination it will be found, that neither of those eminent men held views, in all points, strictly in accordance with the writings of the early Friends. This is manifest from their own declarations. "Were I required," says J. J. Gurney, "to define Quakerism, I should not describe it as the system so elaborately wrought out by a Barclay, or as the doctrines and maxims of a Penn, or as the deep and refined views of a Pennington, for all these authors have their defects as well as their excellencies. I should call it the religion of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without diminution, without addition, and without compromise."¹

Elias Hicks writes, in relation to the atonement: "Our primitive Friends stopped short in that matter, not for want of faithfulness, but because the day, that was in some respects still dark, would not admit of further openings, because the people could not bear it, therefore it was to be a future work."²

It will probably be admitted by the impartial inquirer, that the doctrines of Elias Hicks are much

¹ Brief Remarks on Interpretation of Scripture, p. 16.

² Letters of E. Hicks, v. 66. [To Phebe Willis.]

nearer to the standard of early Quakerism than those of Joseph John Gurney, and there is reason to conclude that each of them honestly believed his views to be, in all essential points, nearly the same as those of Fox, Penn, and Barclay.

In this examination, it must be borne in mind that no Yearly Meeting or other organized body of Friends in England or America has ever given its official sanction to *all* the doctrinal views of either Gurney or Hicks. All Friends concur in referring to the New Testament as the repository of their doctrines, to the Holy Spirit as their expounder, and to the writings of the early Friends as corroborative evidence.

As both Joseph John Gurney and Elias Hicks manifested in life and conversation a Christian spirit, we cannot doubt the reality of their devotion, or the sincerity of their professions. The discordance between their doctrinal views was doubtless the result of education and position, increased, perhaps, by a difference in the natural tendencies of their minds.

It has often been asked, how can we reconcile such a diversity of doctrines among those who profess to be led by the Spirit of Truth in their ministrations? This has, doubtless, been a stumbling-block to many sincere, seeking souls. It can only be removed by bearing in mind the frailty of human nature, and the condescension of Infinite Goodness. The Spirit of Truth is infallible in itself; but man being fallible, is liable to mistake its dictates, unless preserved in watchfulness and humility.

It is the experience of all truly religious persons that, in their seasons of private devotion, subjects of deep interest to their spiritual welfare are sometimes opened to their view, and instruction is imparted to

them in the language of impressions made upon the mind. By this means they are enlightened in regard to the duties of life, and sometimes doctrinal subjects are opened to the understanding; but it does not appear that every doctrine of Christianity is always revealed in clearness, even to the most devoted minds. Now we must remember that ministers of the gospel are, in regard to their religious experience, taught in the same manner as others, by the illumination of divine grace, and on some subjects the light may not have shone, leaving them still under the influence of traditional opinions. Even the Apostle Paul acknowledged, "We know in part and we prophesy in part." * * * * "For now we see through a glass darkly."¹ They who are called to the gospel ministry are, at times, moved by an indescribable impulse, accompanied with love to God and man, to communicate to others the truths that have warmed their own hearts. This preparation for religious service is thus described by the Psalmist: "My heart was hot within me; while I was musing, the fire burned: then spake I with my tongue."²

When the Holy Spirit illuminates the understanding, all its faculties are quickened and invigorated. It is then that the chambers of memory are unlocked, and he who is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, "brings forth out of his treasures things new and old;" passages of Scripture adapted to the occasion are brought to mind, and sometimes seen in a new light; personal experience is revived and pertinently applied, and even the knowledge of the natural sciences stored in the mind may be brought forth and made subservient to the illustration of heavenly truth.

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 9-12.

² Ps. xxxix. 3.

A minister of the gospel, who is watchful and obedient, will generally be preserved from meddling with things too high for him, but if at any time he should be induced by undue excitement, or the association of ideas, to touch upon subjects on which he is not authorized to speak, he will, of course, handle them in accordance with his preconceived opinions. In almost every reflecting mind, some subjects or points of doctrine have claimed peculiar attention, and assumed unusual importance; these are always knocking for admission; and nothing short of entire self-renunciation will enable a minister to avoid their introduction at times when they are not authorized nor appropriate.

From these causes, a diversity of expression has resulted, even among ministers who have received a measure of the holy anointing; and it has often been observed that a discourse begun under the solemnizing influence of divine truth, has before its conclusion degenerated into a mere recitation of speculative opinions that did not profit the hearers. If we have evidence that some, who occasionally err in this manner, are at other times favored "to minister in the ability which God giveth," should we not reverence the condescension of Infinite Goodness, and, remembering our own weakness, be slow to censure our fellow-servants?

It has already been observed, that Friends in America generally held the views inculcated by Fox, Penn, Pennington and Barclay, and that great stress was laid upon the grace of God or spirit of Christ, as the efficient cause of salvation. This statement is fully sustained by the "Introduction to Christian Ad-

VICES," published in the year 1808, by the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia, viz.: —

“The following extracts have been compiled for the benefit of the members of our Yearly Meeting, that observing the travail of the Church under various concerns which, in divine wisdom, have been communicated for its weighty attention, they may be drawn to the *principle of Life and Light* manifested in the mind, which points out the path of duty, and can alone preserve therein.

“Our ancient Friends and their faithful successors to the present day have earnestly labored to turn the attention of all to *this pure spirit*, knowing from experience that it is the means appointed by God *for effecting our salvation*, and the *only foundation* of true religion and worship. As by this we have been led into divers testimonies which have distinguished us from most other professors of the Christian name, and fervently desire that all our members may walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing; thus every one filling his place in the body, we shall grow up into Him in all things, who is the Head, even Christ.”

These sentiments are further corroborated by the memorials of deceased Friends, issued by the same Yearly Meeting during a long series of years.

The following extract is from the “Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia for the Southern District concerning Deborah Evans, wife of William Evans.” “At another time she said, that some time back, upon hearing some parts of the New Testament read, respecting our Saviour, the query occurred, ‘What do I know of a Saviour?’ and it was presently followed by the evidence that she had felt a principle

in her own mind, which had shown her what was right and what was wrong, and that as she attended to it, it would prove a Saviour to her—and then said these expressions were brought to her remembrance, ‘To know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent is life eternal.’”

Such being the sentiments generally held by Friends composing the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, and to a considerable extent entertained by those of other Yearly Meetings on this continent; it is not surprising that the promulgation of the doctrines held by prominent Friends in England and their coadjutors in America, should have occasioned a blaze of religious controversy. Between the years 1819 and 1828, a large number of ministers from Great Britain visited the meetings of Friends in America, some of them remaining several years.

There are many persons now living, who can well remember the effects produced by the ministrations of William Forster, Isaac Stephenson, George Withey, Anna Braithwait, Elizabeth Robson, George Jones, Ann Jones, and Thomas Shillitoe.

William Forster, in his religious opinions, coincided entirely with Joseph John Gurney.¹ His ministry was however frequently of a practical character, and at times remarkable for its baptizing power. The variety of his subjects, the appropriateness of his illustrations, the purity of his language, and the depth of his feelings, rendered him an impressive and instructive minister of the gospel.

Isaac Stephenson was considered a plain, simple,

¹ See Chapter VII. Letter of W. Forster.

worthy friend, and a good minister. Most of the others were doctrinal in their communications, and being impressed with a belief that many Friends had embraced dangerous opinions, were frequent and severe in their denunciations against heresy. It is much to be lamented that their zeal for what are called orthodox doctrines should have induced them to aid in building up a party having in view the suppression of what they deemed heresy, and resorting for its accomplishment to arbitrary and oppressive measures that had the most disastrous results.

One of the favorite schemes of the ministers from England and their coadjutors in America, which however proved unsuccessful, was the appointment of a convention to be composed of delegates from all the Yearly Meetings of Friends, for the purpose of promoting uniformity in their codes of discipline. There can be no doubt that the promoters of this measure had also in view a uniformity in doctrines, and the adoption of a common declaration of faith, which, since the separation, they have carried into effect among themselves.¹

This scheme was considered, by a large number of Friends, very objectionable, inasmuch as it would place in the hands of a few men the power to remodel the code of discipline, and perhaps to impose a confession of faith not adapted to the condition of the several Yearly Meetings. Like the councils held in the fourth century under the imposing design of promoting uniformity of faith, it would probably have resulted, as they did, in abridging religious liberty and spreading dissension.

¹ See Testimony of the [Orthodox] Yearly Meetings in America, signed by Elisha Bates, clerk of the General Committee.

The first attempt to introduce this measure was made at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, where it met with so much opposition that it could not be adopted, but a postscript was added to the epistles addressed to other Yearly Meetings, suggesting it as a subject for consideration. At the Yearly Meeting held in New York in 1817, it was considered and rejected, Elias Hicks being one of those who opposed it. At the ensuing Yearly Meeting held in Baltimore, the subject was taken up, and after much deliberation, it was concluded to inform Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that it was the judgment of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, "advantages would arise to the Society from a conference of the several Yearly Meetings *on this continent*, by suitably qualified Friends appointed by each of them, in order that each Yearly Meeting may be put in possession, through this medium of the general state of society in America." This minute, it will be observed, did not embrace the original design, nor did it contemplate any co-operation with the Yearly Meeting of London. It appears not to have been satisfactory to the promoters of the scheme, and no further progress at that time was made.

The design, however, was not abandoned, as we learn by the following extract from a letter written in 1822, by Hugh Judge, an eminent minister of Ohio Yearly Meeting. "William Forster, the English Friend, revived in our Yearly Meeting last fall, the old subject, namely, the appointment of a congress as proposed in your Yearly Meeting some years past; and although our Yearly Meeting the year before had unitedly laid it asleep, yet William Forster, pressed the matter so much, that Friends, although contrary to the sense of the meeting, condescended

to take it on minute and appointed a committee to consider it and report, and called on the women to join them in it. But the women were wiser than the men, and dismissed the subject without further troubling themselves with it, and the men's committee reported that no way opened to take any step; and the meeting was for dismissing it, but William Forster urged the matter so hard that he prevailed on the meeting to refer it over to the next year for consideration."¹

In the year 1825, William Forster, being in Baltimore, had an interview with Evan Thomas, an eminent and devoted minister of the gospel, then in his 87th year, and their conversation, on account of an extraordinary prediction then uttered, was written down, soon after it occurred, by a Friend who was present at the time.

William Forster, referring to some incidents that had occurred in the course of his recent visit to the Southern and Western States, remarked: "He was convinced in many places through which he had passed, that unsound views were entertained by many of our members, and that he believed Elias Hicks had been instrumental in spreading doctrines and opinions that could not be owned by the Society of Friends. To this Evan Thomas replied that he believed Elias Hicks did hold some peculiar views which, perhaps, were not entertained by Friends generally; they were his honest opinions, however, and there could be no doubt were sincerely entertained by him. Upon this, William Forster observed, that some of these views were radically un-

¹ Narrative of Causes which led to the Separation, &c., p. 21.

sound and subversive of the fundamental and essential doctrines of Christianity, and then emphatically and with much earnestness of manner, asked Evan Thomas, if in any public communication or private conversation, he had ever heard Elias Hicks say, 'Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?' After some pause, Evan Thomas replied, 'I do not recollect that I ever did, yet he may have used these expressions, without exciting my attention to them. I have not felt it to be my place to sit as a watchman at the gate, to recollect and record particular words falling from the lips of any Friend, either in his public testimonies or private conversation. I generally endeavor to feel after and satisfy myself of the source whence public communications flow, and if they are accompanied by the Divine influence and power, I do not look critically into the exact words that may be used. I have long been acquainted with Elias Hicks and believe him to be a consistent, faithful testimony bearer; and although I may not agree with him in all his views, yet I can own him as a brother beloved, and have no doubt he has been called to the ministry by the Head of the church.' To this William Forster replied: 'I consider him to be altogether unsound in his views—that he has done a great deal of harm, by extensively spreading dangerous opinions among Friends in this country, and am convinced, *a separation must and will take place in the Society in America.*'"¹

From these expressions, uttered two years before the separation, we may conclude, that Wm. Forster, and probably others of the English visitors, looked

¹ Narrative of the Causes which led to the Separation, &c., p. 37

forward to such a separation as had taken place in Ireland, in the beginning of the century when the Orthodox party remained in the ascendancy and their opposers were scattered as sheep without a shepherd. The two cases, however, were not parallel; for the views advanced by those who were called Separatists in Ireland, both in regard to doctrine and discipline, were not the same as those held by Elias Hicks and his friends, and moreover the Friends in America were less submissive to English authority than their brethren in Ireland.

The Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland, before the date of those troubles, was, "in matters of faith and principle," subordinate to that of London, and has since continued in that condition; whereas the Yearly Meetings in America had never acknowledged such subordination, but each of them in its government was independent of all others, though united in Christian fellowship.

The views advanced in sermons and conversations, and promulgated in the writings of English Friends, were controverted by some of the most prominent Friends in America, and embraced by others.

The latter class, in ranging themselves as the advocates of orthodoxy, did not all hold the precise views of Joseph John Gurney, but they all lent their countenance and support to the ministers from England, and used language in their religious communications *which led the public to believe that they were thoroughly orthodox*. Subsequent developments have shown that they were not united in doctrine, and the consequence has been, controversy and division among themselves, accompanied with feelings not

less adverse to each other than those they manifested towards Elias Hicks.

In speaking of the two parties composing the Society between the years 1822 and 1828, it is necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to designate them by different names, and no reasonable objection can be made to the use of those chosen by themselves respectively. The class who adhered to the English doctrines assumed the name of Orthodox, as appears by their publications, and especially by their two bills in chancery addressed to the governor and chancellor of New Jersey in the year 1828.¹

One of their counsel, Isaac H. Williamson, declared, also, on their behalf, "We are not dissatisfied with the name given to us. Ever since the fourth century when the controversy arose between the Arians and the Trinitarians, those who adhered to what are termed *trinitarian doctrines* have been called 'Orthodox.'" ² By this appellation I shall therefore distinguish them, without vouching for its literal correctness. The other class were, by the Orthodox, called Hicksites, but they continually and perseveringly disclaimed the title, being unwilling to acknowledge any other name than that of Friends. In their answer to the Bill in Chancery filed against them in New Jersey, they say, "That in the said Chesterfield Preparative Meeting of Friends, at Crosswicks, the minor party assuming the name of the Orthodox party, have separated from the majority, who still claim and are entitled to the primary and ancient title of Friends, and have endeavored to bestow upon them the name of Hicksites, but which term

¹ Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 7, 32. ² Arguments of Counsel, p. 60.

the said Society of Friends altogether disclaim, and deny that they are the followers of any man or *set* of men; but are endeavoring conscientiously to maintain the regular discipline and government of the Society of Friends;—that they believe in the doctrines of the Christian religion as set forth in the New Testament, and as professed by ancient Friends.”¹ This class will, therefore, in this work, be designated as Friends.

In the doctrinal controversy which continued for many years, both parties claimed to be the genuine successors of the early Friends, alike in doctrine and practice, and each charged the other with a departure, in important particulars, from the original doctrines of the Society. In order to sustain these assertions, many publications were issued consisting chiefly of extracts from the writings of the early Friends, which were generally *one-sided*; each party selecting those passages which favored its own views. This method of conducting a controversy does not always arise from disingenuousness; it frequently springs from that quality of human nature which induces almost every man to regard with peculiar interest that which concerns himself or his party, and to overlook that which concerns others.

This may be illustrated by reference to the effect generally produced upon those who, standing on an eminence, survey the district of country in which they live. In the scene outspread before them, they note with deep interest their own neighborhood or city, and especially their own habitations; but they often overlook other features of the landscape of equal

¹ Foster's Reports, Vol. I. p. 24.

general interest, and these, if seen, make less impression on the memory.

In like manner, the members of every sect in Christendom note with most interest, and remember with most accuracy, those passages of Scripture that support their own views.

In this examination, it is important to observe, that the orthodox party, while claiming to hold the ancient doctrines of the Society, classed themselves among the "*Trinitarian sects*," and asserted that there was a *remarkable harmony* "as regards most of the doctrines of the Christian religion" between the early Friends and Christian professors generally.¹

Thus they say, in their Pleadings in Chancery: "In what among Protestants are commonly deemed the great essentials of Christianity, the religious sentiments of the Society of Friends, or people called Quakers, are in accordance with the doctrines commonly entertained by the other Protestant sects of Christians who arose after the dawn of the great Protestant reformation in Europe." * * * * "That the principal difference between the people called Quakers and *other Protestant Trinitarian sects*, in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, is, that the latter attach the idea of individual personage to the three, as what they consider a fair logical inference from the doctrines expressly laid down in the Holy Scriptures. The people called Quakers on the other hand, considering it a mystery beyond finite, human conception, *take up the doctrine as expressly laid down in the Scripture*, and have not considered themselves warranted in making deductions however specious."

¹ Testimony of Thos. Evans, Foster's Report, Vol. I. p. 298.

“In the second place, the people called Quakers have always believed in the doctrine of the atonement; that the divine and human nature of Jesus Christ the Saviour were united; that thus united he suffered, and that through his sufferings, death, and resurrection, he atoned for the sins of men.” * * * *

“That such are the doctrines entertained and adopted by the ancient Society of Friends, and that the same doctrines are still entertained by the *Orthodox party aforesaid*, to which party your orator belongs. That these doctrines are with the said religious Society fundamental, and any individual entertaining sentiments and opinions contrary to all or any of the above-mentioned doctrines, is held not to be in the same faith with the Society of Friends, or people called Quakers, and is treated accordingly.”¹

Samuel Bettle, clerk of the Orthodox Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, testified as follows:

“*Question.* Did ancient Friends accord in sentiment with the other Protestant sects, in regard to the atonement, the trinity, and the divine authority of the Scriptures, and the divine nature of the Saviour.

“*Answer.* As far as I know the profession of other Protestant sects on these subjects, *Friends agree with them in substance*, as explained in my examination in chief. On reflection, I do believe there is a discrimination in respect to the Scriptures. Friends do not profess to believe the Scriptures to be the word spoken of by the evangelist John;—they hold that Christ was the Word, but they believe that the Scriptures were the product of revelation from God, and in that sense the words of God.”²

¹ Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 1, 6, 7.

² Ibid. p. 78.

As we know of no Protestant sect that profess to believe the Scriptures to be “the *Word spoken of by the Evangelist John*,” — the Word that was in the beginning with God and was God,¹ — we may infer that the question was answered by Samuel Bettle in the affirmative.

From this testimony, given in a court of equity, we must conclude that the orthodox party then professed to hold substantially the same doctrines, in regard to the Scriptures, the Trinity, original sin, and atonement, that were held by the Church of England and “*other Protestant Trinitarian sects*,” and we know from the testimony of the Bishop of Norwich and other distinguished churchmen, that Joseph John Gurney was, in their estimation, thoroughly orthodox. It follows, as a necessary consequence, that the Orthodox party in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore professed, in 1828, the same doctrines as Joseph John Gurney, although many leading members of that party have since disavowed them.

Their disavowal may be found in “An Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends,” published by direction of the Orthodox Yearly Meeting, held at Arch Street House, Philadelphia, in the year 1847. This document is chiefly a review of the doctrinal writings of Joseph John Gurney, containing many extracts from his works, *without the insertion of his name*. After contrasting his views with those of the early Friends, in relation to reason and faith, imputative righteousness, justification, and sanctification; the flesh and blood of Christ; the distinct personality of Father, Son, and Holy

¹ See Crudeu's Conc., article WORD.

Spirit; and the resurrection of the body; they proceed as follows:—

“These passages here brought together contain sentiments in many respects at variance with those held by our ancient Friends, and always professed by our Religious Society. There are others of similar character scattered through these works, and many which are unsatisfactory, either on account of want of clearness and consistency with our principles, or containing terms which Friends do not approve. That in various places Christian doctrine is supported on Scriptural ground is undoubtedly true; and it may be owing to this circumstance that many, even in our own Society, have not appreciated the weighty objections to which, in many respects, these writings are liable. We believe the sentiments contained in the passages which we have quoted have had an injurious influence, in producing feelings of discord and division among Friends; and however these feelings may have been increased by other causes, they are, we believe, mainly to be attributed to the publication and circulation of those writings.”¹

As the most elaborate of those writings, “The Essays on Christianity” appeared in 1825, and some others of Gurney’s doctrinal writings were published at an earlier date; it is very remarkable that his errors were not detected and exposed by the lynx-eyed critics among the orthodox party in Philadelphia prior to the lamented separation of 1827. Had they then seen and acknowledged that the doctrines called orthodox are not consistent with primitive Christian-

¹ An Appeal, &c., p. 51.

ity, as professed by the early Friends, the calamitous effects of that separation might have been avoided.

In addition to their "Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines," we have, in a recent publication, the corroborating testimony of Jonathan Evans, the prime mover and leader of the opposition to Elias Hicks and his friends.

In the year 1837, he wrote to John Wilbur a letter containing the following passage:—

"This man, J. J. Gurney, because he has written much, is considered very learned, highly polished, and an acute reasoner, and being very rich, and living in high style, is greatly caressed, and esteemed as almost a prodigy among us. I have perused a great deal of his writings, and have been sorely distressed at the darkness and confusion which is almost inseparable from their contents. The Hebrew and Greek languages being very limited, one word in them will sometimes embrace several significations, some of which will be in entire contrast with others; this he has caught at, and then made use of those opposite senses to vary the present translation of the Scriptures, and to promote his purpose in undervaluing and contradicting the solid sense and judgment of our ancient Friends, that he may the more readily introduce and propagate Episcopalian doctrines. He tries to make out that the eating of the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ, means a belief in his incarnation, thus lowering down that deep experience and blessed fellowship in spirit with the Lord Jesus, in his baptisms and sufferings, to a mere assent of the human mind,—that the gospel, which is preached in or to every human being, means the outward preaching of the gospel doctrines, that is, the declaration of the

atonement of Christ; that the name of Jesus does not signify his power, but only to ask of the Father that he would grant our petitions, merely because of his beloved Son, Jesus Christ; that therefore we are not to look for the immediate influence of the Spirit, as a qualification to pray, but to push forward into this offering whenever we incline to it; and many other changes he makes which I can call by no other name than perversions. He endeavors to make out that our primitive Friends were under mistaken views, in order that he may with more facility lay waste the doctrines and testimonies they held, and prepare us to embrace new schemes which will be more acceptable to the unregenerate man; liberate us from the mortifying operation of the cross of Christ, and cause us as a Society to be more respected by the carnal, superficial professors of religion in the several denominations.”¹

In reply to these severe strictures on the doctrines and motives of J. J. Gurney, it may safely be asserted that he was sincere in his professions, and therefore entitled to respect; but we can only surmise what motives could have induced the leaders of the Orthodox party in 1827–28, to give their countenance and support to the promulgation of doctrines they have since disavowed.

It is worthy of note, that two English ministers, Thomas Shillitoe and George Jones, who, while in America, were understood by the public to preach the doctrines commonly called orthodox, found it incumbent on them, in the prospect of death, to bear their testimony against the writings of Joseph John Gur-

¹ Journal and Cor. John Wilbur, p. 228.

ney, and one of them confessed his contrition for not having done it, as required by a sense of duty, at an earlier date. Three days before his decease, Thomas Shillitoe requested a friend to commit to writing the following declaration "against the generality of the writings of J. J. Gurney:" "I declare the author is an Episcopalian, not a Quaker. I apprehend J. J. Gurney is no Quaker in principle. Episcopalian views were imbibed from his education, and still remain with him. I love the man for the work's sake, so far as it goes, but he has never been emptied from vessel to vessel, and from sieve to sieve, nor known the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and of fire to cleanse the floor of his heart from his Episcopalian notions. He has spread a linsey-woolsey garment over our members; but in a future day it will be stripped off, it will be too short for them, as they will be without Jesus Christ the Lord. This is my dying testimony, and I must sign it. If I had been faithful, I should have expressed it in the last Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders [1836], but I hope I shall be forgiven. Oh! Lord accept me with the best I have."¹

George Jones, in a letter, dated 9th of 5th month, 1839, addressed to the members of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, London, after expressing his decided disapprobation of the writings of J. J. Gurney, thus continues: "These things have rested much on my mind, particularly during my present illness, and it must be very evident that J. J. Gurney's interpretations of the Scriptures are so contrary to those of the Society from its first commencement, that if his interpretations are to prevail, then the

¹ J. Wilbur's Narrative, p. 345.

Society must change its ground, and become an inconsistent mixture of Quakerism and Episcopalianism." * * * * "These things have deeply impressed and afflicted the minds of our dear Friends Thomas Shillitoe and John Barclay, who are in mercy gathered to their everlasting rest."¹

As the objectionable writings of Joseph John Gurney had been published and widely circulated by Friends twelve years and upwards, before these disavowals were made, may we not conclude that the unfaithfulness to manifested duty, so feelingly confessed by Thomas Shillitoe, was no less attributable to many other Friends in England and America, who gave their countenance to doctrines that, in their hearts, they did not approve? Alas! for poor human nature; those Friends could denounce the unpopular views attributed to Elias Hicks, but they could not bear witness against the innovations of popular theology, when dressed up in attractive language and recommended by the possessors of wealth and high social position.

May we not apply to Jonathan Evans and his party, the language he used in relation to Joseph John Gurney: they supported a scheme which would "liberate us from the mortifying operation of the cross of Christ and cause us as a Society to be more respected by the carnal, superficial professors of religion in the several denominations." According to their own mode of reasoning, they were responsible for the doctrines preached by the English Friends, some of whom held precisely the views of Gurney, and yet were acknowledged by the orthodox party in Philadelphia as sound gospel ministers.

¹ J. Wilbur's Narrative, p. 348.

CHAPTER X.

DISCIPLINE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE origin and character of that system of Church government which, in its essential features, was recommended by George Fox, and, with some modifications, adopted by the Society of Friends, have been noticed in the preceding narrative,¹ and more fully described in a previous work.² It is therefore deemed needless to enter into its details, further than may be requisite to promote a clear understanding of the transactions to be related.

MEETINGS FOR DISCIPLINE.

The meetings for discipline in the Society of Friends are called Preparative, Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly. The Preparative meeting generally consists of a single congregation: it is not a meeting of record; its purpose is to prepare and report business for the Monthly meeting to which it is subordinate. The Monthly meeting may consist of a single congregation, or be composed of several Preparative meetings contiguous to each other. This is considered the executive organ of the Society, being intrusted with the power of receiving or disowning members, granting or accepting certificates of removal, directing and recording the solemnization of marriages, keeping a register of births and deaths, providing

¹ See Hist. Vol. I. Chap. XVIII., and Vol. II. Chap. X.

² See Dissertation on Discipline, Janney's Life of G. Fox, p. 479.

for the support of the poor and the education of their children, inquiring at stated periods into the condition of the Society within its limits, and forwarding an account of the same to the Quarterly meeting. The Quarterly meeting is usually composed of several Monthly meetings contiguous to each other, and in some cases it is held alternately at different places. Its purpose is to receive the reports from the Monthly meetings, which are subordinate to it, and embody them in a general report to the Yearly meeting. It has a general supervision of the Monthly meetings composing it.

The Yearly meeting is composed of all the Quarterly meetings within certain limits, which send representatives to attend it and lay before it a written report. The representatives have no more power than other members in attendance, except that they are required to meet together and nominate a clerk, and to examine and report upon any other business that may be referred to them. Any member, who may feel himself aggrieved by the judgment of a Monthly meeting, may, after a copy of his testimony of disownment is delivered to him, give due notice of his intention to appeal to the Quarterly meeting; and if the Quarterly meeting shall decide against him, he may in like manner appeal to the Yearly meeting, whose judgment in the case is final.

The Yearly meeting exercises a general supervision over all the meetings within its limits, and issues advices in relation to the state of the Society and the support of its testimonies. It is the highest tribunal in the Society, and has power to enact, modify, or abrogate the rules of discipline; but this authority is usually exercised with great caution and delibera-

tion, and only with the general concurrence of those in attendance. When an alteration in the rules of discipline is thought desirable, the usual course is, for a member "feeling the concern" to propose it in his Monthly meeting, and if there approved, the proposition is forwarded in the report to the Quarterly meeting, where it is considered, and if united with, forwarded in the report to the Yearly meeting.

The several Yearly meetings throughout the world are independent of each other, except the Yearly meeting of Dublin, which, "in matters of faith and principle," is subordinate to that of London. The Yearly meetings prior to the year 1827, were as follows: London, Dublin, New England, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio, and Indiana. They kept up an epistolary correspondence, and, in all essential points, their codes of discipline were nearly the same.

In all the meetings for discipline, every member not under dealings for a breach of discipline, is at liberty to sit and participate in the proceedings. The men and women meet in separate apartments, and are co-ordinate branches of the same meeting, each having a clerk of its own, but in some cases they appoint joint committees to prepare business in which both branches are interested. The clerks are nominated by committees, and after consideration appointed by the meeting. It is the duty of the clerk to gather the sense or judgment of the members present, and to record their decisions on such questions as may come before them.

"In these solemn assemblies," says Wm. Penn, "no one presides among them after the manner of the assemblies of other people, Christ only being their

president, as he is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them, to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, *not of authority but conviction*; which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and spirit in his people; making good his blessed promise that 'He would be in the midst of his, where and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world.' "

It is obvious that a church thus constituted cannot act upon the principle of political bodies where a majority governs; and it is still more objectionable for a minority to assume the right to govern. The only way to preserve "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" is for every member who participates in such meetings to draw nigh to the Fountain of light and life, in order to ask wisdom of God, "who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not." While waiting upon Him in this frame of mind, each member is at liberty, under a sense of duty, to express his views with meekness, and if they proceed from the pure teachings of the Spirit of Truth, they will meet the witness for truth in other minds, and being responded to, will generally prevail over the meeting. It sometimes occurs that one of the younger members, being unbiassed and wholly resigned to follow his impressions of duty, becomes the instrument to point out the right course, which being acceded to by others, is adopted by the meeting; but in most cases the older and more experienced members are expected to take the lead in all matters of importance. Although there may, at first, be some diversity of sentiment, it seldom happens that a meeting where Divine love prevails, is long in doubt concerning any matter that

is necessary to be decided. A meeting may be thrown into confusion by entering into the discussion of questions with which it has no proper concern, in which case, stepping out of its province, it has no right to expect divine guidance. If a considerable degree of unanimity cannot be attained, it is best not to insist upon a decision, but rather to wait and adjourn from time to time, or dismiss the question. When discipline cannot be exercised with good feelings and tolerable unanimity, it is better to stand still; for if unity and love do not prevail, it is an evidence that the Spirit of Christ does not sanction our proceedings, and, like the Israelites of old, we should be careful not to move forward so long as "the cloud rests upon the tabernacle, whether it be two days, or a month, or a year."¹

This system of church government, being in accordance with the principles of Christianity, is beautiful and perfect in theory; and so long as the Spirit of Christ was permitted to bear rule, producing love and unity in the body, it was completely successful in practice. It is not, however, so well adapted to a divided church, in which jealousy, party spirit, and contention prevail. The difficulty and delicacy of the duty imposed on the clerk, of collecting and recording the judgment of the meeting, without a vote being taken, is so great, that in times of excitement and conflicting opinions, few persons can be found competent to the task. It is maintained by some that, not numbers, but weight of religious character, is the true ground of decision. But this does not remove the difficulty;

¹ This paragraph is reproduced from my Dissertation on Christian Discipline, appended to Life of G. Fox, p. 486.

for who is competent to estimate the weight and decide the preponderance when party spirit shakes the scales? If the clerk is to be the sole judge, he and a small minority united with him in sentiment, may carry their measures over the heads of a large majority more weighty than themselves as regards religious experience and consistency of conduct.

In view of these difficulties, it may be asked, Shall we then, in seasons of unusual excitement and agitation, determine questions in meetings for discipline by the voice of a majority, as they do in most other religious societies? To adopt the system of voting in Friends' meetings for discipline would be a departure from the principles of church government originally established, and would evince a want of confidence in the promise of Christ, "Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." "For when two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

By adhering to the course pursued by the Society in its earlier days, all the difficulties alluded to may be overcome. No question was decided against the judgment and continued opposition of a respectable minority. If such a minority decidedly objected to any measure, it was not forced through the meeting, but postponed or abandoned, unless a more general acquiescence could be attained. Some inconveniences may, at times, attend this course, but great benefits will ultimately result from it. The dangers attendant on hasty action may thus be avoided, and the exercise of patience, forbearance and condescension will promote the growth of all the qualities that adorn and ennoble the Christian character.

To decide questions of church discipline in this

manner requires the assent of more than a bare majority of the members in attendance; it implies a general acquiescence, and does not call in question that great and beneficent principle, which lies at the root of civil and religious liberty in America — the right of the majority to govern.

In the printed epistle of the Yearly Meeting of London, dated 1735, the following advice is given in relation to meetings for discipline: “We recommend as a means very conducive to the preservation of Friends, a people of one heart and one way, for the good of themselves and their children after them, that the discipline of the church in the several meetings instituted for that purpose be kept up and managed in a spirit of wisdom and love. Let all things in those meetings be done with charity; let the love of God in an especial manner rule in their hearts; and therein though sometimes different sentiments may arise, yet will every particular member have the same thing in view, viz., the glory of God and the good of his church and people, and in this singleness of heart they will best promote the great end and service of those meetings.”

These advices correspond with the views of Geo. Fox, who, in his epistles, frequently exhorts Friends “to hold all their meetings in the power of God.”

“So Friends are not,” he says, “to meet like a company of people about town or parish business, neither in their men’s nor women’s meetings; but to wait upon the Lord; and feeling his power and spirit to lead them and order them to his glory; that so whatsoever they may do, they may do it to the praise and glory of God, and in unity in the faith,

and in the spirit, and in fellowship in the order of the gospel, &c.”¹

OVERSEERS.

The Rules of Discipline require that in every Monthly Meeting of Friends, a proper number of judicious men and women Friends be appointed to the Station of Overseers; “whose duty it shall be to exercise a vigilant and tender care over their fellow-members, that if anything repugnant to the harmony and good order of the Society appears amongst them, it may be timely attended to. And to prevent the introduction of all unnecessary and premature complaints into meetings of discipline, it is advised that if any member shall have cause of complaint against another, it be mentioned to the overseers, who are to see that the party complained of has been treated with, according to gospel order, previously to the case being reported to the Preparative or Monthly Meeting.”

MEETINGS OF MINISTERS AND ELDERS.

The Society of Friends, from its rise to the present day, has always maintained that gospel ministry is not of man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, agreeably to the apostolical charge:—“As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. . If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified, through Jesus Christ, to

¹ Fox's Epistles, pp. 349, 350.

whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever.”
1 *Pet.* iv. 10.

Soon after the rise of the Society, the ministers occasionally met together for consultation and mutual aid, and as early as the year 1672 a Yearly Meeting of ministers was held in London.

One of the objects contemplated in the establishment of such meetings is thus stated in an epistle of George Fox, dated 1674. “At your general assemblies of the ministry at London, or elsewhere, examine as it was at first, whether all the ministers that go forth into the countries, do walk as becomes the gospel; for that you know was one end of that meeting, to prevent and take away scandal; and to examine whether all do keep in the government of Christ Jesus, that preach him, and in the order of the gospel, and to exhort them that do not. For the foundation is already laid which is Christ, and his government is set up, of the increase of which there is no end.”

The first establishment of meetings for worship and discipline in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, has already been related.¹

A Yearly Meeting of ministers was also instituted at an early date, as appears by the following minute of the general Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia in the year 1665, viz.: “It is agreed that Friends in the ministry do meet together on First-day morning at the seventh hour, before the public general meeting, in such place as shall be prepared by the public Friends in each town where the meeting shall be held that year.” At the same time it was concluded

¹ Hist., Vol. II. pp. 374, 384.

that the General Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey should thereafter meet alternately at Philadelphia and Burlington.

In the year 1714, the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, at the request of some of the Quarterly meetings, issued the following minute: "This meeting agrees, that the Quarterly meeting do recommend to each Monthly meeting within their respective limits that they choose two or more Friends out of each Monthly meeting, (where meetings of ministers are or shall be held,) to sit with the ministers in their meetings; taking care that the Friends chosen for that service be prudent, solid Friends, and that they do carefully discharge their trust in such matters, and in such manner as the Monthly meeting shall from time to time see occasion to appoint them."¹

This appears to be the first advice issued by the Yearly Meeting in relation to the appointment of elders, and it is observable that they were to discharge their trust in obedience to the directions of the Monthly meetings. Ministers and Elders held Preparative, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings of their own, which were frequently called Select Meetings. At these meetings, Queries relating to their conduct and conversation, and the soundness of the ministry, were periodically considered and answered. It was expressly provided by a rule of discipline that they should not "in any wise interfere with the business of any *Meeting for Discipline*." Their meetings were not classed among the meetings for discipline, having no power to control the other members, nor to propose any rules relating to faith or practice.

¹ MS. Discipline of 1762.

In 1797, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia issued the following minute: "When the gifts of ministers are considered and approved by a Monthly meeting, and a minute thereof forwarded to the Quarterly meeting of Ministers and Elders, the sense and concurrence of that meeting ought to be had before such minister be reputed as a received and approved minister, or admitted to sit in the meetings of Ministers and Elders, or travel abroad in the ministry." And finally, the rule of discipline now in force was established in 1806, that the Preparative meeting of Ministers and Elders (within the limits of each Monthly meeting) should take the initiatory step in the recommendation of ministers. When any Friend has frequently appeared as a minister, and that meeting apprehends it is seasonable and proper to bring the subject before the Monthly meeting, it is at liberty to do so; and if the Monthly meeting unites in believing that a gift in the ministry has been committed to the individual, the case is to be forwarded to the Quarterly meeting of Ministers and Elders, and if concurrence is there expressed, the Friend is to be considered an approved minister.

It will be observed that all the proceedings in such cases are predicated upon the ground that a gift in the ministry can only be conferred by the Head of the Church, and that no ecclesiastical authority can give a call to that solemn service. When a gift has been conferred, it is the duty of the Church to acknowledge it, and to give such counsel and encouragement as may be deemed appropriate. When a minister thus acknowledged, has a prospect of travelling and appointing meetings beyond the limits

of his Quarterly meeting, it is advised that the subject be laid before the Monthly meeting, and if concurred with, that a certificate be granted by that meeting, recommending him to the Christian care and attention of Friends where he may be called to labor. If the prospect of religious service be extensive, the certificate thus granted is to be laid before the Quarterly meeting for discipline; and if the field of labor lies "beyond the sea," the concurrence of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders is required. The meeting last concerned in sanctioning such religious visits, is required to see that a suitable companion be provided to travel with the minister, and if deemed needful, that pecuniary aid for the expenses of the journey be furnished; but such aid is not offered to those who have means to pay their own expenses without diminishing the comfort of their families; nor is anything in the nature of a compensation for preaching sanctioned by the discipline or approved writings of Friends.

It was the advice of Geo. Fox, frequently reiterated, that Friends should not oppose or judge one another in meetings for divine worship. Thus he writes: "All Friends in your meetings do not quench the Spirit. And take heed, and do not judge one another in the meetings, but have patience until the meeting be done: so that if any have anything upon him to speak to another, he may speak to him *after the meeting is done*; that will cover one another's weakness and not hurt others."¹

In accordance with this advice a rule of discipline was made, and is still in force, viz.: "As the occasion

¹ Epistles of G. F., p. 128.

of our religious meetings is solemn, a care should be maintained to guard against anything that would tend to disorder and confusion therein; when any think they have aught against what is publicly delivered, they should speak to the party privately, and if any shall oppose a minister in his or her preaching or exhortation, or keep on the hat, or show any remarkable dislike to such when engaged in prayer, let them be speedily admonished in such manner as may be requisite, unless the ministry of the person against whom the uneasiness is expressed, has been disapproved by the Monthly Meeting.”¹

The Yearly Meeting minute of 1714, already quoted, for the appointment of elders, was subsequently explained by another minute to apply to both sexes, and women as well as men were accordingly appointed to that service by the Monthly Meetings.

The term for which elders were appointed was not mentioned in the Yearly Meeting's minute, nor was the power of removal by Monthly Meetings expressly stated. These questions will be found important in the prosecution of this examination, and can best be determined by reference to the usage which ensued under the rule. If any of the Monthly Meetings appointed elders for a limited term, or exercised the right of removing them from their stations, we may conclude that the power they exercised was then conceded.

The first appointment made by Middletown Monthly Meeting, Bucks County, was in the 12th month, 1714. The minute reads as follows: “This meeting doth appoint Thomas Baynes and John Penquite (according

¹ Balt. Y. M., Book of Disc. as adopted in 1806.

to the order of the Yearly Meeting) to sit with the ministers in their meetings; and that there be a new election *every year or oftener*, if there be occasion.”¹ In the 7th month, 1729, the same meeting placed on record, that Thomas Baynes being removed from among them, they appointed John Wildman along with Adam Harker, “to serve in his stead *until further orders*.”² From 1730 the Middletown records contain no expressed limitation of the term for which elders were appointed.

Falls Monthly Meeting, held 11th mo. 1714, made its first appointment of elders without expressing in the minute any limitation as to their term of service. And in the 11th month, 1726, two of the elders formerly appointed having, “through age,” grown weak and infirm, and not “well able to travel,” two others “were appointed in their places.”³

Newark Monthly Meeting, (since called Kennet,) and Concord Monthly Meeting, both of which belonged to a Quarterly Meeting then called Chester, sometimes made their appointment of elders without limitation, but at other times they were appointed “to *serve till further orders*.”

At Concord Monthly Meeting, in the year 1778, a minute was made as follows: “This meeting having some time ago recommended to the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, Hannah Carter as an elder, do now discontinue her from being a member thereof.” The same Monthly Meeting, in the year 1782, reinstated Hannah Carter in the sta-

¹ Middletown M. M. Records, A., p. 122.

² Ibid. p. 233.

³ Falls Records, 1st Vol. to 1731.

tion of an elder, at the request of Birmingham Preparative Meeting.¹

In 1777, a member of Concord Monthly Meeting, having violated a rule of discipline, made an acknowledgment for the offence, which was accepted; but he being at the time an elder, was removed from that station by the Monthly Meeting, and information thereof given to the Select Meeting.

The Monthly Meeting of Buckingham, from 1720 to 1746, expressed in its minutes on the appointment of elders no limitation as to time, but in the latter year a Friend was appointed to that station, "till further appointments."

These selections are sufficient to show that the power to remove elders from their stations was exercised by the Monthly Meetings, when they deemed it expedient, which, however, was seldom the case. The Yearly Meeting's minute of 1714, recommending the appointment of elders, directs that Monthly Meetings shall take care that the Friends chosen for that service "do carefully discharge their trust," which was doubtless understood to imply that they might be removed from the station, if their trusts were not properly and faithfully discharged.

In 1806, a rule of discipline was adopted, which, without abridging the power of Monthly Meetings to deal with ministers and elders, requires the Select Meetings to extend timely and tender care over them, provided their cases have not been taken up by a "*meeting for discipline.*" The minute reads as follows: "If any acknowledged member of our Meetings of Ministers and Elders shall at any time be thought, by negligence, unfaithfulness,

¹ Michener's Retrospect, p. 172.

or otherwise, to have lost his or her service in that station, so as to become burthensome and the subject of uneasiness, (yet not so as to be under the care of a meeting of discipline on that account, or for misconduct,) it is advised that a timely and tender care be extended to such person, according to gospel order: first by the individuals concerned, and then by the Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders to which he or she may belong. Should these labours prove unavailing, report of the case should be made to the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, where a few Friends should be deputed to assist the said Preparative Meeting in a further extension of labour with the party; if this also prove unavailing, and on report thereof to the said Quarterly Meeting, it appears that the said Preparative Meeting has fully discharged its duty to the individual, the case should then be transmitted to the Monthly Meeting for Discipline of which the party is a member, and left under its care, and he or she ought from that time to refrain from attending any such meetings until they shall again be recommended or appointed as at first.”¹

On examination of the clause in *parentheses* it will appear that the Select Meetings cannot interfere with any case where a minister or elder is under the care of a *meeting of discipline* for misconduct, or on account of having become burdensome through “negligence, unfaithfulness, or otherwise.”

This rule of discipline was doubtless intended to provide a method of exercising a tender care over ministers and elders without unnecessary exposure, in order to reconcile differences and prevent the dis-

¹ Book of Discip., Balt. Y. M., 1806.

cord that might arise from the discussion of their cases in the Monthly meetings. But it does not deprive the meetings for discipline of original jurisdiction in such cases, and certainly never was intended to screen ministers and elders from being dealt with by Monthly meetings when occasion required it. In the progress of this examination it will be seen that the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in Philadelphia denied the authority of a Monthly Meeting to remove some of its elders from office when they had ceased to be in unity with it, thus interfering with the business of a meeting for discipline in violation of a rule established by the Yearly Meeting.

MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

The institution of a Meeting for Sufferings by the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey has already been noticed.¹

It was designed, as its name indicates, to relieve the sufferings of Friends, who at that time were exposed, in the frontier settlements, to the ravages of war. Its functions were afterwards enlarged, and its power being long continued in the same hands, continued to increase until it became an institution of great importance, and exercised a controlling influence. As some of the disturbances in the Society originated in the action of this body, the nature of its functions and the extent of its power demand our attention.

In the year 1756, a committee appointed by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, recommended that a fund be raised for the relief of suffering Friends, and that

¹ History of Friends, Vol. III. Chap. XII.

it be placed under the care of a committee twelve of whom should be nominated by the Yearly Meeting and four by each of the Quarterly meetings. The recommendation was adopted by the meeting, as was also the following clause of the report, viz. :—

“That the services proposed to be transacted by them be: To hear and consider the cases of any Friends under suffering, especially such as suffer from the Indians or other enemies, and to administer such relief as they may find necessary, or to apply to government or persons in power on their behalf. To correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings, or the Yearly Meeting of London; and to represent the state of the affairs of Friends here; and in general, to represent this meeting, and appear in all cases where the reputation of Truth and our religious Society are concerned; provided that they *do not meddle with matters of faith or discipline*, not already determined in this Yearly Meeting; and that at least twelve should concur on all occasions; and that in matters of great importance, notice be given or sent to all the members of the committee.”¹

Such was the origin of the Meeting for Sufferings, or Representative Committee, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It was at the same time intrusted, by a minute of the Yearly Meeting, with the care and application of charitable legacies and donations, and required to give advice, when needed, concerning the titles of land or other estate belonging to the several meetings.

The Yearly Meeting of 1757 adopted the following minute: “The minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings

¹ MS. Book of Discipline, 1762.

having been read," * * * * "it is unanimously agreed that the said meeting should be continued, and that the Friends nominated last year be continued members of that meeting; who in conjunction with those chosen by the several Quarterly meetings, shall be and continue the Meeting for Sufferings until the respective Quarterly meetings shall *nominate and appoint others in the rooms or places of those chosen by them last year.*"¹

Buck's Quarterly Meeting, in the 11th month, same year, after noticing on its records the foregoing minute, continued two, and appointed two other Friends, as representatives "for the ensuing year."

For some years after the institution of the Meeting for Sufferings, the Yearly Meeting adopted *each year* a minute for its continuance, "as at *present constituted, reserving to each Quarterly meeting the right of changing any of the members in the places where they were respectively nominated.*" Or, as expressed in another of the minutes, "reserving to the Quarterly meetings the right of changing any of their members when they think proper."² The Yearly Meeting, in 1764, directed, that "when there is an apparent neglect of the members nominated by the Yearly Meeting, the said Meeting for Sufferings is authorized to appoint other Friends in the room of such, if, after seasonable admonition, they continue to neglect or decline attending; and to acquaint the Quarterly meetings respectively, where they observe any nominated to represent them continue neglectful of giving proper attendance, in order *that such Quarterly meetings may appoint others.*"

¹ Michener's Retrospect, p. 33, and Yearly Extracts, 1757.

² Minutes of Phila. Yearly Meeting, 1757 to 1762 inclusive.

In the year 1768, the following minute was adopted by the Yearly Meeting: "The proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings for the year past being read and approved, it is agreed to continue that meeting *agreeable to former minutes*, until this meeting may think it necessary *to order the contrary.*"

Thenceforward the Meeting for Sufferings was considered a standing committee, responsible to the Yearly Meeting for its proceedings; but the right of the Quarterly meetings to change their representatives in it when they thought proper, was never taken from them nor relinquished. Some of the Quarterly meetings most distant from the city of Philadelphia, generally appointed for their representatives Friends residing in or near the City for the sake of convenience in attending; thus the power of this body, being concentrated within a narrow compass, and long continued in the same hands, gave rise to a feeling of independence and self-importance which ultimately led the ruling members of that body to maintain that they were appointed for life and could not be removed by the Quarterly meetings.

CHAPTER XI.

ELIAS HICKS AND THE PHILADELPHIA ELDERS.

ON entering upon the investigation of the transactions that led to the Separation of Friends in America, it is proper to state, that our chief reliance for evidence of the facts will be the testimony, oral and documentary, given "in a cause at issue in the Court

of Chancery of the State of New Jersey.”¹ In relation to these witnesses, it was observed by Chief Justice Ewing: “In their opinions, in their inferences, in their feelings, we observe, as might be expected, a difference among the witnesses, but it is pleasing to meet with no such collision of facts, as to render necessary the delicate and arduous duty of weighing and comparing evidence.”²

The witnesses on both sides were men of good moral character, and doubtless intended to state the truth under the solemn sanction of an affirmation; but inasmuch as all men are liable to be misinformed by others, or misled by their own excited feelings, it is deemed necessary to compare the testimony of the opposite parties on all important points.

The doctrinal views of Elias Hicks having been examined in a preceding chapter, and deduced from his own writings and printed discourses, it is not deemed requisite to notice the statements of his adversaries on this point, further than may be needful in the investigation of facts. It appears from the testimony of two of the opponents of Elias Hicks,—Thos. Willis, a minister, residing at Jericho, Long Island, and Samuel Parsons, of Flushing, clerk of New York Yearly Meeting,—that they had for many years been in the practice of noting down expressions of Elias Hicks, which they heard in his public ministry.³ These isolated expressions not being written immediately on their utterance, but from memory, and separated from the context, were liable to be

¹ Foster's Report, Phila. 1831.

² Report of the Trenton Trial, Phil. 1834, p. 11.

³ Testimony of T. Willis, Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 160, 161, and of Samuel Parsons, Vol. I. 173, 174, 201.

misapprehended, and were doubtless made use of greatly to the prejudice of the speaker. In addition to this ungenerous method of treasuring up, from year to year, scraps of doctrinal matter deemed heretical, Thomas Willis and his wife entered into a correspondence with Elias Hicks under a profession of religious concern for his welfare. The first letter of Phebe Willis was answered by Elias Hicks in the year 1818, the second in 1820, and he answered a letter of Thomas Willis in 1821. "A number of weeks" after the reception of Elias Hicks' letter, Thomas Willis proposed to him a friendly interview, to which Elias agreed, and requested that his letter should be brought to him, as he had no copy of it. Thomas Willis brought the letter as requested, but confesses that he took the liberty of keeping a copy without the consent of the writer. He then said, "Shall we exchange letters?"¹ Elias assented: giving up the letters of Willis, and receiving his own, but was not aware that a copy had been kept for secret service.

The letter of Elias Hicks to Thomas Willis, thus surreptitiously obtained, was circulated among the orthodox party without his knowledge, and printed without asking his consent. When he discovered the course that had been pursued towards him, he very justly accused Thomas Willis of "treachery."

The first open manifestation of disrespect to Elias Hicks on the part of elders in Philadelphia occurred in the year 1819. He was then on his return from Ohio Yearly Meeting, and having attended a meeting at Darby, several Friends residing there went to

¹ Testimony of T. Willis, Vol. I. p. 111. Ibid. p. 119.

the city, and attended with him the Monthly Meeting at Pine Street. He delivered some close doctrine to those who stood as rulers and leaders among the people. "They were," he said, "going round and round as it were, like the children of Israel, and not advancing forward; and he called on the young people in a very affectionate manner not to rest in the traditions of their fathers, but to go forward and advance the work of reformation." He was very earnest in his opposition to slavery, and had long borne a faithful testimony against the use of the produce of slave-labor. On this occasion he was pointed in his remarks on that subject, and intimated that there were some who had not stood faithful in the maintenance of this testimony which they had at some former period supported. Having spoken in the men's meeting, he expressed a concern that he felt to visit the women Friends in their meeting for discipline. Jonathan Evans, an elder of that meeting, expressed some disapprobation of it; but a large number of Friends expressed their full unity with his being left at liberty, and he accordingly went. Isaac Lloyd, an elder, was appointed to go with him. They had not been long in the women's apartment, when a proposition was made by Jonathan Evans to adjourn the meeting, alleging that they were not qualified, he thought, to proceed with the business, and said that it had been a very trying or painful meeting to him. Several Friends expressed their disapprobation of adjourning while Elias was engaged in the women's meeting, it being considered an unusual, if not an unprecedented proceeding. There were, however, a few who concurred with

Jonathan Evans, and the meeting was accordingly adjourned.¹

This transaction, being considered an affront offered to Elias Hicks, produced a great excitement, and although it may appear unimportant in itself, yet it developed feelings of jealousy and distrust that continued to increase and spread among Friends.

In order to account for the extraordinary course pursued by Jonathan Evans, it was remarked that he had recently felt himself relieved from his scruples in regard "to the produce of slave-labor, after having abstained from it for many years, and that he felt aggrieved by the severe rebuke administered by Elias Hicks." It is, however, always unsafe, and often unjust, to resort to conjecture for the motives of human conduct. The course pursued by Jonathan Evans in relation to slave-grown produce was similar to that of John Comly, as recorded in his Journal. He felt it his duty for many years to abstain from the use of West India produce cultivated by slave-labor, but afterwards felt relieved from his scruples in this respect, and came to the conclusion that the burden had been laid upon him for the discipline of his own mind, and that it had been salutary.² Being conscious of the purity of his own motives, he was willing that others should exercise their Christian freedom, and was therefore not wounded by the strictures of Elias Hicks, who, as early as the year 1811, had published his "Observations on Slavery," maintaining that it was principally supported "by the

¹ Testimony of Halliday Jackson (an eye-witness). Foster's Report, Vol. II. pp. 39, 40.

² J. C's Journal, p. 39.

purchasers and consumers of the produce of the slaves' labor."

The next demonstration of hostility to Elias Hicks by the elders in Philadelphia was in the 9th month, 1822.

It appears from the testimony of Abraham Lower, corroborated by that of Joseph Whitall, an Orthodox minister, that at an unofficial meeting of a part of the members of the Meeting for Sufferings, after that meeting had adjourned, measures were devised to obstruct the religious labors of Elias Hicks, on account of alleged false doctrines that he had declared three *months before in his own Yearly Meeting* of New York.

Abraham Lower, a minister of the Society, and a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, being questioned, testified as follows: "I was about to enter the meeting-house at the time appointed for our convening, when Samuel Bettle, who stood at the door, or just outside, desired me, in a low tone of voice so that I could understand it, to 'stop at the rise of the meeting.' I left him there and passed in as usual. At the close of that meeting, a number, I suppose ten or twelve of us, were convened;—after sitting a little while quiet, Jonathan Evans rose, as I understood, and stated the object of the meeting pretty much in these words, to the best of my recollection: 'It is understood that Elias Hicks is coming on here, on his way to Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Friends know that he preaches doctrines contrary to the doctrines of our Society, that he has given uneasiness to his friends at home, and they can't stop him; and unless we can stop him here, he must go on.' Joseph Whitall remarked, in corroboration of that assertion of the unity of his friends at home,—

of their difficulty of stopping him, I should say,—that his own Monthly meeting and Quarterly meeting, and two thirds of the Yearly meeting were with him.”¹

Joseph Whitall testifies: “There were a few Friends, Ministers and Elders, who did stop together after the rise of the Meeting for Sufferings, I think in Ninth month of that year, and had the subject of Elias’s unsoundness discussed a little amongst them. A very short statement was given, both by Richard Jordan and myself, of what we knew of our own knowledge—what we had heard him declare.”²

On this information, two or three elders were named to wait on Elias Hicks, when he should arrive in the city, although it was well known that he was travelling with the approbation of his Monthly and Quarterly meetings, and bearing their credentials with him.

This irregular and unwarrantable proceeding shows, on the part of those ministers and elders who were engaged in it, a usurpation of power then without precedent in the Society. The Book of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting contained the following rule: “If any in the course of their ministry shall misapply, or draw unsound inferences, or wrong conclusions from the text, or shall misbehave themselves in point of conduct or conversation, let them be admonished in love and tenderness by the elders or overseers *where they live.*”

It was not stated that Elias Hicks had preached unsound doctrines in Philadelphia,—the alleged heresies had been uttered in the time of the Yearly

¹ Foster’s Report, Vol. I. pp. 355, 356.

² Ibid. I. p. 247.

Meeting in New York; his fellow-members there had not objected, and he received from his Monthly and Quarterly meetings, some months after, a clear certificate to travel as a minister.

The attempt proved abortive:—he pursued his way to Baltimore Yearly Meeting, where his labors in gospel ministry both in meetings for worship and those for discipline were deemed edifying, and acknowledged to be acceptable to Friends.¹ After leaving Baltimore he attended the Southern Quarterly Meeting held at Little Creek, Delaware, and thence he proceeded to Philadelphia.

There were in attendance at the Southern Quarterly Meeting Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell, members of another Quarter, who took exceptions to some of the sentiments expressed by Elias Hicks at a public meeting for worship. Instead of making known their objections to him, in a friendly manner, agreeably to gospel order, they went to some of the elders of Philadelphia and reported what they deemed his unsound doctrines. In this they committed two errors: first, in not asking a private interview with him; secondly, in reporting the case to those who had no authority to notice it, for according to discipline and usage, the elders of the Southern Quarterly Meeting in attendance, if they were dissatisfied with his doctrines, were the only ones authorized to treat with him in that case.

It appears, however, that some of the elders in Philadelphia, being already prejudiced against Elias Hicks, and not at all reluctant to exercise their power, were determined to have an interview with

¹ Testimony of Halliday Jackson.

him in relation to the charges made by Comfort and Bell, as well as the allegations of Joseph Whitall respecting his discourses in New York.¹

Soon after his arrival in the city of Philadelphia, he was waited on by a committee of elders, supposed to be those who were designated after the close of the Meeting for Sufferings in the 9th month previous. As the charges they brought related to sentiments alleged to have been uttered without the limits of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, he denied their authority to question him, but on their assuring him they came in love as brethren, he was willing to answer them, and they went away apparently satisfied.² Whatever report they may have made of the interview, it does not appear to have satisfied the other elders, who persisted in their determination to interrogate him further. For this purpose, the male elders from the five Monthly Meetings in Philadelphia were summoned to meet in an official capacity, and ten of them demanded an interview. Elias Hicks denied their authority to question him in regard to matters that occurred beyond their jurisdiction, but offered to produce certificates expressive of the unity and concurrence of his Monthly and Quarterly Meetings with him in his present service. In compliance, however, with the advice of some of his friends, he agreed to meet the elders in Green Street Meeting-house. As his accusers intended to bring witnesses to endeavor to sustain their charges, he deemed it expedient and proper to have some of his friends with him, and was accordingly accompanied

¹ Test. of J. Whitall, Foster, I. 247.

² Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster's Report, I. 416.

by John Comly, Robert Moore, John Moore, John Hunt, and others, some of whom had been at the Southern Quarterly Meeting, and could give evidence in the case.¹ The elders denied him the privilege of bringing any of his friends with him; not even those ministers and elders then in the city from the country meeting, who had full as much right as themselves to be present. One of the ten elders suggested that they desired a private opportunity with Elias Hicks, and added, that unless it was private they would have none. Abraham Lower, a minister of Green Street Meeting, thought their proposition unreasonable, and remarked, that as Elias Hicks was then performing family visits to the members of Green Street Monthly Meeting, some of them, who were present, thought themselves concerned in the case; but he had no doubt that all of them, except the ministers and elders, would withdraw if desired.² One of the accusing elders replied, that unless all withdrew but Elias and his companion, *they* would withdraw. Elias objected to the proposition, called upon them to bring forward their charges, said he was ready to hear them, and justly complained that he had been cruelly treated. One of his accusers stated that they should take the charges for granted; and Elias, having understood the nature of them through some other channel, declared they were false. The self-constituted committee of elders then withdrew, and soon after, a deputation of them waited on two of the elders of Green Street Meeting in order to dissuade them from assisting Elias Hicks in the prosecution

¹ Cockburn's Review, p. 66.

² Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster's Report, I. 359, 416.

of his visit; but they had the magnanimity to discourage such disorderly interference. He accomplished his visit to nearly all the families of that meeting, and then attended the Monthly Meeting, where an indorsement of approbation and unity with his religious labors was placed on his certificate, which was done without a dissenting voice.¹

Elias Hicks, though firm in his resolutions and dignified in his deportment, was remarkable for the tenderness of his feelings, and the humility of his character. One of his accusers, Joseph Whitall, on being cross-examined, admitted that Elias in one of their interviews wept on account of the difference in their views, and the sad consequences that might ensue.² And Halliday Jackson, in his testimony, states that being at Baltimore Yearly Meeting in the year 1822, and having heard of the account that had been circulated by Joseph Whitall, he took an early opportunity to obtain an interview with Elias Hicks, which was readily granted. On being informed of those charges, Elias said he was surprised that his friends in Philadelphia should be carried away with such tales. "He gave me," says the witness, "such explanations of the conversation that took place between him and Joseph Whitall, as fully satisfied my mind on the subject, and amounted to a denial of the charges and the manner in which this conversation had been represented." * * * * "We had a good deal of friendly conversation together; finding the openness and candor of the man, I was entirely satisfied as to any impressions which the spreading of

¹ Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster's Report, I. 360.

² Foster's Report, I. 246.

this report had had upon my mind. I made some apologies to him for the freedom I had used with him, being a young man to what he was; but he expressed much satisfaction that I had taken that liberty; and his esteem, I believe, for me, was rather increased by it.”¹

The following correspondence and certificates will explain the nature of the charges then made against Elias Hicks, and the refutation of them by himself and his friends.

LETTER FROM THE TEN ELDERS 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 Whitall: 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 affected therewith, and some time afterwards, several Friends being together in the city on subjects relating to our religious society, they received an account from

¹ Foster's Report, II. 40, 41.

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 dispensation; 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 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 concerns 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 thy declining to meet these two

elders in company with those who made it, left the minds 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 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 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,
SAML. P. GRIFFETHS,
T. STEWARDSON,
EDWARD RANDOLPH,
ISRAEL MAULE,
ELLIS YARNELL,
RICHARD HUMPHRIES,
THOMAS WISTAR.”

ANSWER OF ELIAS HICKS.

“TO CALEB PIERCE, AND 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 Whitall, as stated in the letter from you, dated the 19th inst.; and as these charges are 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 amenable to him, nor to any other for crimes laid to my charge as being committed in the course of the sittings of our last Yearly Meeting, as not any of my fellow-members of that meeting discovered or noticed any such things, which I presume to be the case, as not an individual has mentioned any such things to me, but contrary thereto many of our most valuable Friends (who had heard some of those foul reports first promulgated by an individual of our city) acknowledged the great satisfaction they had with my services and exercise in the course of that meeting, and were fully convinced that all those 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 Whitall has presumed to charge me with unsoundness of doctrine 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 Ezra 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 Ezra Comfort to have acted disorderly and contrary to discipline, and these are the reasons which induced me to refuse a compliance with your requisitions, as considering them arbitrary and contrary to the established order of our Society.

ELIAS HICKS.”¹

“*Philadelphia*, 12th month 21st, 1822.

“We, the undersigned, being occasionally in the city of Philadelphia, where a letter was produced and handed to us, signed by ten of the citizens, elders of the Society of Friends, and directed to Elias Hicks, after perusing and deliberately considering the charges made 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 meeting, 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 give a clear view we think it best and proper here to transcribe the said charges exhibited, and our understanding of them severally,

¹ Foster's Report, II. 492. Exhibit 81, produced by Thos. Evans.

viz. : ‘That Jesus Christ was the first man that introduced the gospel dispensation, the Jews being under an outward 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 is substantially correct:— ‘That he had no more power given him than man, for he was no more than man;’ this sentence is incorrect, as also that he had nothing to do with healing the soul, for that belonged to God only,’ is likewise incorrect;—and the next sentence, ‘That Elisha had the same power to raise the dead,’ should be transposed thus to give his expression: ‘by the same power it was that Elisha raised the dead.’ ‘That man by being obedient to the spirit of God in him, could arrive at as great or greater degrees 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 that was cut out of the mountain without hands, or the seed in man, it would make him equal with God,’ is incorrect. The sentence, ‘for that stone in man was the entire God,’ 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 few necessary remarks we make 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 were

agreeable to the opinions and doctrines held forth by George Fox, and our worthy predecessors of his time.

ROBERT MOORE,
JOSEPH TURNER,
JOSEPH G. ROWLAND.”¹

This certificate was subsequently corroborated by another, signed by twenty-two members of the Southern Quarterly Meeting.

Nine of the elders wrote another letter to Elias Hicks, dated Phila., 1st month 4th, 1823, expressing their continued disapprobation of his doctrines, and Jonathan Evans appended a few lines expressing his concurrence with “their concern and care.”²

The conduct of Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell, in relation to the charges against Elias Hicks, being brought before the Monthly Meeting to which they belonged, they were dealt with as the discipline requires, and being unwilling to acknowledge their error, were disowned. They appealed to Abington Quarterly Meeting, and the judgment of the Monthly Meeting was confirmed. They then appealed to the Yearly Meeting, and were reinstated.³

NOTE.

There is a remarkable analogy between the course pursued by the elders in Philadelphia towards Elias Hicks, and that which was subsequently pursued by orthodox ministers and elders in New England towards Joseph John Gurney. When this distinguished English Friend visited the United States in the year 1837, he brought with him full credentials from the Monthly and Quar-

¹ Foster's Report, II. 492. Exhibit No. 82, produced by T. Evans.

² Cockburn's Review, 76 to 79.

³ Foster's Rep., I. 367.

terly meetings to which he belonged, and a clear certificate from the London Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, expressing their unity with him and his concern, and stating that he was a minister in unity and well approved amongst them. While engaged in his religious mission in New England, in the year 1838, John Wilbur, a minister of the Society, charged him with having published unsound doctrines *in England*, and not being satisfied with his answer, proceeded both by oral and written communications to caution Friends against receiving or imbibing his sentiments.

The course pursued by John Wilbur being considered disorderly, he was dealt with as an offender against the discipline, and disowned. A large majority of New England Yearly Meeting concurred in this measure, but a schism ensued, and the smaller body, adhering to John Wilbur, established a separate Yearly Meeting, which was subsequently associated in religious fellowship with other bodies of the same class that became detached from some of the Orthodox Yearly meetings to which the schism extended.

CHAPTER XII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS, PHILADELPHIA.

ONE of the subjects introduced into the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia was a doctrinal controversy, over the signatures of Paul and Amicus, printed in a periodical paper at Wilmington, Delaware. The doctrines of Friends being attacked by Paul, were defended by Amicus in a very able manner, as was generally thought; and at the close of the controversy, the essays on both sides were reprinted in a book, which was patronized by a large number of Friends.

In the summer or autumn of the year 1822, several

numbers of the periodical, containing this controversy, were produced in the Meeting for Sufferings, and some of the members of that meeting expressed an apprehension that the doctrines of Friends were not correctly stated by Amicus.¹ Abraham Lower informed the Friend, who wrote over the signature of Amicus, that objections had been made to his essays, and he promptly determined to relieve the members of the Society from any anxiety on that head, by assuming the responsibility himself individually, and exonerating the Society. A notice to this effect was inserted in one of the numbers of the paper in which the controversy was published. This notice was presented to Jonathan Evans, clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings, who read it to the meeting.²

It would seem that this declaration ought to have satisfied reasonable men, but some of the members of the Meeting for Sufferings desired the appointment of a committee to bring forward a suitable minute to be inserted in the volume of essays about to be published.

A committee was accordingly appointed, who produced a minute disavowing any connection with the writing or publication of those essays. They also brought forward in the First month, 1823, a paper purporting to be "Extracts from the Writings of Primitive Friends concerning the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."³ The minute thus produced was agreed to by the meeting, but the publisher of the book refused to insert it. The extracts,

¹ Testimony of Joseph Whitall. Foster's Rep. I. 216.

² Test. of A. Lower, Foster, I. 368.

³ Foster's Report, II. 414, 476, and Testimony of W. Evans, Vol. II. p. 329.

when read in the Meeting for Sufferings, were opposed by some of the members, under an apprehension that they might be used to abridge the right of private judgment.¹ They were, moreover, in a very objectionable form; no references being given to show whence they were taken, and no quotation-marks affixed, except to the texts of Scripture included. It has since been stated that the extracts were garbled, some of them being parts of sentences, with no clew to guide the reader in searching for the context. Notwithstanding the objections urged against the document, it was passed, and a large edition ordered to be printed. It was printed but not distributed, as had been expected.

When the Yearly Meeting came on, in the Spring of 1823, the proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings were read as usual; but what was the surprise of the members to find the whole of those extracts copied into the minutes and read in the Yearly Meeting.

The design of the Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings appeared to be, to obtain for them the sanction of the Yearly Meeting without further examination, and thus have them established as a standard of doctrines.

The reading of them produced a great excitement in the Yearly Meeting, and a substantial Friend from the country exclaimed, "Who hath required this at your hands?"² Very great dissatisfaction was expressed by a large number of Friends, who desired that the extracts should be expunged, but the clerk objected that it would deface the minutes, and it was

¹ Test. of A. Lower. Foster, I. 368, 369, 463.

² Testimony of Halliday Jackson, Foster, II. 102.

finally agreed that the pamphlet should not be published.¹

The document thus suppressed by order of the Yearly Meeting, was popularly called "*the creed*."

It had, for many years, been the practice of some of the Quarterly meetings most distant from the city of Philadelphia, to appoint for their representatives in the Meeting for Sufferings, persons living in or near the city, for the sake of convenience in attending its sittings. The Southern Quarterly Meeting, situated in Delaware and the Eastern shore of Maryland, had been for some years represented by Abraham Lower, Caleb Pierce, Isaac Lloyd, and Joseph Turner. In the 5th month, 1826, Abraham Lower attended that Quarterly Meeting and proposed that, as he had been one of their representatives for ten or twelve years, they should make a new nomination. Joseph Turner also requested to be released. The Quarterly Meeting agreed to the proposal, concluded to release all their representatives, and appointed a committee to bring forward the names of suitable persons to represent them in the Meeting for Sufferings. They nominated for that service Abraham Lower, Dr. Joseph Parrish, Dr. John Wilson Moore of Philadelphia, and Halliday Jackson of Darby. The last three were known to be thoroughly opposed to the proceedings of the elders in Philadelphia, and when they attended the Meeting for Sufferings, that body refused to acknowledge their appointment. Being denied the right to sit in the meeting, they were under the necessity of withdrawing.

This action of the Meeting for Sufferings was un-

¹ Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster, I. 368.

precedented in the Society, and was regarded by many as a confirmation of the suspicion they had for some years entertained, that there was in that meeting a strong party determined to govern without regard to the wishes of their constituents.¹

One of the most remarkable features of this case was, that Caleb Pierce and Isaac Lloyd, two of the representatives formerly appointed by the Southern Quarter, presented to the Meeting for Sufferings a remonstrance against their being released from that station.² A committee was thereupon appointed to attend the Southern Quarterly Meeting and confer with it in relation to the appointment of its representatives. At a subsequent meeting, the committee reported attention to the service, and stated that “the Quarterly Meeting declined appointing a committee or in any way explaining their views on the subject.”³

The positions taken by the Meeting for Sufferings and its committee, for rejecting the three representatives recently appointed, were as follows:—

1st. That the entire revision of its representation by a Quarterly meeting was unprecedented.

2d. That no vacancy had occurred; for the only cases that constitute a vacancy, according to the discipline, are death, resignation, or neglect of attendance.

3d. That no change in the rule of the Society could be made, but by the Yearly Meeting, and that, two years before, a proposal to consider the expediency of *all* appointments being for a limited time, was regularly brought up from one of the Quarters,

¹ Testimony of A. Lower, Foster, I. 370.

² Ibid.

³ Extracts from Minutes of M. for Suf., Foster, II. p. 477.

and on consideration the Yearly Meeting decided that way did not open to make the proposed change.”¹

In reply to these allegations, the following facts and considerations are submitted.

1st. For some years after the institution of the Meeting for Sufferings, the Yearly Meeting adopted, *each year*, a minute stating in substance; that it was continued, as then constituted, “reserving to each Quarterly Meeting the right of changing any of the members in the places where they were respectively nominated.” Or, as expressed in one of the minutes, “reserving to the Quarterly meetings the right of changing their members when they think proper.”² In 1768, the following minute was adopted by the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia: “The proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings for the year past being read and approved, it is agreed to continue that meeting, *agreeable to former minutes*, until this meeting may think it necessary to *order the contrary*.”³

As the Yearly Meeting has never *ordered the contrary*, the conclusion is unquestionable that the Meeting for Sufferings has been continued *according to former minutes*, securing the rights of the Quarterly meetings to change their representatives when they think proper.

The institution of the Meeting for Sufferings took place in the year 1756; and Buck’s Quarterly Meeting appointed that year four representatives. The next year, it continued two of these in that station, and appointed *two others* as representatives “for the

¹ Exhibit No. 47, Foster’s Rep. II. 477.

² Minutes of Phila. Y. M., 1757 to 1762 inclusive.

³ See Chapter X. on Discipline.

ensuing year." It is most probable that many such cases might be found on the records of the Quarterly meetings; but here is at least one precedent, showing that the right of changing the representatives of the Quarters was exercised.

It appears to have been the general practice of the Quarterly meetings to continue their representatives in the Meeting for Sufferings until they resigned or were removed by death, but they never relinquished the right to release them and appoint others; nor does this right appear to have been called in question until the Southern Quarter undertook to release those who did not truly represent its sentiments.¹

2d. In reply to the second position, that there was no vacancy, it may be stated, that one of the former members, Joseph Turner, did resign, and Abraham Lower, another, requested, as he had served for ten or twelve years, that there might be a new nomination.

3d. And as to the third position, which relates to a change of discipline, it is obvious that no alteration was needed to enable the Quarterly meetings to change their representatives, for this right was guaranteed to them by the Yearly Meeting and had never been revoked. The proposition alluded to, which contemplated making all appointments for a limited time, and which the Yearly Meeting did not adopt, has no bearing on the question; for when the Meeting for Sufferings was first instituted, the members were not required by discipline to be appointed for a limited time, and yet the Quarterly meetings had the right to remove them without assigning any reason.

¹ Testimony of Halliday Jackson, Foster's Rep. II. 97 to 101.

The attempt of the Meeting for Sufferings to impose upon the Society the declaration of faith inserted in its minutes and read in the Yearly Meeting, had awakened in the minds of many Friends a painful distrust of its ulterior purposes; and when it subsequently took the bold stand of denying to a Quarterly Meeting the right to change its representatives, there were thousands who felt that their religious liberty was in danger.

The growing importance of that meeting, and the encroachments that might be apprehended from it, had long been seen by some sagacious minds; and one of its members, in the latter part of the last century, had left on record a warning of the danger. David Cooper, of Woodbury Monthly Meeting, who died in 1795, at the age of 71 years, left with his children the following remarks on the Meeting for Sufferings.

“I am free to make a few remarks on this meeting, which you, my dear children, may live to see realized, if well founded. It is now about twenty-five years since its establishment, and it consisted of twelve members appointed by the Yearly Meeting, and four by each Quarter, making thirty-six,—two new Quarterly meetings having been added since, makes the standing number forty-four. I have observed the increasing importance of this meeting, which, though so called, is *only a standing committee* of the Yearly Meeting. It is a truth that ought not to be lost sight of, that whenever a subordinate body becomes too important either from its members [numbers?] or the weight of its members, it will naturally engross a power and consequence beyond the limits intended for it. It will thus grow more

or less out of the reach of the body that controls it;— the superior meeting ought strenuously to maintain its standing.

“If I am not mistaken, this has already appeared to be too much the case with that meeting, and I fear it will increase with time. Its name implies its business, a meeting for sufferings, but many other matters of great importance to the Society are considered and debated there; even principles of faith have been frequently the subjects of discussion.”¹

After these judicious remarks were written, other Quarterly meetings were established, and thus the Meeting for Sufferings was further increased in numbers. In the year 1826 it consisted of fifty-six members, of whom all were of the class called Orthodox, except ten or twelve.² As it was well known that not more than one-third of the members of that Yearly Meeting were Orthodox, it is obvious that the sentiments of the body were not represented in the Meeting for Sufferings, hence it became an intolerable grievance when this “standing committee” denied to the Quarterly meetings their ancient right to change their representatives, and thus virtually declared itself independent of its constituents.

It was composed of some of the most influential men in the Society, a large proportion of them residing in or near the city; and such was their power in the Yearly Meeting, that no change of discipline, limiting or defining the tenure of their office, could be effected. They had attained a position from which it appeared that nothing short of a revolution in the Society could dislodge them.

¹ The Friend or Advocate of Truth, Vol. III. No. 13.

² Testimony of Joseph Whitall, Foster's Rep. I. 253.

The Southern Quarterly Meeting forwarded to the Yearly Meeting a report concerning the rejection of its representatives; but there was little hope of their grievances being redressed by a body in which party spirit had gained the ascendancy, and counteracted the sweet influences of brotherly love.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISTURBED MEETINGS.

ONE of the chief obstructions to harmonious action in the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia and most of its branches, was the assumption by a party, that *the weight* was all on their side; and although it was known that they were greatly in the minority, the clerk of the Yearly Meeting, Samuel Bettle, who was one of the party, determined to act upon that principle. He regarded all those who gave their voices against the adoption of the declaration of faith presented by the Meeting for Sufferings, as having *no weight at all*, thus virtually disfranchising them, without a shadow of authority. Being questioned on this matter, Samuel Bettle testified as follows: "I never considered them entitled to any weight or influence at all. I mean the same persons who had expressed themselves in relation to those extracts, and in opposition to them in the Yearly Meeting of 1823, and whose objections I have quoted."¹

Some of those who objected to that declaration of

¹ Foster's Report, Vol. I. p. 82.

faith, did so because they were opposed to all creeds; others thought the extracts from the writings of early Friends were garbled; and among those who opposed its adoption were many whose religious experience and uprightness of conduct entitled them to the highest respect. The same principle by which these members were disfranchised in the Yearly Meeting was, of course, applied in the subordinate meetings to them, and to all who did not coincide with that party which assumed to be "the meeting." It was an important point with the party which took the name of Orthodox, to secure for their side, the clerks, overseers, trustees, and a majority of the important committees. In this endeavor they were so successful, that in most of the meetings in Philadelphia Quarter they obtained the ascendancy.¹

In that city, the two parties were found nearly equal when they came to divide; but of the five Monthly meetings, Green Street alone was able to withstand the influence of that powerful combination which controlled the Meeting for Sufferings and all the Select meetings of the city. In the other Quarterly meetings, ten in number, the Orthodox party were in the minority, and in all except two (Burlington and Haddonfield) it was a very small minority. In the whole Yearly Meeting they comprised less than one third of the members.²

They had, however, very able leaders, and in point of wealth and social position, many of them stood pre-eminent in the Society. There were among them men and women of sincere piety, who had be-

¹ Cockburn's Review, pp. 91, 92.

² Foster's Report, Exhibit T. Vol. II. p. 461.

come persuaded that heresy was abroad and must be put down. For this purpose they were induced to resort to measures that, in less exciting times, they would have abhorred. Among them there was also a large class who had never passed through the refining process of Spiritual baptism; but being respected for their wealth, intelligence, and orderly deportment, they were appointed on committees, or employed as clerks, until they conceived that they were qualified for service in the church, and took an active part in its discipline, without the subjection of their wills to the divine government.

This latter class was indeed found in both parties, and is the natural result of traditional religion in all societies.

The religious engagement of Elias Hicks in visiting the families of Green Street Monthly Meeting in the Twelfth month, 1822, and the indorsement of unity and approbation placed on his certificate by that meeting, have been noticed in a preceding chapter.

Leonard Snowden, an elder of that meeting, was present when the indorsement was adopted, and on some alteration being proposed in it, remarked that "he thought it would do." After thus giving his assent to the action of the meeting, he joined with other elders in the city in signing a paper which impeached the gospel ministry of Elias Hicks, thereby counteracting and arraigning the judgment of his Monthly Meeting. In consequence of this and other acts of opposition to the meeting, he was taken under its care through the medium of the overseers, and after continued but unavailing efforts to effect a reconciliation, he was released from the station of

elder, but his rights and privileges as a member were not impaired.¹

While his case was *under the care of the* Monthly Meeting, in the 4th month, 1823, the Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders belonging to Green Street Monthly Meeting took up the subject, and requested the aid of the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in a case of difficulty.

This interference with the business of a Meeting for Discipline by the Select meeting, was a breach of order, and is expressly prohibited by a rule of discipline. For although the Select meetings are authorized to extend care to a minister or an elder, who, through "negligence, unfaithfulness, or otherwise has lost his or her service in that station," yet it is only allowable in such cases as are "not under the care of a Meeting for Discipline on that account."

This point has been more fully elucidated in a section of Chapter X. relating to ministers and elders.

It is obvious that an elder must have lost his usefulness or service in that station, when he has ceased to be in unity with the Monthly Meeting; and if the position were admitted that Monthly meetings cannot release elders from service in such cases, it would go far towards establishing in the Society an irresponsible oligarchy.

The Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in Philadelphia in the 8th month, 1823, acted upon the application from the Select Preparative Meeting of Green Street, and appointed a committee, to extend aid and advice. This committee, after having charge of the case more than a year, reported that Green

¹ Statement of Facts by Gn. St. Mo. Mg., Foster's Report, II. 445, and Test. of A. Lower, I. 362.

Street Monthly Meeting had interfered, and in a summary manner acted in relation to the Friend [Leonard Snowden] in such a way "that they consider him as not retaining his place in the Preparative Meeting of ministers and elders."¹

The Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, on receiving this report, referred the subject to the Quarterly Meeting for Discipline, and at the same time Leonard Snowden addressed to the last-named meeting a remonstrance, which he called an appeal.

In this appeal he states that "his religious rights had been invaded" by Green Street Monthly Meeting, and that, "being virtually placed in the situation of a disowned person," he did not feel himself at liberty to attend meetings for discipline, or to exercise the privileges of a member.² These allegations were unfounded, as it was well known that he had not been disowned, nor had his religious rights been invaded.

The station of an elder is not a right that can be claimed by any member, however worthy he may be to occupy it, but is regarded as a service assigned by the Monthly Meeting, and it would be hard indeed if the same meeting cannot relieve from that service those whom it has appointed. We know that the right to remove elders was claimed and exercised by Monthly meetings at the time the eldership was first instituted in Pennsylvania.³

In the Book of Discipline there is no provision for appeals from an inferior to a superior meeting, except in cases of disownment, and an appeal from one

¹ Foster's Report, II. 481.

² Ibid. II. 482.

³ See Chapter X., section **MINISTERS AND ELDERS.**

who had been an elder, to be reinstated in that station, was believed to be without authority or precedent in the Society. The introduction of Leonard Snowden's case into the Quarterly Meeting for Discipline in the Eleventh month, 1824, produced much discussion and some excitement. The orthodox elders were very active and urgent for it to be taken up; but being opposed by many, it was postponed.¹ At a subsequent Quarterly Meeting the following minute from Green Street Monthly Meeting was received:—

“At a Monthly Meeting of Friends held at Green Street, Philadelphia, the 20th of First month, 1825.

“This meeting being informed by our representatives to our last Quarterly Meeting, that Leonard Snowden had presented a remonstrance, appealing against the proceedings of Green Street Monthly Meeting — we inform the Quarterly Meeting that the said paper was presented without acquainting this meeting, and that Leonard Snowden is not deprived of any of his rights as a member of our religious society.

“The foregoing is directed to be included in the extracts to be furnished to the Quarterly Meeting.

“Extracted from the minutes. JOSEPH WARNER,
Clerk.”

The Quarterly Meeting not being able to come to any decision in this case, postponed it from time to time, until the Fifth month, 1826, when it was concluded to ask the advice of the Yearly Meeting in regard to it as “a case of difficulty.”

In the 8th month of the same year two women Friends, who had manifested “open and continued

¹ Testimony of A. Lower, Foster, I. 362.

opposition," were released from the eldership by Green Street Monthly Meeting, on the ground that their services as elders had ceased. In a document issued by the Monthly Meeting, it is stated that they were released from that service on the authority of the following discipline:—

"1. That part of the third query just cited, which requires that ministers and elders be 'in unity one with another, and with the meeting they belong to.' Page 96.

"2. That part of our discipline respecting elders, which directs that Monthly meetings *take care* 'that the Friends chosen for that service be prudent solid Friends, and that they do carefully *discharge* the trust confided to them.' Page 63. Both these injunctions of the discipline obviously make it obligatory on Monthly meetings to have such elders only as are in unity with them, and also to have none that are not qualified for the station, or that do not 'carefully discharge the trust confided to them.'

"3. That part of our discipline which directs what course shall be pursued in meetings of ministers and elders in reference to the release of a member of those meetings who may 'be thought by negligence, unfaithfulness, or otherwise, to have lost his or her service in that station, so as to become the subject of uneasiness and burdensome,' — yet manifestly giving an *antecedent and paramount right and authority to monthly meetings* to take such individuals under care, in the words following, viz.: 'yet not so as to be under the care of a *meeting of discipline on that account*, or for misconduct.' The words, 'that account,' manifestly referring to *loss of service*, by negligence, unfaithfulness, or otherwise." Page 68.

The two women Friends who had been released from the eldership, offered to the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia a written communication, stating in general terms that they were aggrieved by the proceedings of Green Street Monthly Meeting, without specifying in what respects they considered themselves aggrieved. It seems they regarded the eldership a desirable office, but it is obvious that no person worthy of it would consent to hold it in opposition to the will of the meeting, unless influenced by others, in order to promote the purposes of a party.

In the Quarterly Meeting, a strong effort was made to have this considered as an appeal case, but this measure was overruled. The representatives and other members of Green Street Monthly Meeting attempted to explain the nature of the grievance, but the opposite party, who must have known what it was, would not allow it, on the plea that the Quarterly Meeting not being officially informed, should appoint a committee to hear the complainants. A committee being accordingly appointed, it undertook to transform the memorial of the rejected elders into an appeal, and called on the Monthly Meeting to produce the minutes of its proceedings. The Monthly Meeting, considering that the Quarterly Meeting had recently referred a similar case to the Yearly Meeting for its advice, which had not yet been given; and believing that the committee were transcending their authority, declined to comply with the request, and refused to nominate any committee of their own on the case.

The Quarterly Meeting's committee, however, persisted in their determination to make it an appeal case, and reported as their judgment that the proceedings of Green Street Monthly Meeting in relation to

the two women Friends should be annulled. As they did not mention in their report what it was that Green Street Monthly Meeting had done, the representatives and some of the members of that meeting attempted to explain that it was an appeal *for the office of an elder*, and that these two Friends had merely been released from that station. They were told that "the members of Green Street Meeting could not be heard," and the clerk, notwithstanding their remonstrances, recorded a minute on the Quarterly Meeting books adopting the judgment of the committee.

In the 11th month, 1826, at the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia a proposition originated in the women's meeting to visit the Monthly meetings; no specific object being stated, it was brought into the men's meeting under a profession of religious concern. The Quarterly Meeting had, for years, been divided in sentiment, and was frequently convulsed with the efforts of contending parties. It was, therefore, in no condition to appoint a committee that would promote harmony in the body. The proposition, while under consideration in the men's meeting, met with such decided opposition that the clerk declared he could not conscientiously receive names for it. After a contest of several hours, the meeting adjourned till the next day, and, during the interval, the clerk appears to have been relieved of his scruples, for when the meeting again convened, he complied without hesitation with the wishes of the Orthodox party; in total disregard of the judgment expressed by a large part of the members.²

When the committee met to ascertain the object in

¹ Statement of Facts, Foster's Rep., II. 445 to 451.

² Ibid., and Cockburn's Review, p. 125.

view, two of the members, not being considered orthodox, were treated with great indifference, and when the rest were called together to agree upon a report, these two did not receive notification. At the next Quarterly Meeting, held in the 2d mo. 1827, the committee reported attention to their appointment, and were continued, except the two obnoxious members, whose places were supplied from the ranks of the orthodox.¹ Although the purpose for which this committee was appointed did not clearly appear, subsequent developments showed, as will hereafter be related, that the very existence of Green Street Monthly Meeting was in peril.

While these events were in progress, the meetings for worship in the city of Philadelphia were frequently scenes of great disorder and excitement by reason of the open opposition made by some of the elders and others of the Orthodox party to the discourses of those ministers that they deemed heretical in doctrine.² In thus publicly opposing ministers from other Yearly meetings, who came among them with proper credentials, they violated a rule of discipline, and impaired the harmony of the Society. Among the instances of disorder arising from this cause, the most noted was the opposition to Elias Hicks at Pine Street Meeting, in the 12th month, 1826. A part of his discourse which gave offence on that occasion, together with the strictures of Jonathan Evans and Isaac Lloyd, have been given in a preceding chapter. The doctrines which Elias Hicks then delivered have been

¹ Cockburn's Review, p. 126.

² Test. of H. Jackson, Foster's Rep., II. 37, 38, 43.

shown to be consistent with those of the early Friends, and with the Scriptures.¹

In the afternoon of the same day he attended Friends' meeting in the Western district [12th Street], where there was a very large congregation, as indeed there always was where he attended in those days. Although the house was excessively crowded, and many were standing, the meeting was solemn and quiet while he was engaged in ministry. As soon as he sat down, an orthodox elder of that meeting arose and expressed disapprobation of the doctrines delivered, which caused great excitement and commotion, especially among the younger part of the audience. Elias endeavored to allay the excitement, saying mildly to the people, "Hear what the Friend has to say." When quiet was restored, Willet Hicks, of New York, delivered a short, impressive discourse, and the meeting closed without further disturbance.²

The doctrines delivered at these two meetings, and the conduct of the audiences, were made the ground of a complaint against Elias Hicks, and the Monthly meetings held at Pine Street and Twelfth Street sent a deputation to Jericho Monthly Meeting, Long Island, where that venerable minister resided. The two Orthodox Friends laid their documents on the table, and were present while Elias Hicks returned a certificate of concurrence that had been granted him at a former meeting, together with several indorsements of unity and approbation received from meetings where he had been laboring in the ministry. He also opened, at that time, a prospect of a religious visit to the families of Friends of the

¹ See Chap. VIII., Section 4.

² Test. of H. Jackson, Foster, II. 42, 80, 81.

two Monthly meetings of Westbury and Jericho, which was cordially approved by the meeting, and all the business that came before it was transacted in harmony. The communications from Philadelphia were referred to a committee without being read, and at the next Monthly Meeting a report was made in favor of reading them, which was done; but they were deemed unworthy of further notice, and no action of any kind was taken on them.¹

At Concord Quarterly Meeting, held at Darby in the Eleventh month, 1826, Elias Hicks was in attendance, also Nicholas Brown from Canada, Townsend Hawkhurst from Long Island, and Elizabeth Robson and Ann Jones from England. On the day preceding the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, a meeting of ministers and elders was held, in which Elias Hicks and Nicholas Brown, as well as some other Friends, were engaged in the ministry.

During the sitting of the Quarterly Meeting, Elizabeth Robson and Ann Jones asked permission to visit the men's meeting, and were admitted. They both delivered long communications, and that of Ann Jones was particularly offensive to a large part of the meeting. At the close of the sitting, the elders of the men's Quarterly Meeting were requested to convene in the evening, which they did, and the subject of Ann Jones' communication was taken into consideration. There were fourteen present, all of whom, except one, expressed dissatisfaction with the discourse, and were in favor of seeking an interview with her.

It being found, on inquiry, that she had gone to

¹ Letters of Elias Hicks, p. 199.

Philadelphia, the elders of Darby Monthly Meeting concluded to address a letter to her. It is couched in courteous language, and describes her discourse as follows :

“As near as we can recollect, after stating that thou had brought nothing with thee, and did not know what thou might have to communicate, thou mentioned being oppressed with a sense of the infidelity that was spreading far and wide, and that thou had heard in that house, things that had pierced thee to thy very soul ;—that thou had heard the Saviour of the world, the Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father and Prince of Peace, lowered down to a mere man, and that sacrifice denied which he offered without the gates of Jerusalem. That the Son of God, and the blood of the everlasting covenant, was trodden underfoot, and counted an unholy thing. That these diabolical doctrines had their origin in a proud Luciferian spirit, and was a *sin that ought to be punished by the Judges* ; and that if the elders, on this extensive continent, had kept their places, they would have been able to put a stop to these infidel doctrines that were spreading far and wide among us,—adding that it was not the individuals, but the spirit thou bore testimony against. This, we think, is near the substance of a considerable part of thy communication.

“Our discipline in this country points out an order to be observed, which ought to be imperative, especially on those who are travelling in truth’s service. Although thou mentioned no names, we think thou made some personal allusion by referring to something thou had heard in that house, perhaps the day previous. If anything there had been delivered

that gave thee such uneasiness, it would have been more consistent with gospel order to have sought a private opportunity with the individuals, than to have brought such a railing accusation against them in a large assembly, very few of whom were present the day before, and therefore could not tell to what thou wast alluding. And as those whom we suppose thou wast implicating, by alluding to something thou had heard in that house, were ministers in high estimation with their friends at home, and travelling on a religious account with the unity of their respective meetings equally with thyself—they were also with thyself equally subject to the care of elders wherever they gave cause of uneasiness. Thy conduct in this respect we must protest against, as inconsistent with gospel order, unbecoming a minister of the gospel towards their fellow-laborers (even supposing thou had apprehended some unsoundness of doctrine), and calculated to sow discord among brethren, and produce disorder in the church.

“But we were all present at the meeting of ministers and elders the day previous, and heard what was delivered, and are fully satisfied in our own minds, that thy charges were not correct. The character and mission of the Messiah was exalted, and held up to view as our true pattern, instead of being brought down to the level of a mere man,—the sacrifice of our sinful affections on the cross clearly set forth as the only means of reconciliation with God, and the life of Christ in the soul of man, as the alone atoning blood that can effectually wash away our sins. And as George Fox testifies, “there are none know Christ nor his sufferings, but by the Spirit of God within,” so we believe propitiation to be an experimental

work in the soul of man, and fully consistent with a right understanding of the Scriptures, and the doctrines taught by our early Friends generally." * * *

The letter, after stating that her charges of infidelity were nowise applicable to the state of their Quarterly Meeting, recommends to her a close attention to the divine gift, which would give her a clear sight of the true state of the church, and make her instrumental in healing the breaches already made. It was signed by John Hunt, Edward Garrigues, John H. Bunting, and Halliday Jackson.¹

"I think it was the next First-day, if I am not mistaken," continues Halliday Jackson in his testimony, "after she had received this letter, she with her husband and several others came out to Darby Meeting, and as if she thought she had not done her business well before, poured out another flood of declamation and crimination upon us, stating that she believed we had been led astray by wicked and designing men,—that she had preached the gospel to the fishermen, the sailors and the miners, in her own country—men that we would disdain, as she said, to set with the dogs of our flocks; and they would even blush at our conduct. And among many other things, I think she charged us with denying or undervaluing the Scriptures; and that the heathen who never had the Scriptures would go into the kingdom of heaven before us, or something to this amount,—and I believe nearly the words that I have repeated she did express." After this second attack upon the Friends at Darby, she was visited by Halliday Jackson and another elder, at her lodgings in Philadel-

¹ Foster's Report, Exhibit S., Vol. II. p. 460.

phia. She acknowledged the receipt of their letter, and did not call in question the statement it contained, but gave them no satisfaction.¹

The same witness, alluding particularly to Ann Jones and Anna Braithwaite, expressed the following sentiments: "I believe that the visit of those English women, and the part they had taken generally in the course of their visit to this country, greatly tended to accelerate, and finally to produce the separation that has taken place, not only in the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, but also in several of the other Yearly meetings on the continent of America."²

At a public meeting for worship in New York, held 6th month 1st, 1826, some of the English Friends were in attendance. A stenographer who was present, has given, in a note to one of the sermons then delivered, the following account of a deeply interesting scene that took place.

"As the circumstances of this meeting were peculiar, and have been variously represented, it becomes the duty of the stenographer to give a statement of facts as they appeared to him at the time.

"At an early period of the meeting Mrs. Robson rose, and continued to speak for more than an hour. She was very soon succeeded by Mrs. Braithwaite in the foregoing prayer; immediately after which, Richard Jordan and Elisha Bates, who sat at the head of the meeting, shook hands as the customary signal for a separation; but, contrary to anything ever before witnessed by the stenographer, or by any other

¹ Testimony of H. Jackson, Foster's Report, Vol. II. pp. 86 to 88.

² Ibid.

person with whom he has conversed, not a solitary individual, among more than two thousand, was seen to move!

“In the course of about a minute, there was another and a similar attempt made to close the meeting, by R. Jordan, E. Robson, A. Braithwaite, and some persons occupying the second galleries, but it was with the same effect! A profound silence now pervaded the whole of this large assembly, and, in breathless expectation, every eye seemed riveted with intense interest upon the galleries. The whole meeting, simultaneously breaking through the rules of the society, remained fixed and immovable, as if controlled by some invisible power. Such was the effect, that the beholder might have easily conceived himself surrounded by a congregation of statues, instead of animate beings. During this interval, Mr. Wetherald rose and delivered the following discourse, which being succeeded by a few remarks from Elias Hicks, a short pause ensued — when Mr. Hicks and Mr. Wetherald shook hands, and the meeting quietly dispersed.”¹

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF 1827.

As the time approached for the assembling of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in the Spring of 1827, the whole Society was agitated with conflicting hopes

¹ T. Wetherald's Sermons, Phil. Ed. 1826.

and fears. It is impossible for those who have not participated in the proceedings of Friends' Yearly meetings, nor been imbued with the spirit that pervades them, to appreciate the intense interest with which every important movement of the body is contemplated by its members. They have always been, in some respects, a peculiar people: circumscribed in their pursuits by their self-denying testimonies, — debarred from fashionable amusements by their conscientious scruples, — and educated to reverence the religious principles of their forefathers, — they are drawn by a strong affinity to seek for society chiefly among themselves, although their liberal doctrines encourage Christian charity to all mankind. This partial isolation from the world, which in former times was more observable than now, contributed to restrict their intercourse with other religious societies, and to cause increased attachment to their own.

Prior to the unhappy dissensions produced by doctrinal controversy, religious intolerance, and defamation, the Society had been remarkable for its harmony and brotherly love; but now jealousy and distrust prevailed, the meetings for discipline in the city of Philadelphia were scenes of disputation, and even into their assemblies for divine worship, once so solemn and reverential, the demon of discord had entered.

John Comly, who lived at Byberry, was not unfrequently a visitor in the city, and has left in his Journal the following remarks: "The solemnity of silent adoration was often disturbed by denunciations from the gallery against infidelity and other imagined absurdities. Doctrines, till now unheard in meetings of Friends, were reiterated and enforced with

threatenings on those who should dare to reject them. Thus dismay and confusion increased; the youth and little children went to meetings with reluctance; young men and women absented themselves; some Friends openly talked of resigning their rights in such a society, and many were exceedingly tried on account of their families and children. Many sober inquirers and friendly people who had flocked to Friends' meetings now declined and left their attendance. Thus the public meetings diminished in numbers, and the comfort and edification once found in attending them was little to be felt or enjoyed by the sincere seeker after truth. 'The ways of Zion mourned, and the travellers walked in by-ways.'

"Having thus viewed the awful state of Friends in the city, and having seen the spreading of the same spirit in various parts of our Yearly Meeting, my mind had shared with others in deep exercise on account of these things, and became impressed with a religious concern to make a visit to the city, in order to mingle with Friends, and to see and feel whether any opening might present for active labor, in endeavoring to promote a reconciliation between the two contending parties. In accordance with this view and impression, I attended the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders held there in the Second month, 1827, in which I had a full view of the nature of that spirit that was seeking to bear rule in the Society." * * * *

"Such a select meeting I had never before attended. Painful indeed the spectacle! But I learned something of the reality of what before I had only heard 'by the hearing of the ear.' The meeting not being

able to get through its business till near four o'clock in the afternoon, occasioned a long sitting, trying to the patience, but more so to the gentle feelings of Christian meekness and love.

“Although this painful meeting afforded little prospect of a reconciliation, my mind was turned toward seeking for an opening to converse with some of the active ones, in order to see and feel whether any door of hope remained for healing the awful breach. But some of them having long appeared to regard me with an eye of suspicious jealousy, afforded no opportunity for such an interview. Cold, distant, inhospitable, they passed by and left me to myself. But I learned much by this day's observation.

“The next day being First-day, I attended Pine Street meeting. Silence appeared proper for me, and a state of childlike docility. But my heart was warmed with love to my fellow-creatures, and tender compassion joined with Christian sympathy flowed towards them.

“On Second-day attended the general Quarterly Meeting, and was a silent observer of much confusion and disorder. In the altercations that ensued on several subjects brought before the meeting, I saw the spirit of strife and contention rise higher and higher, and that both parties were wasting their strength for naught, and dissipating the feelings of brotherly kindness in endeavors on the one hand to carry through certain measures, and on the other to oppose and prevent it. ‘Contention and personal reflection’ were not kept out of this meeting. Friends were interrupted while speaking, harsh epithets were applied to some, and irritation and warmth mani-

fested the unfitness of the meeting to transact its business." * * * *

“Under these impressions and awful views of the lamentable state of disorder into which the Society was plunged, my mind was opened to see more clearly that this contest would result in a separation of the two conflicting parts of the Society, as the only means of saving the whole from a total wreck; and the way and manner of this separation was clearly unfolded to my mental vision: that on the part of Friends it must be effected in the peaceable spirit of the non-resisting lamb,—first, by ceasing from the spirit of contention and strife, and then uniting together in the support of the order and discipline of the Society of Friends, separate and apart from those who had introduced the difficulties, and who claimed to be the orthodox part of the Society.

“A duty now presented to labour with Friends to be still and quiet, and let the others go on with their schemes and operations unmolested; that there was no use in thus spending their strength; and that a way of safety was about to open, by withdrawing from these scenes of contention and disorder. In pursuing this duty, and spreading the views that were given me of a quiet peaceable retreat from this unavailing contest, the only means of effecting it appeared to be, that Friends in the city cease from all contention, and then throw themselves into the arms of their country friends, by requesting of some neighbouring Monthly meeting, where they were generally united, to acknowledge and receive them into its bosom as members, without certificates, because it was obvious they could not obtain them from their respective meetings, if applied for. And this departure from the common usage of the

discipline would be all the change that need be made in the order of society. The sympathy and tender feelings of Friends in the country would doubtless operate toward their suffering, fugitive Friends in the city, and they will risk all consequences under the consciousness of the purity of their motives. From a monthly meeting which should thus adopt the golden rule, the concern would spread to a quarterly meeting, which would approve the measure; and at length other quarters would unite therein, till a yearly meeting of Friends might come together in love, in harmony, and peace.

“Among the effects that may result from such a quiet, peaceable retreat from the scenes of discord that now disgrace the Society, a prospective view was held up that the youth would be gathered into a calm; meetings would again be precious, instructive seasons; a living gospel ministry would be revived; and many would be drawn to attend Friends’ meetings who have latterly absented themselves therefrom; discipline might again become a blessing to society, and the testimonies of truth be again advanced and upheld.”¹

This ample extract from the Journal of John Comly is deemed appropriate, as the clearest exposition we have of the motives which actuated him and induced him to propose to his friends “a quiet retreat,” not from the Society of Friends, but from the scenes of disorder and contention that had destroyed its usefulness. Others may have conceived a similar plan, but he appears to have been the first to propose it. The act of separation did not originate with Elias Hicks,

¹ Journal of J. Comly, p. 305 to 310.

as some have supposed, and there is no reason to believe that he was consulted on the occasion.

The course recommended by John Comly, and ultimately adopted, affords abundant evidence that he and his friends were actuated by the peaceable Spirit of the Lamb. Many have doubted whether they were "wise as serpents," but none can deny that they were "harmless as doves." They were fully persuaded that the orthodox party in Philadelphia, having the clerks of four of the Monthly meetings on their side, and claiming to be the *weighty* part of the meetings, were preparing to enter upon a system of disownment, in order to eject from membership all who opposed them. "I imparted to Friends," writes John Comly, "a way of escape for them, if a system of disownment should be adopted by the ruling party, now nearly ready to use the Discipline for making a separation."

In order to prevent the scattering of the flock, which he thought would result from such measures, he visited several of the country meetings, and conferred with the most experienced and influential Friends in relation to the momentous concerns that occupied his attention. Some of them appeared cautious and doubtful, but most of those he consulted sympathized with him, and embraced the views he presented.

On the 14th of the Fourth month, the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, usually called the Select Yearly Meeting, convened in Philadelphia. The English Friends, George and Ann Jones and Elizabeth Robson, were in attendance, and took an active part.

The answers to the second query, which relates to the state of the ministry, were favorable, so far as each

meeting answered for itself and its ministers, which was all they had a right to do; but the answer from Philadelphia Quarter contained an appendix, brought up from *Pine Street Meeting*, stating, in substance, that ministers *coming among them, preached "unsound doctrines,"* or "doctrines that went to destroy the foundation of the Christian religion."¹ This gratuitous charge, irregularly brought forward, was seized upon by one of the female ministers from England, who had the presumption to say, that if the other Quarterly meetings, ten in number, had answered as honestly as Philadelphia Quarter, they would have made a similar report, thus calling in question the truthfulness of the official reports. She was supported in this assertion by the other English Friends, as also by some of the active members of Philadelphia Quarter, and perhaps a few of the orthodox from the country.

On this report a proposition was founded to appoint a committee to visit the subordinate meetings of ministers and elders throughout the Yearly Meeting. This measure was urged by the orthodox party with great earnestness, and as strenuously opposed by a large number of Friends, principally from the country. Jonathan Evans, the clerk, made a minute in accordance with the wishes of his party, which doubtless he considered the *weighty part* of the meeting, and then, "notwithstanding *the opposition to the measure was still going on,*" he took down the names of the following committee, viz.: Samuel Bettle, Wm. Jackson, Jonathan Evans, Thomas Wister, Hinchman Haines, William Newbold, Joseph Whitall, Wm. Allinson, Sarah

¹ J. Comly's Journal, p. 317. Test. of A. Lower, Foster's Rep., I. 371, 372; and Test. of H. Jackson, II. 50.

Cresson, Jane Bettle, Hannah Whitall, Elizabeth Reeve, Mary Wister, Elizabeth Allinson, and Mary Morton. The whole committee were of the orthodox party, several of them were ministers, and they were expected to judge of the soundness of their brethren and sisters in the ministry, and to condemn all doctrines that they deemed unsound.¹ This party measure, carried by disregarding the sentiments of a large and valuable part of the meeting, was a source of deep grief and despondency to many sincere hearts, and a sad prelude of coming events.

On Second-day, the 16th of Fourth month, the General Yearly Meeting assembled at Arch Street house; Samuel Bettle was at the table as clerk, and John Comly as his assistant. The usual business of the first sitting is to call the names of the representatives from the Quarterly meetings, to read the certificates of visitors in attendance, and of epistles from other Yearly meetings, and to appoint a committee to prepare answers to the epistles.

While the meeting was engaged in this preliminary business, a visit was announced from Elizabeth Robson of England, and all proceedings were suspended while she was engaged in exhortation almost an hour, "exciting to firmness as a well-disciplined army."²

The meeting then proceeded with the business to an unusually late hour. At half past one, it adjourned till four, and during the interval, the representatives were to meet in order to nominate a clerk and assistant clerk for that year.

On calling over the names of the representatives,

¹ Test. of A. Lower and H. Jackson, Foster's Rep., I. 371, and II. 51; and J. Comly's Journal, p. 318.

² J. Comly's Journal, p. 319.

it appeared that the number from Abington, Bucks, and the Southern Quarter were much larger than usual.¹

The discipline provides that not less than four representatives shall be delegated by each Quarter, but does not state how many beyond that number may be appointed. Philadelphia Quarter, prior to 1827, had sent three representatives from each Monthly meeting. Most of the others had two from each Monthly meeting.²

There was no violation of discipline in sending more, but the Orthodox party charged their opponents with increasing the number at that time in order to effect a change in the clerkship. The Friends from Abington and Bucks asserted truly, that they had not previously sent their due proportion. The Southern, being a much smaller Quarter, had more than its due proportion. The whole number of representatives was 163, of whom it is said 45 were Orthodox.

It appears, by the testimony of two Friends, who were representatives, that soon after they convened, John Comly was proposed as clerk, and Samuel Bettle was also named for the same station.³ A warm debate ensued between the two parties, each adhering strenuously to its candidate. Much the larger number gave their voices for John Comly;—one of the witnesses estimated the majority in his favor at two thirds;—but the orthodox party asserted that the *weightier* part of the representatives were opposed to his nomination. To this it was replied, that they had no

¹ Foster's Rep., Test. of Thos. Evans, Vol. I. pp. 265, 274.

² Testimony of John Paul, Vol. II. p. 341.

³ Foster's Rep., Test. of A. Lower, I. 372; Test. Cephas Ross, II. 4.

means to judge of the weight of individuals; but they were all representatives of Quarterly meetings, and therefore stood on an equality.

Abraham Lower proposed that those who were in favor of John Comly should withdraw to one side of the house. This was strenuously resisted by the Orthodox party, some of whom protested that it was "like a political meeting to decide by a majority." It was proposed that a Friend should go to the table and take down the names of representatives who were in favor of John Comly; but those opposed to his nomination declared they would leave the house if such a measure were attempted. Two Friends went to the table for that purpose, and one of them commenced writing; some persons opened the door; — the yard was full of people, and the hour for meeting being nearly come, they rushed into the house. In the confusion that ensued, no business could be transacted. A proposition was made, and assented to by some, to meet next morning at 8 o'clock; — others, who were of the Orthodox party, requested John Cox, a venerable and worthy minister, to report that they could not agree.

When the Yearly Meeting assembled in the afternoon, Samuel Bettle, the former clerk, read the opening minute, and John Cox reported, that the representatives could not agree in the nomination of a clerk. An aged Friend said, he had been in the habit of attending Yearly meetings for sixty years, and it was always the practice to continue the old clerks until new ones could be appointed. This assertion, though literally true, was fallacious in its application; for such a case, we believe, had never occurred till then, and the practice of continuing the

former clerk extended only to the first sitting. His proposition was cordially united with by the Orthodox party, but strenuously opposed by a large part of the meeting. Such a scene of altercation and confusion ensued, as was probably never before witnessed in a Friends' Yearly Meeting. Samuel Bettle, being urged by his friends, recorded himself clerk and John Comly assistant, notwithstanding the persistent opposition of many.¹

In relation to his own appointment, John Comly writes as follows: "As assistant clerk, I was very unwilling to resume my seat under such circumstances, but it was urged by several Orthodox Friends, not because of their unity with my being there, but because there seemed no other way than to suffer it to be so under present circumstances. After being repeatedly solicited and hurried by them, I reluctantly yielded as a present expedient, for I saw and felt the disappointment and dissatisfaction among Friends to be such, that a very little spark would kindle to an explosion a mighty mass of feelings now working in the agitated, grieved, and disgusted hearts of my brethren. Partaking of the sympathy and exercise and travail of the oppressed, I felt a disposition of condescension, and sat at the table during the remainder of that sitting, though greatly to the grief of many of my own dear friends, who considered my compliance as a mark of submission and acquiescence with orthodox measures, that ought to have been steadily and firmly opposed; and that by thus yielding to them I had virtually sanctioned their arbitrary proceedings and weakened or tied my own hands."²

¹ Foster's Rep., Test. of Halliday Jackson, Ab. Lower, Cephas Ross, and Thos. Evans, Vol. I. 265, 372; Vol. II. 4, 52.

² Journal of J. C., p. 320.

At the close of the sitting, being spoken to by Samuel Bettle on a charge of promoting a division in the Society, John Comly replied, that he had not promoted a *division*, but that a division existing which he had not made nor promoted, he had seen that it must terminate in the separation of the two parties. As things were getting worse, and there was no hope of a reconciliation, he had endeavored to prepare the minds of Friends to look toward such a separation in a quiet peaceable manner, so as to reorganize the Society of Friends on the peaceable principle of love and good will to all, without contention, and this information he wished Samuel Bettle to communicate to his friends. This appeared to give satisfaction, and was doubtless the very course that the Orthodox party wished him to pursue.

Soon after the meeting was opened on Third-day morning, John Comly rose and said in substance: That it had been through condescension to a few Friends that he took his seat at the table as assistant clerk the preceding afternoon; but as he did not consider himself appointed with the unity of the meeting, he was not easy to serve in that capacity under existing circumstances. He then adverted to the divided state of the Society,—that there were two parties between whom love and unity did not subsist, as became the followers of Christ, or as brethren. Whatever may have been the cause of this difference, he deemed it then useless to inquire; but their duty was to consider and feel after the best measures to restore harmony. He therefore proposed, as the Yearly Meeting was evidently not qualified for the transaction of its business, that it should adjourn

until it could come together in more harmony and love.

He further observed, that if the meeting should not accede to his proposal, he felt conscientiously scrupulous of acting as its organ, inasmuch as he did not consider himself appointed in the order nor with the unity of the body.

A solemn stillness pervaded the congregation; and after a pause, Dr. Joseph Parrish, a Friend universally esteemed and beloved, arose, and advancing in the aisle, commenced a pathetic appeal to the meeting. He spoke of his ancestry, as having evinced their deep attachment to the Society of Friends, and stated that he and many of his contemporaries felt the same warmth of affection for it and its principles; he deplored the unhappy division of sentiment and party feeling that existed among them, and adverting to the proposition then before the meeting, his feelings were so wrought upon, that the organs of utterance failed, and an impressive solemnity was spread over the meeting.¹

Several Friends united with the proposed adjournment; others opposed it on the ground of its novelty, and because they apprehended it was designed to dissolve the Yearly Meeting. After more than half an hour spent in its consideration, John Comly finding that it could not be carried, and that even those whom he considered the friends of good order were not prepared for it, withdrew it. He rose and said, he saw his proposition was not likely to be adopted, and as the meeting would proceed with its business, and many Friends expressed a wish that he should act as assistant clerk, he felt disposed to submit and serve

¹ Journal of J. Comly, 323.

the meeting, *provided he were now appointed by the meeting*, and this to be known by the general expression of unity. "This submission," he writes, "was the result of the change which I saw and felt in the state of the meeting from what it had been before, and when those scruples impressed my mind; and from the view then opened of a little narrow path in which I might be of use to the meeting as assistant clerk, if appointed in the general unity, which was now very largely expressed by very many voices."¹

John Comly continued to act as assistant clerk till the close of the Yearly Meeting, very much to the regret of some of his friends, who feared he would thus commit himself to measures he could not approve. Whatever may be thought of the expediency of his course, the purity of his motives cannot be doubted. For a long time prior to the unhappy dissensions then prevailing, he had been generally regarded as one of the best and wisest men in the Society. Calm and deliberate in his movements, he was remarkably qualified to give judicious counsel in meetings for discipline, and in the exercise of his gift as a minister he was clear, concise, and effective, a "workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." Being a lover of peace, he seldom engaged in controversy, and generally acted upon the principle, that it is better to suffer than contend.

The chief objection to Samuel Bettle as clerk, was the ground he had previously taken, and afterwards publicly avowed, that he did not consider any of

¹ Journal of J. Comly, pp. 322, 325; and Test. of S. Bettle and H. Jackson, Foster's Report, Vol. I. 266, and II. 54.

those who objected to the proposed declaration of faith, as "entitled to any *weight* or influence at all."¹ As he professed also to decide by *weight*,—not numbers,—he virtually disfranchised a majority of the Yearly Meeting, and threw the whole power into the hands of his own party—the minority. After this unwarrantable assumption of power, he ceased to be the servant of the meeting, and was disqualified for the clerkship. There was, however, another objection to his serving as clerk at that time. The subject of Leonard Snowden's removal from the eldership by Green Street Monthly Meeting had been referred by Philadelphia Quarter to the Yearly Meeting for its advice, and it was thought that Samuel Bettle had taken so active a part in that matter as to bias his judgment. From the same quarter, an important proposition in relation to appeals was also brought up; and from Bucks and Abington Quarters, propositions to limit the terms of appointments to the eldership and the Meeting for Sufferings. And, moreover, the complaint of the Southern Quarterly Meeting against the Meeting for Sufferings was expected to come before the Yearly Meeting.

Some of these propositions had come from one party and some from the other; it was evident that the meeting was not in a condition to consider them calmly, or to decide them satisfactorily, and therefore, by the tacit consent of both parties, they were not taken up, but deferred; except the case relating to Leonard Snowden, which was returned to Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting.²

¹ Testimony of S. Bettle, Foster's Report, I. 82.

² Testimony of H. Jackson, Ibid. II. 55.

There was one measure in which both parties united, and it is creditable to both that it was an act of humanity. It was agreed to raise the sum of three thousand dollars to assist the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina in removing from that State a large number of colored people under the care of Friends, who had been manumitted and were liable, if they remained, to be again enslaved. The Quarterly meetings were requested to contribute their several quotas, which they complied with, and paid them over to the treasurer of the Yearly Meeting.¹

The last act *unitedly performed* by the body of Friends before its separation, was to relieve freedmen of African descent. Their interest in that people still continues,—and the hope is fondly cherished, that the co-operation and sympathy of the two sections of the Society in so good a work may yet bring them nearer together.

It would have been gratifying to close this sad chapter with the recital of so generous a deed; but unhappily the Yearly Meeting, then near its conclusion, was again agitated and convulsed, through the interference of one of the female ministers from England.² She proposed, and the women's meeting consented to appoint a committee to visit the Monthly and Quarterly meetings. A deputation of two women brought the proposition into the men's meeting for its co-operation. At first, the meeting seemed not disposed to unite with it, the clerk and some of the Orthodox party, as well as other Friends, expressing their judgment that the meeting,

¹ Testimony of Thos. Evans and Halliday Jackson, Foster's Report, Vol. I. 267, and II. 56.

² Testimony of A. Lower and H. Jackson, Vol. I. 374, and II. 56.

at that late period, was not prepared to go into an appointment.

At this juncture, a young man who had been, the evening previous, at Green Street meeting-house, where a conference of Friends was held, informed the meeting of the measures adopted there preparatory to a separation. This statement and disclosure drew out from many an expression in favor of having a committee appointed, and some of those who had opposed it now became its advocates. It was strenuously opposed by many Friends, and much excitement prevailed; but the clerk proceeded to write a minute, and those who belonged to his party nominated the whole committee, which was composed in part of the same individuals who had been appointed in the meeting of ministers and elders for a similar purpose.¹ Those who were opposed to this measure declined to take any part in it, but they remained in the meeting till the closing minute was read, to meet again "at the usual time next year, if the Lord permit."²

CHAPTER XV.

REORGANIZATION OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING.

AFTER enduring for several years the sorrowful effects produced by the divided and distracted con-

¹ Testimony of H. Jackson, Foster's Report, II. 56; and J. Comly's Journal, p. 331.

² Testimony of Thomas Evans, Foster's Report, I. 268.

dition of the Society, many valuable Friends, who loved peace and abhorred contention, became prepared, though reluctantly, to acquiesce in the necessity of a separation. Events that transpired in the early part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in 1827, confirmed the impression, that a party, who were unquestionably a minority of the body, were determined to bear rule in an arbitrary manner, notwithstanding the entreaties and remonstrances of their brethren. The course pursued by the clerk of the Select Meeting, and those who acted with him, — and the imposition of a clerk upon the General Yearly Meeting by the same party, in opposition to the greater part of the body, — increased the dissatisfaction already prevailing, and brought on the crisis.

On Fourth-day evening, the 18th of the 4th month, being the third day of the Yearly Meeting, a number of Friends, perhaps fifteen or twenty, met together at a private house, and took into consideration the state of the Yearly Meeting and the Society at large. A few Friends were then nominated to prepare an address, and a meeting for conference was appointed to be held the next evening at Green Street meeting-house.¹

On Fifth-day evening, a large number accordingly assembled; the essay of an address was produced, and after some time spent in its consideration, they adjourned to the following evening.

On Sixth-day evening, the 20th, they resumed the consideration of the address, and after some alterations it was unanimously adopted. They then adjourned to meet again on the morrow.

¹ Test. of H. Jackson, Foster's Rep., II. 59.

After the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting on Seventh-day, the conference of Friends again assembled at Green Street meeting-house. The essay of an address being again read and weightily considered, it was agreed that it be signed on behalf of the meeting, and a suitable number of copies printed for distribution.

The address, after adverting to the love and harmony that had formerly prevailed in the Society, and the religious liberty Friends had asserted and enjoyed, proceeds as follows: "With this great object in view, our attention has been turned to the present condition of this Yearly Meeting and its different branches; and by evidence on every hand, we are constrained to declare that the unity of this body is interrupted, — that a division exists among us, developing in its progress views which appear incompatible with each other, and feelings averse to a reconciliation. Doctrines held by one part of the Society, and which we believe to be sound and edifying, are pronounced by the other part to be unsound and spurious. From this has resulted a state of things that has proved destructive of peace and tranquillity, and in which the fruits of love and condescension have been blasted, and the comforts and enjoyments even of social intercourse greatly diminished. Measures have been pursued which we deem oppressive, and in their nature and tendency calculated to undermine and destroy those benefits, to establish and perpetuate which should be the purpose of every religious association." * * * *

"It is under a solemn and deliberate view of this painful state of our affairs, that we feel bound to express to you, under a settled conviction of mind, that the period has fully come in which we ought to look

toward making a quiet retreat from this scene of confusion, and we therefore recommend to you deeply to weigh the momentous subject, and to adopt such a course as Truth, under solid and solemn deliberation, may point to, in furtherance of this object, that our Society may again enjoy the free exercise of its rights and privileges. And we think proper to remind you that we have no new gospel to preach, nor any other foundation to lay than that already laid, and proclaimed by our forefathers, even ‘Christ within, the hope of glory,’ — ‘the power of God and the wisdom of God.’ Neither have we any other system of discipline to propose than that which we already possess; believing that whilst we sincerely endeavour to live and walk consistently with our holy profession, and to administer it in the spirit of forbearance and love, it will be found sufficient for the government of the Church.”¹ * * * *

“Having experienced, in the several sittings of this conference, a comfortable evidence of divine regard, imparting strength and encouragement to look forward to another friendly meeting together, this meeting agrees to adjourn to the first Second-day in the 6th month next, at ten o’clock in the morning, at Green Street meeting-house, Philadelphia, if the Lord permit.”

In the Fifth month, 1827, the committee appointed six months before reported to Philadelphia Quarterly

¹ The address was signed on behalf of the meeting by —

John Comly,	Joshua Lippincott,
Robert Moore,	John Hunt,
William Mode,	Stephen Stephens,
Richard Barnard,	Joseph G. Rowland,
John Watson, (Buckingham,)	William Wharton.

Meeting a proposition to lay down Green Street Monthly Meeting, and transfer the members to the Monthly Meeting of the Northern District. This proposition, made in opposition to the wishes of the members to be thus transferred, was, through the influence of the Orthodox party, recorded as adopted by the Quarterly Meeting.

But Green Street Monthly Meeting, anticipating this movement, had, the month previous, concluded to dissolve its connection with Philadelphia Quarter, and had given notice to that meeting before the consummation of the measure.

The Quarterly Meeting attempted to justify its proceedings by the following rule of discipline: "It is agreed that no Quarterly meeting be *set up* or *laid down* without the consent of the Yearly Meeting, no Monthly meeting without the consent of the Quarterly Meeting; nor any Preparative or *other meeting for business* or worship, till application to the Monthly Meeting is *first made*, and when there approved, the consent of the Quarterly Meeting be also obtained." The Friends of Green Street maintained, that, according to this rule, "a Quarterly meeting has no other power than to *confirm* or *prevent* the setting up or laying down of a Monthly meeting. It is also clear that a Quarterly meeting cannot lay down a 'Preparative or *other meeting for business* or worship, till application to the Monthly Meeting is first made, and *when there approved*, the consent of the Quarterly Meeting be also obtained.' The terms, *other meeting for business*, in the clause, must include a Monthly meeting." * * * * "The absurdity of the application of the rule, as construed by the Quarterly Meeting, becomes evident when applied to the *setting up* of a Monthly meeting, with-

out the consent of the parties who are to compose such meeting, — the same principle clearly applying in both cases.”

In the same month, application was made by Green Street Monthly Meeting to be received as a branch of Abington Quarterly Meeting; and there being “a full and decided expression” in favor of it, that meeting agreed to the proposition, and sent down to the Monthly Meeting a minute of acceptance.¹

In like manner, Radnor Monthly Meeting withdrew from Philadelphia Quarter, and was received as a constituent part of Abington Quarter; and Mount Holly Monthly Meeting detached itself from Burlington Quarter, to become a branch of Bucks Quarterly Meeting.

In these cases, the orthodox committee appointed at the last sitting of the Yearly Meeting were in attendance, and remonstrated without effect.² There were, doubtless, some orthodox members in all the meetings who objected, but they were so few in number that the “prevailing sense of the meetings” in favor of the proceedings could not be mistaken or denied.

A large number of Friends from four of the Monthly meetings of Philadelphia applied to be received as members of Byberry and Darby Monthly meetings, and were admitted without bringing certificates, which it was well known would have been denied them by the Orthodox party, who had already commenced proceedings against some of them. Byberry and Darby Monthly meetings then instituted each a meeting for worship in the city, and Abing-

¹ Statement of Facts, Foster's Report, II. 450.

² Test. of Jos. Whitall and T. Evans, Foster's Rep., Vol. I. pp. 222, 270.

ton Quarterly Meeting established there a meeting for discipline, called the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia.¹ To this Monthly Meeting, as well as to that of Green Street, persons living in the city, and known to be in membership with Friends, were admitted as members, or allowed to transfer their rights without certificates.

These measures, preliminary to the reorganization of the Yearly Meeting, were designed to forestall the action of the Orthodox party, who intended to disown all that participated in that movement. In Philadelphia Quarter they had already begun their disciplinary proceedings for this purpose, but were frustrated by the Friends taking shelter under the wings of other Quarterly meetings, after which their papers of disownment were disregarded.

The transfer of membership without a certificate, and the action of the Monthly and Quarterly meetings in that emergency, were not in accordance with the letter of discipline, but arose from the necessity of the case. The Friends concerned in those extraordinary proceedings believed that the compact had been broken by the substitution of arbitrary power for the spirit of love; they saw no way to regain their religious rights but by a reorganization, and for such an exigency the rules of discipline did not and could not provide.

In pursuance of its adjournment, the General Meeting of Friends again met in conference at Green Street meeting-house, Philadelphia, on the 4th and 5th days of the Sixth month, 1827, and

¹ Testimony of Thomas Evans, Foster's Report, I. 270; and Testimony of H. Jackson, II. p. 151.

adopted an epistle addressed, "To Friends of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings within the compass of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia."

In accordance with the recommendation of the conference, the Quarterly meetings of Abington, Bucks, and Concord, also the Western and Southern Quarters, appointed representatives to attend the Yearly Meeting to be held in the Tenth month. In the Southern Quarterly Meeting, little or no opposition was made, its members being generally united in sentiment. In the other four Quarters, the orthodox party made opposition, but being greatly in the minority, they separated from the main body and set up meetings of their own, leaving Friends in possession of the meeting-houses.

On the 15th of Tenth month, 1827, the Yearly Meeting assembled. The men occupied a large temporary building erected for the occasion; the women met in Green Street meeting-house. "It was estimated that nearly fifteen hundred men Friends were in attendance, and a sensible solemnity and tender feeling being experienced, the meeting appeared to be owned by the Head of the Church."¹

Representatives were present from Abington, Bucks, Concord, the Western and Southern Quarterly meetings, and also from Mount Holly, Chesterfield, and Radnor Monthly meetings.

A committee appointed at the General Meeting held in the Sixth month, to attend to the state of the

¹ Cockburn's Review, 225. Halliday Jackson testified: "I think it was estimated that there were more than twenty-five hundred including both sexes; some thought near three thousand attended at some of the sittings." Foster, Vol. II. p. 61

Society and afford assistance to Friends under suffering, reported attention to the service.

A large committee of men and women Friends was appointed to represent the Yearly Meeting in its recess, and attend to the important concerns which claimed the attention of the body. It was unanimously recommended that the ministers and elders present should meet in a yearly-meeting capacity on the next morning, and sit as heretofore on its own adjournments.

A committee appointed to draught an address to Friends within the compass of the Yearly Meeting, produced one, which was adopted and 10,000 copies directed to be printed and distributed to the Quarterly and Monthly meetings. An epistle to Baltimore Yearly Meeting was also deliberately considered and adopted.

On the 19th of the month, the concluding minute was read, as follows :

“Having been favoured, through the unmerited mercy of the Head of the Church, to witness in the several sittings of this meeting the baptizing influence of his own blessed Spirit cementing us together in the bond of gospel love, and enabling us to conduct the weighty affairs of the church in much brotherly affection and harmony, and feeling grateful for the favour, the meeting concludes to meet again on the second Second-day of the Fourth month next, if the Lord permit. BENJAMIN FERRIS, *Clerk.*”

From the epistle addressed “To the Quarterly, Monthly, and Particular Meetings of Friends,” within the compass of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the following passages are selected:—“Our profession is high and holy; and let us be increasingly

concerned to walk consistently therewith. The patient sufferings of our faithful predecessors finally established for them an excellent name, even amongst their persecutors. They held up with *practical* clearness a peaceable testimony against ‘wars and fightings,’ and by a scrupulous adherence to the principles of justice, became proverbial for integrity. In the present afflicting state of things, we feel deeply concerned that their example in these respects may be kept steadily in view,—that our religious testimonies may never be wounded by contending for property and asserting our rights;—that no course be pursued, although sanctioned by the laws of the excellent government under which we live, that may be at variance with the spirit of that holy Lawgiver who taught his disciples, ‘If any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also;’ and who set forth his own situation as it related to this world when he said, ‘The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.’

“And we tenderly exhort, that in places where our numbers constitute the larger part of any meeting, their conduct may be regulated by the rule laid down by our blessed Lord: ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.’ The discipline under which we act positively discourages members of our Society from suing each other at law. To violate this discipline in a meeting capacity, is not only a departure from our established order, but is calculated to injure us in the eyes of sober inquirers after truth, and to disturb the peace of our own minds.”

A separation took place in the other Quarterly

meetings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the following order: at Salem, Burlington, and Caln, in the Eleventh month; at Haddonfield, in the Twelfth month; and at Shrewsbury and Rahway, in the Second month following.¹ As the Orthodox party in most of the Quarterly and Monthly meetings were much the smaller number, they usually effected a separation by remaining in the meeting-house after the minute of adjournment was read; and then appointing a clerk, they proceeded to business, or adjourned to another time and place. In most places, on account of the smallness of their numbers, they procured other houses to hold their meetings; but in some instances both sections continued, for a time, to use the same meeting-house, separated on First-days by a partition, and holding their mid-week meetings on different days. At Burlington and some other places, the Orthodox section being much the larger, retained the meeting-houses.

It was a time of deep distress to many sincere Friends in both sections. Members of the same family were often divided in sentiment and attended different meetings; old associations and tender friendships were severed, and not unfrequently, acrimonious feelings were too much indulged.

In the Spring of 1828, the reorganized Yearly Meeting again assembled, and representatives were present from all the Quarters except Philadelphia. The Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, and that of Green Street, having been attached to Abington Quarter, were represented through it, and a large number of Friends residing in the city were in attendance.

¹ Testimony of Joseph Whitall, Foster's Report, I. 224.

An epistle addressed to the meeting by the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Baltimore was received and read, and its lively, pertinent contents were truly consolatory and acceptable. On entering upon the consideration of the state of the Society as exhibited in the answers to the queries, the meeting was brought under a deep concern and exercise for the removal of existing weaknesses and for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness.

In accordance with a proposition from Abington Quarter, it was agreed to establish a Quarterly Meeting, to be composed of Radnor, Green Street, and Philadelphia Monthly meetings, to be denominated "Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting of Friends." A Quarterly meeting of ministers and elders was connected with it, as prescribed in the rules of discipline.

A committee was appointed to represent the Yearly Meeting during its recess, and hence called the Representative Committee. Its functions are the same as those formerly delegated to the Meeting for Sufferings; it reports to the Yearly Meeting, and is re-appointed every year.

The Yearly Meeting continued its sittings from the 14th to the 18th of the Fourth month, conducting its business in harmony and brotherly love. It addressed epistles to the other Yearly meetings of Friends on this continent and in England. From that addressed to the Yearly Meeting of London the following passage is selected:—

“For a long course of years, through the prevailing influence of Christian love, Friends had been enabled to stand a united body and prosecute their religious concerns in harmony and mutual condescension. From a variety of causes, originating, as we believe,

in unfaithfulness to the clear discoveries of that heavenly light which eminently dawned on our Society in the beginning, this blessed harmony has been interrupted. In this part of the vineyard, that divine charity which stands pre-eminent among the fruits of the Holy Spirit, was very much lost, and a spirit of judgment out of the truth usurped its place, producing divisions and contentions not only destructive to the peace of the Church, but subversive of its order and discipline. In this very afflictive state of society, its deeply exercised members appealing from the partial tribunal of human decision to the merciful seat of divine judgment, where purity of motive always finds acceptance, and bowing in awfulness and humility before Him who has promised to lead his devoted children in 'paths that they have not known,' they were favored to discover a way cast up for their deliverance. It is with unfeigned gratitude to the God of all our sure mercies we are bound to acknowledge that he has not only opened the way, but led us on step by step, and endued us with power to advance therein, until he has brought us, as a people, into the possession of love, and harmony, and peace."

The spirit of brotherly love which pervades this epistle was manifested in the action of the Yearly Meeting towards the orthodox party. No measures were taken with a view to their disownment, but, on the contrary, they were left at liberty to come into fellowship with Friends without being dealt with as offenders.

At the usual time in the Fourth month, 1828, the Orthodox section held their Yearly Meeting at Arch Street house, Philadelphia. They took measures to render the separation complete, by initiating a course

of disciplinary proceedings to lay down meetings and disown members wherever their authority was not recognized. Thus, for instance, the Southern Quarterly Meeting was declared to be laid down, with all its monthly meetings, and the members, by the same summary process, were said to be attached to another Quarterly meeting, without any of the usual care being bestowed upon them.¹

In other Quarterly meetings, a minority of the members — often a very small fragment — was made to assume the functions of the whole body, — laying down Monthly meetings, and attaching the members, without their knowledge or consent, to other meetings.

The beneficent design of the Discipline in dealing with offenders for *their own good*, in order to reclaim them, was entirely ignored, and the purpose of cutting off from membership seemed to be the only end kept in view. In the same spirit of crimination, a “Declaration” was issued by the orthodox Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, replete with grave accusations against the other section of the Society, with the obvious intention of prejudicing the public against them, and placing them without the pale of Christian charity. This defamatory publication has been answered, and its charges refuted, in a “Review” by William Gibbons, published at Philadelphia, in 1847.

In the 8th month, 1828, Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting was opened at Cheery Street meeting-house. It was then composed of Radnor, Green Street, and

¹ Test. of J. Whitall, an Orthodox witness. “*Ques.* Was the Southern Quarterly Meeting ever labored with, before it was laid down. *Ans.* I believe not.” Foster’s Rep., Vol. I. p. 259.

Philadelphia Monthly meetings, and a few months subsequently the Monthly Meeting held at Roaring Creek was annexed to it.

The reorganization of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting being thus accomplished, it may not be inappropriate to consider the grounds on which the measure was justified by its authors. It has been shown in the preceding narrative that discord prevailed to such a degree as to destroy the objects of religious association, and even to impair the harmony of social intercourse. A division existed, and a separation appeared inevitable; but was the method adopted the best that could have been pursued?

It has been asserted, that, had the majority of the representatives, in 1827, signed a report nominating another clerk, the Yearly Meeting must have acceded to it, or the minority would have retired and set up another meeting, thus leaving the larger body in possession of the house. It appears that this course was proposed and attempted, but was frustrated by delay and indecision.

Again, it has been supposed, that, had John Comly, at the time he declined to act as assistant clerk, proposed to withdraw and set the example, two thirds of the Yearly Meeting would have gone with him. This supposition may be correct, but much disorder would have ensued, and the result would not have been more favorable than that which arose from the course adopted.

The plan proposed by John Comly and carried into effect, was doubtless based upon the idea, that, the Yearly Meeting having been originally organized by representatives from Monthly or Quarterly meetings, with other members in attendance, it could,

without a departure from Friends' principles, be re-organized by a convention of delegates from the constituent meetings.

It appears, by the earliest historical account of Friends' meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, that the Monthly Meeting of Burlington, held the 2d day of the Third month, 1681, "concluding that a Yearly Meeting might have a general service, unanimously agreed to establish one in Burlington, the first of which was to begin the 28th of the Sixth month following; of which notice was given, and they accordingly met at the house of Thomas Gardiner. On the 31st they proceeded to regulate such business in the Society as was then necessary, particularly in appointing the times and places, when and where the different meetings for business throughout the country were to be thereafter held, among which a general one for worship was established to be held yearly at Salem on the 2d First-day of the Second month. Having settled these and other matters, they adjourned to the 6th of the Seventh month in the succeeding year, then to meet at the same place."¹

Such was the origin of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. At the time it was instituted, there were but three Monthly meetings in New Jersey, viz., Shrewsbury, established in 1670; Salem, in 1676; and Burlington, in 1678.

It appears by the same authority, that, about the year 1680, the Friends at Burlington established "a Quarterly Meeting among themselves," and that Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting was attached to it in 1682.

At the time the Yearly Meeting was instituted at

¹ Smith's History. Hazard's Register, Vol. VI. p. 184.

Burlington, there were Yearly meetings in Rhode Island and Maryland which had been in existence some years, and there is reason to believe that with these a correspondence was opened, but there is no evidence that their consent or assistance was deemed requisite to the establishment of the new Yearly Meeting.

In like manner, when Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was reorganized by the action of Quarterly and Monthly meetings within its limits, the neighboring Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, *then undivided*, opened a correspondence with it, and in the following year the Yearly Meeting of New York gave it the same evidence of religious fellowship.

Soon after the separation, measures were taken to ascertain the relative numbers of the two parties, and the following census, "so far as ascertained up to the year 1829," was produced and vouched for in the testimony of Halliday Jackson.¹

1. PHILADELPHIA QUARTERLY MEETING.	TOTAL.
Number of Friends, including men, women, and minors,	2676
Number of those called Orthodox, including men, women, and minors,	2643
Number of Neutrals, or those undecided,	14
	— 5333
2. ABINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING.	
Number of Friends, including men, women, and minors,	2829
Number of those called Orthodox, including men, women, and minors,	321
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	3
	— 3153
	—
<i>Carried over,</i>	8486

¹ Foster's Report, Vol. II. p. 461.

		TOTAL.
<i>Brought forward,</i>		8486
3. BUCKS QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	2831	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	489	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	16	
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	3336
4. CONCORD QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	2573	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	788	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	75	
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	3436
5. WESTERN QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	2296	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	454	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	70	
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	2820
6. CALN QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	921	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	557	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	175	
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	1653
The numbers in the following Quarterly meetings were ascertained under commissions issued from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania for Eastern District.		
7. SOUTHERN QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	501	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	30	
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	531
8. BURLINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	1049	
Number of those called Orthodox,	800	
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	1849
<i>Carried over,</i>		<hr style="width: 50px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 22,111

STRENGTH OF THE TWO PARTIES. 287

		TOTAL.
<i>Brought forward,</i>		22,111
9. HADDONFIELD QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	821	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	789	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	76	
	1686	
10. SALEM QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	1238	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	298	
	1536	
11. SHREWSBURY AND RAHWAY QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	750	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	175	
	925	
Total,		26,258
Aggregate of Friends, as far as ascertained, within		
the Yearly Meeting, up to 1829,		18,485
Aggregate of those called Orthodox, to same period,		7,344
Aggregate of Neutrals, or undecided, "		429
		26,258
Total,		

In 21 Monthly meetings in Pennsylvania the numbers were taken as both parties stood at the division.

It is proper to observe that this census differs somewhat from a statement furnished by Thomas Evans, an Orthodox witness, in relation to six of the Quarterly meetings, viz., Philadelphia, Caln, Burlington, Haddonfield, Salem, and Shrewsbury and Rahway.¹ According to his statement, those whom he calls "Hicksites," in these six Quarters, numbered 6123, being 1332 less than the census, and the Orthodox numbered 7241, being 1979 more than the census. As there were but

¹ Foster's Report, II. 495.

few of the Orthodox party in the other five Quarters, they did not deem it expedient to offer any statement of their number. If the statement of Thomas Evans were substituted, as far as it goes, for that of Halliday Jackson, the result would be, in the whole Yearly Meeting, 17,153 Friends, and 9323 orthodox Friends.

CHAPTER XVI.

SEPARATIONS IN NEW YORK, OHIO, INDIANA, AND BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETINGS.

THE elements of discord, which led to the separation in Philadelphia, existed to some extent in other Yearly meetings, and the intimate relations they maintained with each other could not fail to bring the subjects of controversy under the notice of all.

The Yearly Meeting, composed of Friends of New York, Vermont, Connecticut, and the province of Canada, convened in the city of New York on Second-day, the 26th of Fifth month, 1828. In the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, held on the Seventh day preceding, John Barrow, who had been clerk the year before, opened the meeting as usual, and at the close of the first sitting the representatives remained together to nominate a clerk. When the meeting convened in the afternoon, one of the representatives reported that they had agreed to propose John Barrow as clerk; soon after which another of the representatives signified that the name proposed was not their choice. It appeared that the representatives were divided into two parties, each of which had a name to propose, and each claiming to be the greater number.

As there was much diversity of sentiment and no decision could be made in unity, John Barrow wrote a minute, stating, in substance, that, "as there was no choice on the part of the representatives, and the meeting was evidently not united on any Friend to serve as clerk, the present clerk was requested to serve until the meeting was more united." His understanding of this minute was, as he subsequently stated, that he should serve until the next sitting.¹ He accordingly did so, and then, after the withdrawal of the orthodox party, he was appointed clerk.

When the Yearly Meeting for Discipline assembled on Second-day morning, Samuel Parsons, the clerk who had been appointed the year previous, took his seat at the table, but he did not observe the usual custom of bringing with him the book of minutes, nor did he lay on the table the reports from the Quarterly meetings.² He read an opening minute, and called the names of the representatives from a slip of paper he held in his hand. It was then his duty, according to usage, to read the reports from the Quarterly meetings, but at this juncture Thos. Shillitoe, a minister from England, rose and stated that a large number of individuals were there who had been regularly disowned, and in strong terms he protested against the meeting's proceeding with its business while these persons were present. He alluded to Friends from Philadelphia, who were members of the reorganized Yearly Meeting. This interference by a member of another yearly meeting was a step that ought to have been discountenanced as indecorous; but it was seconded by several prominent members of the orthodox party. Nicholas Brown, of

¹ Test. of J. Barrow, Foster's Rep., Vol. II. pp. 261, 270.

² Test. of S. Parsons, Foster's Rep., I. 178.

Canada West, a minister and a member of New York Yearly Meeting, urged the clerk to read the reports from the Quarterly meetings, and then, the meeting being properly opened, the subject that had been mentioned might claim its attention. Elias Hicks deprecated the discussion of that subject as being calculated to lower the dignity of the meeting. He thought the Friends alluded to had as good a right to sit as any who were present. The discussion was continued for some time with much warmth, until an orthodox minister proposed that those who were opposed to the sitting of the persons alluded to should retire to the basement story, which was united with by several of that party. Nicholas Brown then remarked, that after the proposition they had just heard, it was time the meeting should act with decision ; — that the person at the table was not disposed to serve the meeting, but *a party*, — that he had not brought the book of minutes, — and that his intention evidently was, to separate from the meeting and take its books and papers. He expressed his opposition to anything like an adjournment, and suggested that the representatives should name a clerk that would serve the meeting. This proposition being united with by many, — the representatives, most of whom had been previously together in conference on the subject, named Samuel Mott for clerk.¹

Samuel Parsons then rose with a paper in his hand, which he proposed to read. Many persons, suspecting it was a minute of adjournment, strenuously objected to his reading it, while the orthodox party insisted that he should proceed. Elias Hicks suggested

¹ Narrative of Thos. McClintock ; see The Ed. or Adv. of Truth Vol. I. p. 186.

that he should be permitted to read it, and then the meeting would be able to judge. Samuel Parsons said it was not a minute of adjournment, and he proceeded to read what he called a "minute for continuing the sitting of the Yearly Meeting in the basement story of the meeting-house." When he reached that part of it which stated, that "the Pennsylvania intruders were *unsound in principle and disorderly in practice*,"¹ the meeting was deeply agitated, and the noise became so great that the reading could not be heard.

Samuel Mott, being called to go to the table, made an effort to ascend the gallery steps, but the way being closed, he was obliged to step over the gallery-rail, and by the time he reached the table, Samuel Parsons had nearly finished reading his minute, which, though inaudible to the meeting at large, seemed to be understood by his party. They immediately withdrew, and finding the basement story locked, they proceeded to the Medical Hall which had been previously offered to them.

About two hundred and forty-five individuals, including twenty of the representatives, withdrew; while those who remained numbered about seven hundred, including sixty-three representatives.²

It is obvious that the minute read by Samuel Parsons was not the act of the meeting, but was made to suit the views of a small minority.

A separation took place, on the afternoon of the same day, in the women's Yearly Meeting, by the withdrawal of the orthodox party; but not having

¹ Test. of S. Parsons, Foster's Report, Vol. I. p. 181.

² Test. of H. Jackson, and Exhibit O, Foster's Report, Vol. II. pp. 69 and 459.

the clerk with them, they did not take the books and papers, as had been done in the men's meeting.

After the secession of the Orthodox party, the Yearly Meeting continued its deliberations in entire harmony, and issued an Epistle of Advice to its members, from which the following passage is selected:—

“Such, dear friends, being the state of our affairs, we may anticipate difficulty in our subordinate and lesser meetings from those who have separated themselves. Of the trials which will be attendant on the present state of things among us, in our Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative meetings, we wish affectionately to apprise you. And, dear friends, we entreat you humbly to seek for counsel and direction at the Divine fountain of all true wisdom. We desire that on all occasions we may be actuated by a spirit of tenderness and love towards those who have gone from us, and that our conduct may give evidence that we are governed by those truly Christian principles under the influence of which we cannot render railing for railing, but, contrariwise, blessing;—under the influence of these blessed principles we shall be preserved from a spirit of accusation and denunciation towards any who may differ in opinion on points not involving the practice of Christian virtues. We shall hence be willing to concede to others those inestimable privileges which we claim for ourselves, and shall not be found violating the divine rule, ‘As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.’ And thus, while we temperately but firmly maintain our rights, we shall not encroach upon the rights of others. But humbly relying on the guidance and direction of the Spirit of Christ,

we shall know it to be the 'wisdom of God and the power of God,' and shall experience the unity of his Holy Spirit to be the bond of peace in all our assemblies. Since the separation has taken place, our meeting has continued large, and we have been able to rejoice in the evidence of this blessed unity in which the affairs of the Church have been harmoniously transacted, and Friends have been edified together."

In the year 1828 or '29, the Meeting for Sufferings sent a circular to all the Monthly meetings composing the Yearly Meeting, requesting them to appoint committees in each meeting, to examine carefully the number of persons composing each Monthly meeting, designating the number of Friends, the number that had separated, and those who remained neutral.

The returns showed the following result: —

Friends, 12,532; Orthodox, 5,913; Neutrals, 857.¹

In the autumn of 1828, a separation took place in Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends, attended by a scene of disorder and tumult painful to contemplate and mortifying to both parties who were engaged in it. As it became the subject of judicial investigation, our chief reliance for a knowledge of the facts will be drawn from the testimony of witnesses given in evidence before Judge Hallock at Steubenville, Ohio.

The Yearly Meeting which met at Mount Pleasant, was composed of five Quarterly meetings, namely, Redstone, Short Creek, Salem, Stillwater, and New Garden, in all of which, except the first, the separation had already taken place, and each party had ap-

¹ Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 263, 463.

pointed representatives; so that there were in attendance double sets of representatives from all the Quarters except Redstone.¹ In each of the four divided Quarterly meetings, the orthodox section had appointed guards to keep the doors of the Yearly meeting-house, and exclude persons who had been disowned or were under dealings.² It had been customary in former years to appoint door-keepers to exclude from the meetings for discipline those who were not members of the Society, and no unpleasant consequences had followed, because there was then no dispute as to rights of membership.

The case was now entirely altered; each party claimed all the rights of membership, and those called Orthodox had already begun to disown their opponents who did not acknowledge the authority of their meetings nor the validity of their excommunications. In order to illustrate this point, the case of Isaac James may be cited, who was one of those intended to be excluded. He was a member of Concord Monthly Meeting, which had consisted of about forty families, of whom only eleven or twelve were orthodox. This small minority, in opposition to the sense of the meeting, applied to Short Creek Quarter to lay down their Monthly Meeting, alleging that it could not be held to the credit of the Society. A minute was accordingly made to lay it down and attach the members to Short Creek Monthly Meeting, but a large majority of the members refused to submit to this arbitrary measure, and Isaac James

¹ Testimony of Elisha Bates, Report of Trial by M. T. C. Gould, p. 20.

² Test. of E. Bates, Jonathan Taylor, and D. Steer, *Ibid.* pp. 21, 33, 65.

being one of this number, was, *for that reason*, disowned by the Orthodox party.¹

In like manner, Plainfield Monthly Meeting was laid down by the Orthodox party, in opposition to the wishes of nine-tenths of its members.²

The principle on which these proceedings were conducted was avowed in the testimony of Elisha Bates, the most prominent among the leaders of that party, and subsequently clerk of their Yearly Meeting.

Question. "Does the majority usually disown, or the minority?" *Answer*, by E. Bates. "In some cases a minority may do it." *Question.* "If a meeting be composed of fifty members, is it in the power of ten to disown forty?" "Yes." "Is it in the power of three to disown forty-seven?" "Yes; a very small number may do it."³

The guards were instructed to exclude from the meetings for discipline, not only those who, like Isaac James, were regarded by the Orthodox party as disowned persons, but also Friends standing in the same position, who should attend from other Yearly meetings, where a separation had taken place.

A large number of ministers and other Friends were in attendance from distant meetings. Among them were Thomas Shillitoe, and Isaac and Anna Braithwait from England; Elias Hicks from Long Island, Amos Peaslee from New Jersey, Elisha Dawson from Delaware, and Halliday Jackson from Darby, Pennsylvania.

On Seventh-day morning preceding the Yearly Meeting, a committee of six persons called on Elias

¹ Testimony of David Steer, (an orthodox witness,) p. 66.

² Testimony of Peter Askew, p. 56, and of Doct. Carrol, p. 117.

³ Testimony of Elisha Bates, p. 20.

Hicks, and presented him a paper, the purport of which was, an enumeration of charges of unsound ministry, as originally preferred against him by Pine Street Meeting, Philadelphia, and thence forwarded to their Orthodox brethren on Long Island, styling themselves the Monthly Meeting of Westbury and Jericho. Elias Hicks had with him a minute of concurrence from the Monthly Meeting of Jericho, indorsed by Westbury Quarterly Meeting, and when he left home, no such monthly meeting as Westbury and Jericho was known to exist. It appears that three adult male members and about the same number of females withdrew from Jericho Monthly Meeting, and joining themselves with about double their number from Westbury Monthly Meeting, set up a new monthly meeting, which they called Westbury and Jericho.¹ This small body undertook to sit in judgment on the religious character of Elias Hicks, and after he had departed on his journey to Ohio, they issued a mandate for his recall. He of course disregarded this unwarrantable proceeding.

When the hour arrived, on Seventh-day morning, for the Meeting of Ministers and Elders to convene, "it was found that the Orthodox had principally taken their seats, and that guards were stationed at the gate to prevent Friends from entering; and they accordingly, in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, after procuring seats, sat down and proceeded with their meeting in the open air."²

On First-day morning, a large congregation was

¹ Westbury Meeting had 341 Friends and 39 Orthodox; Jericho Meeting had 211 Friends, 9 Orthodox, and 3 Neutrals. See Exhibit X, Foster's Report, Vol. II. p. 464.

² Statement of M. T. C. Gould, Friend or Adv. of Truth, I. 251.

assembled for divine worship at the yearly meeting-house. Elias Hicks delivered a discourse, "which was deemed by those not avowedly opposed to him, quite unexceptionable." The moment he was seated, Elisha Bates rose, and made a speech in which he asserted that Elias "had not only obtained his certificates to travel, by improper means, but was now formally and officially recalled by *his own Monthly Meeting*, a copy of the official papers being served on him only the day previous."¹ This false statement uttered in the presence of a large audience, most of whom knew nothing of the circumstances, will enable us to decide how much reliance may be placed on the other statements of Elisha Bates. It is not surprising that he was unwilling for the people to hear Elias Hicks when he rose to reply, and that he joined with others in breaking the meeting while Elias was standing.

It appears by the statement of M. T. C. Gould, the stenographer, that when T. Shillitoe and Anna Braithwait had shaken hands, the people seemed disposed to remain and hear Elias Hicks,—and that Elisha Bates in a loud and authoritative manner requested them to withdraw immediately, so that the caretakers might close the house. In order to end the confusion that ensued, Elias shook hands with those near him and walked out, the great body of the meeting following his example. Some young men that remained were told, by a lawyer employed for the occasion, that they would subject themselves to severe penalties if they did not retire.²

¹ Statement of M. T. C. Gould, *Friend or Adv. of Truth*, I. 251.

² *Ibid.* 252.

On First-day afternoon, Elisha Dawson delivered a brief discourse. Soon after him, Amos Peaslee rose and spoke "in a very feeling manner," but several ministers in the gallery whispered together, and at length Jonathan Taylor requested him to take his seat. He paused during the interruption, and then continued his discourse.

In a short time, Elisha Bates rose, and in a loud voice exclaimed, "Amos Peaslee, wilt thou please to take thy seat. Thou art an intruder, and hast no right to be in this house." Immediately there was a cry from many voices, "Elisha Bates, sit down!" Great confusion ensued, and many rose to their feet. After a pause, Amos said to the people, "By the mercy of God, I beseech you to be still." The meeting became quiet, and he concluded his discourse without further interruption.¹

Amos Peaslee was then travelling as an approved minister, with a certificate from Woodbury Monthly Meeting, New Jersey. That meeting, however, had been divided before the certificate was granted; a small minority of its members, being orthodox, had withdrawn to hold a separate meeting.²

At 10 o'clock, on Second-day, the 8th of Ninth month, the Yearly Meeting assembled. The gallery seats were filled, mostly with orthodox Friends, before the hour appointed; there were many guards at the doors, and a crowd of people in the yard standing in the rain. Some of them were Friends of the class intended to be excluded; others were not mem-

¹ Testimony of David Scholfield, p. 130; Richard Barnard, p. 97, and J. Updegraff, p. 136.

² Testimony of Richard Barnard, 99.

bers, but were drawn by curiosity to witness the expected collision.

Elias Hicks did not attend that day.¹

When Amos Peaslee and Elisha Dawson came to the door, the guards objected to their entering, and they halted. A dense crowd soon gathered behind them, pressing forward. Amos said, "Dear friends, don't push, be peaceable; if we are not admitted, we can't help it. If we can go in peaceably, well; if not, we will go away." The pressure from without continued to increase; there was no way of escape for those at the door; the guards at length gave way, and the crowd rushed in, carrying the Friends with them.²

Before the meeting proceeded to business, Israel French, a Friend in good standing, rose and said, that "a painful duty devolved upon him, to object to the clerks at the table; that their conduct since last year had been such as, in his opinion, had disqualified them for serving the meeting acceptably."³ There was immediately a large expression of unity with this declaration; but some objected, saying it was disorderly.

Jonathan Taylor, the clerk appointed the year previous, was at the table, as usual, and read a minute he had prepared for opening the meeting. The names of the representatives were called, all of whom, except five, answered; the number present exceeding fifty. It is to be understood that these were the representatives of the orthodox section of four Quarterly meetings, and about half of those from Redstone.

William B. Irish proposed the name of David Hilles, of Redstone Quarter, for clerk, which was con-

¹ See his Journal, p. 413. ² Test. of Levi Pickering, p. 124.

³ Testimony of Israel French, p. 173.

curred in by a large number of voices in rapid succession; others objected; but the advocates of a change of clerks called to Hilles to come forward to the table. The aisle was crowded, and the gallery-steps leading to the table were occupied by a dense mass of orthodox Friends. Hilles was urged forward through the crowd, until he reached the stove near the centre of the aisle, where he wrote an opening minute; but the young men of his party insisted that he should go to the table, and they undertook to open the way. No blows were given, but there was much pushing and crowding. At this juncture a cry was raised that the gallery over the minister's seat was falling. Although a false alarm, it caused a rush to the doors and windows, and many left the house. There was a suspension of the contest, but it was soon renewed, and the clerk's table, being held by one party and seized by the other, was broken to pieces.

Jonathan Taylor, being pressed between the table and door, was considerably injured, though unintentionally. Benjamin W. Ladd, a prominent member of the orthodox party, moved an adjournment to the next day, and proposed submitting the question to the representatives, whose names were accordingly called, and they nearly all answered in the affirmative. The orthodox members then withdrew, being about half the meeting, or, according to their estimate, more than half.¹

The Friends who remained recognized David Hilles as clerk for the day. They had reports from their section of four Quarterly meetings, and from the un-

¹ Testimony of E. Bates, Jona. Taylor, B. W. Ladd, Rich. Barnard, Doct. Carral, Levi Pickering, and others. Gould's Report of Trial, Phila. ed. 1829.

divided meeting of Redstone. After calling the names of the representatives, they proceeded to business.

The women's meeting separated at the same time, but with less disorder.

On Third-day morning, those who had retained possession of the house again assembled in it, and the representatives having conferred together, proposed David Hilles for clerk and Jehu Lewis for assistant, who were then regularly appointed by the meeting. The orthodox section of the Yearly Meeting, having assembled in the yard, sent Elisha Bates and others as a deputation to demand the occupancy of the house for Ohio Yearly Meeting. They were told, in reply, that Ohio Yearly Meeting was then in session, and they might come in and take their seats. They required an explicit answer, and Friends in the house tendered them the following proposition, viz.:

“To the party of Friends called Orthodox, styling themselves the Yearly Meeting of Ohio.

“DEAR FRIENDS, — We, the committee appointed by Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends, held at Mount Pleasant, on the 8th day of the 9th month, 1828, by authority of said Yearly Meeting, agree to propose to you that an equitable division of the property belonging to the Yearly Meeting be made, either by dividing the time, so that the meeting-house shall accommodate both parties, or that a fair estimate of the value of the property be made, and that the party holding the meeting-house pay to the other party an equivalent for the relinquishment of the right to their part, agreeably to the numbers of the relative parties; and if you accede to this proposal, it is further proposed,

that you appoint a like committee to enter into an amicable arrangement with us to effect the said object, and notify us thereof. Signed by direction and on behalf of the committee.

“*Mount Pleasant*, 9th day of 9th mo., 1828.

JOSEPH JOHN,
SAMUEL JONES,
JAMES BELANGEE,
JOSEPH MILLS.”

This document was read twice to Elisha Bates, the official organ of the Orthodox party, and a copy tendered to him, but he immediately withdrew with the other members of the deputation.¹

The Orthodox Yearly Meeting was then opened in the meeting-house yard; the representatives nominated Elisha Bates for clerk, who was accordingly appointed, and the meeting adjourned to Short Creek meeting-house, where it continued to hold its sittings.²

The legal measures adopted by the orthodox party during the week of the Yearly Meeting were most extraordinary for a people professing to hold the principles of Friends. On Second-day morning, at an early hour, Elisha Bates stated that they were in possession of the property, and that civil officers would be in attendance to protect them. Soon after this, notices were served on a number of Friends from other yearly meetings, among whom was Jesse Merrit, the travelling companion of Elias Hicks, to prohibit them

¹ Statement of M. T. C. Gould, *Friend or Adv. of Truth*, I. p. 258.

² Testimony of D. Scholfield, p. 130; Wm. Sharon, p. 123; E. Bates, p. 16.

from entering the meeting-house during the session of Ohio Yearly Meeting, and to forewarn them that if they intruded, the trustees would seek their remedy by appeal to the legal tribunals of the State of Ohio.¹

On Third-day afternoon, the sheriff served a process on James Tolerton, Halliday Jackson, and Nathan Galbraith, requiring their appearance before the court then in session at Steubenville, the next morning at ten o'clock, it being a distance of twenty-one miles. One of them attended accordingly, and found the writ had not been returned.

On Fourth-day morning, two deputy sheriffs and a constable arrived from Steubenville, and in the course of the day served writs on about a dozen individuals, among whom was David Hilles, clerk of the Yearly Meeting. The next day he, with other defendants and witnesses, proceeded to Steubenville, appeared before the court, and succeeded in obtaining a postponement of the hearing until the 15th of 10th month. "Among the thirty orthodox Friends who appeared at Steubenville, on the part of the prosecution, were Elisha Bates and Jonathan Taylor, of Mount Pleasant, and a number of distinguished individuals from Philadelphia, New England, and beyond the Atlantic."² It appears that these high-professors of religion left their own Yearly Meeting to appear as prosecutors and witnesses against their brethren, in violation of the discipline, for at that time David Hilles, who was one of the representatives from Redstone Quarterly Meeting, had not been disowned by the Orthodox,

¹ See copy of Notice, in *The Friend or Adv. of Truth*, Vol. I. p 254.

² Narrative of M. T. C. Gould, *Fd. or Adv. of Truth*, I. 260.

and according to their own theory was a member of the Society.

Jonathan Taylor, in his testimony before the court, admitted that "David Hilles was a regular member of the Society at the time this suit was brought," and said, "he *believed* the discipline provided that members should not sue one another and go to law."¹

The trial at Steubenville came on the 15th of 10th month, and the examination of witnesses continued about a week. The defendants, David Hilles and Isaac James, were prosecuted on the complaint of Benjamin W. Ladd for disturbing the Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends, under a statute for the punishment of disturbers of religious meetings. In addition to the State's attorney, the prosecutors had employed seven lawyers, and the defendants had four. The material facts of the case have been stated in this narrative, as related in the report of the stenographer who attended the trial.

Judge Hallock, after reviewing the evidence, says: "It is to be observed that not all the 'Orthodox' or 'Hicksites' took part in this violence. Probably much the greater part of both parties were inactive spectators."—"The proposition to elect a clerk was not in order, being before the meeting was open and ready to proceed to business,—and unprecedented, at any rate, in any body whose proceedings would have the authority of precedent for that meeting." * * * * He then concludes that the proceedings by a part of the meeting "to expel Taylor and put Hilles in his place were not warranted; and that the use of force was a disturbance of the meeting, and therefore a

¹ Gould's Report of Trial, p. 181

violation of the law of the land." He gave judgment that each of the defendants should pay a fine of five dollars.¹ The Orthodox party were not satisfied with one suit at law, but about the same time, and through the same agent, Benjamin W. Ladd, instituted a prosecution against Jonathan Pierce, Israel French, and other Friends, for "assembling with intent to commit a riot and proceeding to commit the same." It was founded on the same facts as the suit against Hilles and James, and was tried in the court of common pleas at Steubenville in the Spring of 1829. The court decided that the defendants should be imprisoned in the jail of the county for thirty minutes, and should each pay a fine of six and a quarter cents.

The defendants cheerfully submitted to their brief incarceration; but, on the fine and costs, appealed to the Supreme Court of Ohio. In the Tenth month of the same year, the judgment of the inferior court was reversed and the costs of the prosecution thrown upon Benjamin W. Ladd, the agent of the Orthodox party. The Judge said, "it was the verdict of the jury that they had not found the defendants guilty of a riot, and the court (of common pleas) ought to have held it for naught and discharged them."²

On reviewing the deplorable scenes that attended the separation of Friends in Ohio, the impartial inquirer will be constrained to admit that both parties were obnoxious to censure. There was however this difference: the Orthodox party were the aggressors by resorting to physical force to exclude from the

¹ M. T. C. Gould's Report of Trial.

² The Friend or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. 261; and Vol. II. pp. 166 and 360.

meeting-house Friends who had as good a right to enter as themselves;—this they did by previous concert, and with a deliberate purpose. The Friends, whom they attempted to exclude, generally went to the meeting intending “to be pacific,” in accordance with the advice of their elder brethren.¹ The conduct of some of them, after entering the house, was very reprehensible, but it appears they were mostly young men, actuated by a sudden impulse of party zeal. After obtaining possession, the Friends evinced their sense of justice by offering to make an equitable division of the property; while the Orthodox party manifested their intolerant spirit, by harassing their brethren with vexatious lawsuits, thus violating the discipline they pretended to uphold.

The relative numbers of the two sections throughout the Yearly Meeting of Ohio were supposed to be nearly equal, but so far as known to the author, no census was taken.

In Indiana's Yearly Meeting, the separation was conducted in a manner somewhat similar to that pursued in Philadelphia. At the Yearly Meeting held at Richmond, Indiana, in 1827, a large number of strangers were present, among whom were two English Friends and Elisha Bates, with others from Ohio. A document called a “Testimony and Epistle of Advice,” was introduced from the Meeting for Sufferings, and though much objected to, was adopted, through the preponderating influence of the orthodox party. This being sent down to the subordinate meetings, caused much dissatisfaction in some places.

¹ Testimony of Israel Updegraff, p. 150.

In the Fifth month, 1828, it was rejected by Miami Quarterly Meeting and denied a place on their minutes. In the Eighth month, another effort was made at that Quarter to obtain its acceptance, but without effect. Amos Peaslee and Elisha Dawson being in attendance, the orthodox party objected to any business being transacted while they were present, and having the clerk on their side, many hours were spent in fruitless debate. At length a committee, that had been appointed at a previous Quarterly meeting to nominate a clerk, brought forward the name of one, whom the great body of the meeting agreed to appoint, and then the orthodox party withdrew, leaving the greater number in possession of the house.

The Friends who remained, taking into consideration the discord that had been manifested in their meeting and many others for some time past, and being convinced that they could not enjoy their religious rights while connected with the opposite party, concluded it would be right to take measures for reorganizing the Yearly Meeting, "on the ancient foundation and principles of the Society, and in accordance with their present discipline for the Friends of Indiana, Illinois, and the western and middle parts of the State of Ohio." Members of the Quarterly and Monthly meetings within those limits, who were prepared to unite with this proposition, were invited to meet at Miami, (Waynesville,) the last Second day of the Ninth month, and the ministers and elders on the Seventh day preceding.

In pursuance of this proposition, a Yearly meeting was held, said to be attended by between six and seven hundred Friends including both sexes, and

representatives with reports from four Quarterly meetings, where a division had taken place, were in attendance.¹

The Yearly Meeting was harmonious and satisfactory. It was subsequently held alternately at Waynesville, Ohio, and Richmond, Ind., and being recognized by the Yearly meetings of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Ohio, has continued to correspond with them. The number of its members is much smaller than those constituting the Orthodox Yearly Meeting of Indiana.

At the Yearly Meeting held in Baltimore for the Western Shore of Maryland and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, from the 27th to the 31st of the Tenth month, 1828, the meeting was opened as usual on Second-day morning. After the certificates of Friends in attendance from other Yearly meetings had been read, and a committee appointed to prepare indorsements for them, the assistant clerk informed the meeting that there were a number of epistles and other documents on the table, with the nature of which they were unacquainted, and he proposed, for the purpose of preventing debate, that they should be referred to the representatives, for them to inspect, and say whether any or all of them should be read in the meeting. This proposition was united with generally, and adopted.

On the afternoon of the same day, George Jones, a minister from England, endeavored, without success, to effect a separation.² He objected to the course

¹ The Friend or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. pp. 88, 98, and Vol. II. pp. 137 to 140.

² Testimony of Halliday Jackson, Foster's Report, Vol. II. p. 70.

pursued in referring the epistle to the representatives for examination, and to accepting the certificates of Friends in attendance from Yearly meetings; which, he alleged, had departed from the principles of Friends. He concluded his remarks in these words: "As my mind is thoroughly sensible of the truth, that this meeting has departed from the ancient doctrines of the Society, I cannot consider it right to be one with you in a meeting that has departed from the meetings of Friends, or one that will thus disown the order that has been maintained by the Society. Therefore I must leave the meeting, and leave you to such choice as you have made."¹

As he pronounced the last few words, he descended from the minister's gallery and left the house, but, with one exception, his orthodox brethren were not then prepared to follow him.

On Third-day morning, the Answers to the Queries were read, and some edifying counsel handed forth. In the afternoon, the representatives produced an epistle addressed to all the Yearly meetings of Friends, which was discussed during the remainder of the sitting, but not adopted by the meeting.

On Fourth-day morning, the representatives reported in favor of reading all the epistles that had been received. They were read accordingly. The epistle from London, and those from the Orthodox Yearly meetings of Ohio and Virginia, were regarded by many as uncharitable and disrespectful. Those from the reorganized Yearly meetings of Philadelphia and Indiana, and from the larger body in New York,

¹ Reported by a stenographer; see *Friend or Adv. of Truth*, Vol. II. 92.

were affectionate and satisfactory. It was stated that a similar epistle from *Friends* in Ohio had been written, but was not received. John Jewett, in some impressive remarks, showed that the Yearly Meeting must define its position, inasmuch as the Friends with whom we had corresponded in Philadelphia were, in some of the epistles, called Separatists, and charged with insubordination. He had attended their meeting, and was prepared to say they were the great body of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and the charges laid against them of disbelieving the Scriptures and denying the divinity of Christ were utterly false.

Edward Stabler and Thomas Wetherald concurred in these views. "They are," said the latter, "our brethren in suffering—in doctrine, and in the fellowship of the everlasting truth, and are equally with ourselves alluded to in the false declarations which one of these epistles contains. For they are false and uncharitable assertions. We have not denied the Scriptures; we have not denied the divinity of Christ; we have not denied the fundamental principles of our Society. We highly esteem them,—and I am willing to suffer for them, even to the laying down of my natural life; but I am not willing to commute the independence of this Yearly Meeting, nor to crouch to any associations of men." * * * * He concluded his remarks as follows: "I am willing now to return to the first proposition, whether the epistle from Friends of Philadelphia shall be received, and whether we can acknowledge them as our brethren or not? For my part, I can."

"A very general expression of unity with Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and in favor of an-

swering their epistle, now took place. A committee was accordingly appointed to answer the three friendly epistles, viz., those from Philadelphia, Indiana, and New York; and the clerks were directed to prepare a suitable minute expressive of the judgment of the meeting."¹

On Fourth-day afternoon, Edward Stabler proposed that the epistle produced by the representatives at a former sitting should be again referred to them, with instructions to alter or amend it as they might see proper. After some discussion, the proposition was agreed to. It was then concluded to adjourn to the next morning, but before the minute to that effect was read, James Gillingham rose and said it was now obvious that this meeting had separated itself from the Society of Friends, and he proposed that all who were in favor of holding Baltimore Yearly Meeting on its original foundation, should meet the next morning at 9 o'clock, at the McKendreaan school-house. Hugh Balderston concurred in the proposition, and advised all who were in favor of it to keep their seats till the close of the meeting, to prevent any disorder. At the close of the sitting, these two individuals went into the women's meeting, which was still in session, to notify them in like manner.

On Fifth-day morning, the meeting assembled, and proved to be large. Only two representatives, out of fifty-three, were missing, and the largest estimated number of the orthodox who had withdrawn was one hundred and thirty-five, including both sexes.²

¹ Stenographer's Report, Friend or Advocate of Truth, Vol. II, pp. 110, 112.

² Test. of Halliday Jackson, Foster's Report, II. 70.

Among these were some whose absence was mourned by many. The honorable conduct of the orthodox brethren in retiring without making confusion, was commended by Thomas Wetherald. He considered their withdrawal, with the avowed intention of setting up another meeting, a relinquishment of their rights of membership; and having seen the bad effects of *disownments* in other Yearly meetings, he thought some step ought to be taken to avoid the unpleasant consequences which had resulted from this mode of procedure.¹

This suggestion was adopted by the meeting, and a minute to that effect was made; stating moreover, that "such persons cannot be again restored without making application to the Monthly Meeting within the limits of which they reside, requesting to be reinstated in their rights of membership." It may be added, that in such cases of restoration, *no acknowledgments are required.*

The Yearly Meeting was continued by adjournments until Sixth-day afternoon. The representatives again produced the epistle divested of its objectionable passages, and after some further amendments, it was adopted and addressed, "To the Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative Meetings, which constitute this Yearly Meeting, and to our members individually." In this document the following passage occurs. "Divers charges have been circulated against us: such as that we contemn the authority of the Scriptures, and deny the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Which charges,

¹ The Friend or Adv. of Truth, Vol. II. p. 191.

however strenuously urged, and however often reiterated, are nevertheless unfounded.”

In accordance with a proposition brought up from Fairfax Quarterly Meeting, a rule of discipline was adopted, that elders should be appointed by the Monthly meetings at least once in three years, and members of the Meeting for Sufferings by the Yearly Meeting annually.

The separation did not extend to the Yearly meetings of New England, North Carolina, and Virginia, which are of the class called Orthodox. The Yearly Meeting of Virginia, being very small, has since been discontinued, and the Yearly Meeting of New England has been divided by the secession of those called Wilburites.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROPERTY QUESTION.

At the time of the separation, the Society of Friends in America was in possession of a large amount of real and personal estate, generally held in trust for religious and educational purposes. It became a question of deep importance, how and by whom this property should be held, and unhappily it proved to be, in some of the States, a subject of litigation.

The following remarks by a distinguished member of the bar in Philadelphia are deemed appropriate. “If Friends could have come to an amicable and equitable division of property, they would have set an example to the world of more value than the property to be thereby sacrificed, fitting to be recorded with

the history of their leading and glorious triumphs of principle, when they treated with and paid the Indians for lands that by chartered right were already the Proprietary's; when as pioneers they secured religious toleration; and when, obedient to the calls of humanity, they enfranchised their slaves, and zealously co-operated for the abolition of the slave-trade.

“In scriptural authority, they had before them the beautiful and persuasive example of Abraham and Lot, — each willing to yield to the other the right to take to the right or to the left, for the enjoyment of what a bountiful Providence had amply supplied for their flocks and herds, and their households and people.

“In respect to the legal right so to have adjusted the rights of property, when it is considered that it is a cherished principle of our jurisprudence to favour amicable settlements, and that family compacts made for the determination of controversy, are upheld as of sacred obligation, because they avert litigation and preserve peace, it could hardly be doubted that the tribunals of justice would meet in the same spirit and most willingly affirm the amicable treaties of divided religious associations. Can this be questioned when the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has reiterated the recommendation that the litigant members of a divided religious society should ‘part in peace, having settled their claims to the property on the basis of mutual and liberal concession,’ and expressed the confident trust that even in the contingency of revolution, ‘to the justice and forbearance of the majority of the association, whose very object is to deal justly, love mercy, and walk humbly, the minority cannot appeal in vain’? 1 W. and S., 40.”¹

¹ Memoir of Philip and Rachel Price, p. 123.

Friends composing the Yearly meetings of Philadelphia, New York, and Ohio acted upon the principles established in their rules of discipline, and proposed to their Orthodox brethren an equitable division of the property in proportion to their respective numbers; but these offers were generally declined, and suits at law were instituted by the Orthodox, discreditable to themselves, and oppressive to their brethren.

In most of the country meetings belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the Orthodox party being a small minority, withdrew and left Friends in possession of the meeting-houses; but the burial-grounds continued to be used in common without either party attempting to exclude the others, or interfere with their arrangements in the interment of their dead.

In the city of Philadelphia, the five Monthly meetings, viz., the Northern District, the Southern District, the Middle District, the Western District, and Green Street Monthly Meeting, purchased, in the year 1818, a lot on Schuylkill 7th and Mulberry streets, for the *use of all these meetings*, and it was for that purpose vested in fifteen trustees, three of whom were appointed by each Monthly meeting. Subsequently this lot was designated as a burial-place for the *common use of the five Monthly meetings*. In order to the preservation and regulation of this cemetery, two persons were appointed by each Monthly meeting, forming a committee of ten.

In addition to this general committee, each Monthly meeting appointed a burial committee, under whose orders the bodies of deceased Friends were interred in the Western Burial Ground. Under this arrangement the five Monthly meetings enjoyed the common use of the property in harmony for some years.

But after the alleged laying down of Green Street Monthly Meeting by the Orthodox section of Philadelphia Quarter, as already related, the two members of the committee of ten appointed by Green Street Meeting were not recognized by the other members of that committee. Except in a few instances, the orders for the interment of its deceased members, given by their burial committee, were disregarded by the superintendent of the burial-ground, acting under the supposed authority of a majority of the committee of ten; the gate was closed against approaching funerals of its late members, and in order to their interment, the Friends of Green Street found it necessary to enter the enclosure by means of ladders, and force the fastenings from the gate.¹ It is proper here to remark, that this method of entering would not have been necessary, had the members of Green Street Meeting been willing to receive orders for the interment of their dead from the burial committee of the Northern District, to which meeting they had, without their consent, been professedly transferred by the Orthodox section of Philadelphia Quarter. The Green Street Friends could not, without a surrender of their just rights, acknowledge in any way the laying down of their meeting or the transfer of their membership; for the congregation still remained almost entire, the orthodox who had left it were so few as to make no perceptible difference; the Monthly Meeting was recognized as a branch of Abington Quarter, the same discipline was still administered, and the same doctrines professed, as before the separation.

In order to obviate the necessity of breaking the

¹ Opinion of Judge King, see *Fd. or Adv. of Truth*, Vol. I. pp. 179 to 185.

lock to gain admission for the interment of their dead, Green Street Monthly Meeting, through its committee, made application to five of the trustees, in whom the property was vested, and obtained from them permission to put a gate in the Western wall of the burial-ground, and to take any other measures that might secure to the meeting the right of interment in conformity with the deed of trust, recognizing a common right with the other Monthly meetings of Philadelphia, "it being understood that the Friends of all the other Monthly meetings should enjoy the privilege of entrance equally with the Friends of Green Street."¹

In pursuance of this design, on the 31st of 5th month, 1828, Edmund Shotwell, Joseph Lukens, and Charles Middleton (members of Green Street Meeting) proceeded, with the assistance of two colored men, to put a gate in the wall of the burial-ground; and were soon after summoned to appear before the Mayor of the city, "to answer the commonwealth on a charge founded on the affirmation and information of Jeremiah Willets and others, with tumultuously assembling and committing a breach of the public peace, by forcibly pulling down a portion of the brick wall around the Friends' (Western) burying-ground." Jeremiah Willets was a member of the Northern District Meeting, and it appeared that previous to entering his complaint, he had held a consultation with some of the most prominent members of the Orthodox party, at the office of their legal adviser, Horace Binney.

The Mayor, when Shotwell and the other defendants appeared before him, required them to enter

¹ Opinion of Judge King.

into recognizance to keep the peace, although there was no evidence of any violence having been committed or intended. The parties accused, being conscious that they had been in the quiet and peaceable pursuit of their civil rights, and that the decision of the Mayor was unjust, declined to enter into the recognizance, and were committed to jail. After a detention of five days in prison, they were brought, by a writ of Habeas Corpus, before Judge King, and a patient investigation of the case being made, he discharged them.¹

The Orthodox leaders, being thus defeated in their design, and bent upon litigation, instituted, in the Seventh month 1828, an action for trespass against the same defendants.² The suit was brought in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the name of the *fifteen* trustees in whom the title of the burying-ground was vested for the use of the five Monthly meetings; but five of the trustees published a protest against the use of their names as plaintiffs, declaring that the suit was commenced without their knowledge or consent, and "against the established order and discipline of the Society of Friends."

The members of Green Street Monthly Meeting, and Friends in connection with them throughout the Society, were averse to litigation, and disposed to make an amicable and equitable adjustment of their claims in regard to property. This disposition they had manifested on numerous occasions, and now, being solicitous to avoid a lawsuit, they authorized their counsel, C. J. Ingersoll, Thomas Kittera, and Eli K. Price, to make an amicable overture to the

¹ Opinion of Judge King. ² *Fd. or Adv. of Truth*, Vol. I. 205.

prosecutors. This was done accordingly, in a letter addressed to the Counsel for the Plaintiffs, from which the following passage is quoted: "Under existing circumstances, divided as they are, it is not to be expected that they can meet together as formerly; and the only hope of an ultimate union, is, to allow each other, without interruption, to conduct their business and their worship. In order to this, we submit, without prejudice to our clients' rights in any event, the following as a basis of accommodation, which we trust will be found acceptable, and have no doubt would be instantly acceded to by our clients: that a fair and equitable apportionment of the real estate and property, held by trustees for society purposes in this district, be made between the two parties in proportion to the numbers belonging to each, counting all such as were acknowledged members at a period anterior to the adoption of measures by one party purporting to disown the members of the other; say the April Yearly Meeting of 1827. The discipline of this Society, which enjoins the amicable adjustment of these differences, seems to make settlement peculiarly proper in this instance, and greatly desired by the large party who have intrusted to us the management of their cause."

The counsel for the plaintiffs rejected this friendly overture, and we may reasonably conclude they did so under instructions from their clients.

Another proposition was then made by the defendants, through their counsel, to this effect: That, in order "to put a stop to the interruption of funerals and laceration of feeling which occur whenever a burial takes place, that the dead be interred in the burial-grounds of the Society, by such persons as

may have the care of them, upon orders to be issued in the same form and manner as was usual before the dispute arose. This proposition we make without prejudice to our clients' rights if not accepted, and if acceded to, we agree *on their behalf that the arrangement shall be without prejudice to the asserted rights of either party.*"

This reasonable and humane proposition was also rejected by the inexorable prosecutors, who replied through their counsel as follows: "As Green Street Meeting is not now recognized as a Monthly Meeting agreeable to the discipline and usages of the Society of Friends, we are not authorized to say that orders from that source will be received by those having the care of the burial-grounds."¹

Soon after this suit was commenced, another was instituted in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, by the Orthodox party, having for its object the ejection of Green Street Friends from their meeting-house and lots. The prosecutors were certain pretended trustees appointed by the Northern District Monthly Meeting, and at their instigation the sheriffs went to Green Street meeting-house on the 17th of the 7th month, 1828, and served the following Friends with process as they came out of the meeting held that day, to wit, Joseph Lukens, George Woolley, Joseph Warner, Gabriel Middleton, and Edmund Shotwell.²

The two suits were continued on the docket of the Supreme Court until the year 1831, when they were withdrawn and the costs paid by the Orthodox prosecutors.³

¹ Fd. or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. p. 282.

² See Fd. or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. p. 231. ³ Ibid. Vol. IV. 175

We may safely infer what would have been the decision of that court, from the judgment it gave in the year 1829, in a cause at issue between the two sections of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia. "By the majority of the court, the right of the minority of the congregation to have a charter under the name of the First Baptist Church, was established; and at the same time an equal right on the part of a majority to obtain a charter under the same name, was admitted, and a charter for them was accordingly submitted for the certificate of the judges. This decision was made expressly on the ground that the grant of a charter under the name of the First Baptist Church, could in no respect affect the rights of property.

"After the opinions were delivered, the Chief Justice made some very just and forcible remarks to the parties, earnestly recommending to them an amicable adjustment of their differences in regard to property. It was evident to him, as was usually the case in these religious disputes, that it was a contest for property carried on in an angry and bitter spirit unbecoming the Christian character. The decision now made would confer no rights of property. These stand as they did before. What is the rule of justice which should govern these parties is plain and palpable to every person of any common sense. It is, that the majority should continue to hold the property; but it is their duty to make compensation to the minority, in proportion to the respective numbers of the parties. This minority have not been deprived of their civil rights, by an expulsion from the church, by a majority exercising an arbitrary power for party purposes. If the majority do not do justice on this

plain principle of natural equity, the minority may pursue their legal remedy, in which the charter will only be a means of facility; when it will probably turn out, that they will be entitled to their proportionate interest in the church property. An adjustment on this principle should be made without further litigation. The frequency of these religious disputes is calculated, not only to lay waste the standing of the parties, but to cut to the very core the cause of the common Master, whom all profess with so much zeal to serve.”¹

This opinion of the Chief Justice was equally applicable to the case of the separation in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. “The majority,” he says, “should continue to hold the property, and make compensation to the minority in proportion to the respective numbers of the parties.” But the Orthodox section refused to settle on this equitable principle, and not content with holding the most valuable part of the property, they—the *minority of the Yearly Meeting*—claimed the whole.

The course pursued by the Orthodox party in order to obtain the entire control of the Asylum for the Insane at Frankford demands our attention. This institution was founded by members of the Society of Friends, and, according to the provisions of its constitution, none but members of this religious society were eligible to office or even to membership in it. The estate of the institution was held in trust by twelve members, and the government of the Asylum was intrusted to twenty managers, a treasurer, and a clerk, elected annually from among the contributors. At the annual meeting of the contributors, in the spring of 1828, it ap-

¹ *Fd. or Adv. of Truth*, Vol. II. p. 128.

peared that the managers, a majority of whom were orthodox, had excluded from the board two of their members, Charles Townsend and Joseph Warner, highly respectable Friends, on the ground that they had been disowned by the Orthodox section of the Society; and the same party had brought forward the names of seventy-six new contributors, in order, by their votes, to sanction the action of the managers, and control the proceedings of the meeting. By this means it was intended to exclude not only from the control, but from the benefits of the institution, all the contributors who did not belong to the Orthodox section of the Society, and who had previously constituted a majority of the association. The attempt, as might have been expected, occasioned much excitement, and the meeting was broken up in disorder.¹ But the Orthodox party persisted in their determination, and ultimately succeeded in depriving a large proportion of the contributors and owners of the property of their just rights, and to this day hold exclusive possession of the institution.

In the Eleventh month, 1828, being a few months subsequent to the institution of the two lawsuits in Pennsylvania, the Orthodox party filed a bill in Chancery in the State of New Jersey, which was understood to be with a view to establish their claim to the property of the Society of Friends in that State. It will be remembered that the Yearly Meeting, which assembled in Philadelphia, included within its limits, before the separation, all the meetings of Friends in New Jersey as well as most of those in Pennsylvania. The leading members of the Orthodox party resided

¹ Test. of H. Jackson, Foster's Report, II. 122-128; and Cockburn's Review, pp. 259-262.

in Philadelphia, and they were regarded as the originators of this lawsuit, although Joseph Hendrickson, of New Jersey, was made the complainant. The ostensible object of the suit was to obtain possession of a school-fund belonging to Chesterfield Preparative Meeting, held at Crosswicks, Burlington County, New Jersey. Of this fund the sum of 2000 dollars was lent in the year 1821, by Jos. Hendrickson, treasurer of the Crosswicks school-fund, to Thos. L. Shotwell, who thereupon gave his bond for the same, secured by a mortgage on real estate.

In the 12th month, 1827, a separation took place in Chesterfield Preparative Meeting, when the orthodox party, being about one third of the members, withdrew to another house, and held a separate meeting. Joseph Hendrickson, the treasurer of the school-fund, being one of the minority that withdrew, the larger body appointed, in the following month, Stacy Decow as his successor, and directed him to call on Hendrickson for the moneys and bonds he held as treasurer of the meeting. Hendrickson, being still recognized as treasurer by the orthodox meeting, refused to give up the funds, and demanded of Thos. L. Shotwell the amount of his bond, which the latter declined to pay until the rightful owner should be ascertained.¹

In the bill filed by Joseph Hendrickson, complainant, against Thos. L. Shotwell, he avers, that the orthodox party to which he belongs, believe in the Divinity and atonement of Christ and the authenticity and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, — doctrines that were held and considered fundamental by the ancient Society of Friends. He says, “That the

¹ Testimony of Saml. Craft and Josiah Gaskill, Foster's Rep., Vol. I. 347, and Vol. II. p. 287.

principal difference between the people called Quakers, and *other Protestant trinitarian sects*, in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, is, that the latter attach the idea of individual personage to the three, as what they consider a fair logical inference from the doctrines expressly laid down in the Holy Scriptures. The people called Quakers, on the other hand, considering it a mystery beyond finite, human conception, *take up the doctrine* as expressly laid down in the Scripture, and have not considered themselves warranted in making deductions, however specious." He alleges, moreover, that the party which he calls Hicksites, do not believe in these fundamental doctrines, and that they have separated from the Society of Friends. They "have seceded," he says, "not only from the faith, but from the religious institutions and government of the Society of Friends, and the ancient Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia being continued by the Orthodox party aforesaid, they are identified with them in regular and due succession." He contends that the Orthodox Preparative Meeting at Crosswicks, to which he belongs, being subordinate to the ancient Yearly Meeting held at Arch Street, Philadelphia, is the rightful owner of the school-fund in question; and he prays the court for a decree requiring Thos. L. Shotwell to account to him for the amount of the bond.

Stacy Decow, appointed treasurer of the school-fund by the larger body of Friends at Crosswicks, filed a bill in answer to the Orthodox claims, in which he avers, that the Society of Friends, of which he is a member, acknowledges no head but Christ, and no principle of authority or government in the church but the love and power of God, operating on the

heart, and thence influencing the judgment, and producing a unity of feeling, brotherly sympathy, and condescension to each other. The great fundamental principle of the Society — the divine light and power operating on the soul — is acknowledged as the only bond of union. Under this holy influence the Society of Friends had been preserved in great harmony until lately, when a few individuals, who had long been continued in important stations, began to assume and arrogate an authority over their brethren never delegated to them: that they attempted to impose a creed upon the Society, and their design being frustrated, they enlisted a party assuming the title of “the Orthodox,” and a line of discrimination was attempted to be drawn in the meetings of Friends, in order to fill every active station with those under their particular influence. The discipline of the Society was, through their means, violated or prostrated in order to screen transgressors of their own party, or to procure the disownment, upon vague and frivolous charges, of those who resisted their spirit and measures. Thus they continued to monopolize a power before unknown to the Society, — tending to the subversion of individual rights, — introducing great disorder and confusion, and preventing the proper administration of the discipline; particularly in the city of Philadelphia, where their chief strength was found.

“These acts,” he says, “were continued until the Yearly Meeting of 1827, when their oppressive measures were pursued to such an extent, that it reduced the great majority of the Society to the necessity of submitting to their usurped domination, engaging in a contest which would be productive of increased disorder, or retiring from the said minority party,

and taking measures for the continuation and settling the Yearly Meeting on its original principles. The first course would have been a criminal abandonment of their rights and those of their posterity,—the second would have been subversive of their religious principles,—the third, however, was an inalienable right, guaranteed by the civil institutions of the country, and consistent with the original ground on which the Yearly Meeting was established. Thus by the mutual agreement and consent of Monthly and Quarterly meetings, the Yearly Meeting has been continued, and is again settled on the principles and according to the manner of its first institution, comprising a very large majority of its former members,—‘who are united in the same system of discipline—maintaining the same testimonies, and *holding the same religious faith as their forefathers and the ancient Society of Friends did*,—leaving to their own course, undisturbed by them, those disorderly persons who adopted an opposite and adverse line of procedure.’ ”

Stacy Decow, in his answer, disclaims, on behalf of the Society to which he belongs, the name of Hicksites,—a name never assumed nor acquiesced in by them,—for they claim that only of *Friends*. They “deny being the followers of any man or set of men, simply claiming to be the humble disciples and followers of Christ, the great Head of the Church;” and allege that they still hold and are endeavoring to maintain and support the doctrines, fundamental religious principles, discipline, and rules of government of the ancient, religious Society of Friends. He further insists that the rights of property are sacred and inviolate, and cannot be taken from an

individual or a religious association without their consent,—and more especially that it cannot be made to depend on the test of any religious creed, framed after its vesting, and artfully prepared by a minority to answer its purposes.¹

In a bill of Interpleader filed by Shotwell, in answer to the allegations of Hendrickson and the Orthodox party, he says, “the Preparative Meeting of Friends at Crosswicks claim to be at least two-thirds of the original subscribers and contributors to the said school-fund, and of their lawful representatives,” and a lawful majority of the Friends or people called Quakers in the township of Chesterfield. Nevertheless, they have made overtures for an amicable adjustment in relation to property conformably to the principles of justice and equity; “but the Orthodox party have treated these offers with neglect, declaring themselves alone to be the true Orthodox church in which all the rights and property of the Society are vested.”²

In pursuance of these “Pleadings in Chancery,” a great mass of testimony from witnesses of both parties was taken and published in two octavo volumes, by Jeremiah J. Foster, Master and Examiner in Chancery. Frequent reference has been made to this testimony in the preceding chapters, as furnishing the best evidence we have in relation to the causes and manner of the separation.

The testimony of the Orthodox witnesses, as well as their bills in Chancery, dwelt much upon the doctrines they held, claiming, on that ground, that they

¹ Decow's Answer to Bill of Interpleader, Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 40 to 54.

² Bill of Interpleader, Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 15, 21.

were the rightful successors of the Society of Friends, and imputing to their opponents, represented by Stacy Decow, erroneous doctrines and violations of the rules of discipline. The witnesses examined on the part of Decow, the defendant, while denying the charges made by the Orthodox, and asserting in general terms that they held the Christian principles professed by the early Friends, refused to answer interrogatories in relation to theological questions or doctrinal points, which they considered improper to be examined by a temporal tribunal.¹ In this course they were sustained by their counsel, one of whom, Eli K. Price, objected to such questions. He said, in reference to the Society of Friends, "It has never adopted a creed as the terms of the communion of its members: therefore what an individual under examination here might state to be the doctrines of the Society, would only be his own opinions of what they are, and not any conclusive evidence upon the subject. And we have the authority of the opposing witnesses, that the Society, as a religious body, is not responsible for the writings of its members, which have not been approved by a meeting for sufferings. If the testimony of any witness could go for more than his own opinion, it would be to establish for his brethren something in the nature of a creed, which he has no authority to do."²

The decision of the Court of Chancery was in favor of Hendrickson and the Orthodox party. The two judges, Ewing and Drake, pursuing different lines of argument, arrived at the same conclusion.

¹ Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster's Report, I. 381.

² Foster's Report, I. p. 476.

Chief Justice Ewing, after reviewing the evidence in relation to the separation, concludes that the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, which convened in 1827 and closed its session to meet again at the usual time next year, was the true yearly meeting up to the time of its adjournment. John Comly by continuing to act as assistant clerk recognized it as such, and the Quarterly meetings recognized it also, by paying their several quotas of the sum directed to be raised to assist Friends in North Carolina. "The Yearly Meeting," he says, "having convened and closed in April, 1827, could not again convene, nor could any body possessing its powers and authorities convene until the same month of the succeeding year 1828. The place of meeting was fixed by the voice of the Yearly Meeting, which alone had the authority in this respect, and alone could change it." "There is no provision in the constitution for an intermediate, or, as it is commonly denominated, Special meeting, nor is authority given to the clerk, to any portion of the members, or invested anywhere else, to call such a meeting. Hence, it clearly follows, that, according to the constitution, the Yearly Meeting could not again assemble until 1828." * * * * For these and other reasons stated by the judge, he concludes that the Yearly Meeting which assembled at Arch Street house in 1828, was Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, and that the Preparative Meeting of Chesterfield, connected with and *subordinate to it*, was entitled to the school-fund. He rejoiced that he was not constrained to inquire into the charges of departure from the doctrines of Friends, so freely made against Green Street Meeting, but maintained the right of the court to as-

certain, by competent evidence, what are the religious principles of any man or set of men, when, as may frequently be the case, civil rights are thereon to depend, or thereby to be decided.¹

Associate Justice Drake, after alluding to the separation in Chesterfield Preparative Meeting, and the withdrawal of the orthodox minority, proceeds to say, "If this Preparative Meeting were an *independent body*, acting without the influence of any conventional principle operating upon this point, the act of the minority on this occasion would not affect the powers of the majority who remained in session, however it might expose itself and the members composing it to disabilities. But the right to make appointments, and to exercise the other functions of the Preparative Meeting, would *still continue with the larger party*. But the Preparative Meeting is not an independent body, but a component part of the religious Society of Friends." The Preparative Meeting being accountable to the Monthly; the Monthly to the Quarterly; and the Quarterly to the Yearly Meeting; it becomes necessary to inquire which of the two bodies claiming to be the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, is legally entitled to the rights and properties claimed by both. In conducting this investigation, the judge maintains that the court may rightfully inquire into the badges of distinction by which the Society of Friends are known; and if they are characterized by established doctrines, it may inquire what these are, and whether they belong to one or both of these parties. He then proceeds to review the evidence by which Hendrickson and the

¹ See Opinion of Judge Ewing, Report of Trial, pp. 1 to 27.

Orthodox party endeavored to prove their agreement in doctrine with the founders of the Society, and says this agreement had not been denied by the opposite party. "Decow," he says, "has introduced several witnesses, who testify, and no doubt conscientiously, that they believe they hold the ancient faith of Friends, but they refuse to tell us what this faith is, in reference to these enumerated doctrines. We cannot give much weight to *opinion*, where we should have *facts*. The belief should refer to specific doctrines, that the court may judge as well as the witnesses, whether it was the ancient faith or not." * * * * "The court will not *force* either party in this cause to declare or prove their religious doctrines. But if doctrines be important, the party which would avail themselves of their doctrines must prove them. They are peculiarly within their knowledge, and although they may have the right to withhold them, yet if they do, they cannot expect success to their cause. The money must be awarded to the party which supports by proper proofs its pretensions to it. Under this view of the case, I deem it unnecessary to attempt any further investigation of the doctrines of the party called 'Hicksites.' And, if ascertained, I certainly would not inquire, as an officer of this court, whether they are right or wrong. It is enough that it *is not made to appear* that they correspond with the religious faith of the Society of Friends." * * * *

"Without coming to any conclusion with respect to *their* doctrines, I am of opinion that this fund should be awarded to that meeting which has shown, at least to my satisfaction, that they agree in doctrine

with the Society of Friends, as it existed at the origin of this trust.”¹

The decision of the Court of Chancery not being satisfactory to Stacy Decow and those whom he represented, he appealed to the Governor and Council sitting as a court of appeals at Trenton in the 7th month, 1833. His appeal was sustained by the arguments of his counsel Garret D. Wall and Samuel L. Southard; while Hendrickson and the orthodox party had for their counsel George Wood and Theodore Frelinghuysen. The importance of the cause, and the high reputation of the counsel employed, attracted great attention, and the sittings of the court were attended by a large and intelligent audience deeply interested in the result.

On the question being put, “Shall the decree of the chancellor in this cause be affirmed or reversed?” the votes were, seven for affirmance and four for reversal, and it was decided that each party pay his own costs.

After the judgment of the court was pronounced, affirming the chancellor’s decree, the President made the following communication, which was directed to be placed on the minutes of the court.

“The court would most earnestly recommend to the parties interested in the present controversy, to make a speedy and amicable adjustment of their disputes and difficulties. We have always regretted to see these religious controversies brought into our courts of justice; it has a demoralizing influence on society; is a stumbling-block to the unconverted, and a source of great joy and rejoicing to the infidel. It

¹ Report of Trial, pp. 28 to 42.

is therefore the sincere desire of the court, that all parties concerned will make every effort in their power to effect a speedy compromise of their difficulties, on such just and equitable principles as may properly become those who profess to be influenced by the light within, the Spirit of God operating on sincere and honest hearts."

Certificates were subsequently given by the President of the court (Elias P. Seeley, Gov. of N. J.) and by all the counsellors, except one, that the decision in this case *was not founded on doctrinal points*. And six members of the court who voted for affirming the chancellor's decree certified that they adopted the same course of reasoning as that contained in the opinion of Chief Justice Ewing. In delivering his opinion, Judge Ewing had said, "I hope to be able to continue and close this investigation without any inquiry into religious faith or opinions."

Although the decree of the chancellor was affirmed, one of the main objects of the Orthodox party in bringing the suit was not attained: the closing recommendation of the court of appeals granted to the larger body of Friends all they asked or desired; that is, a compromise of their conflicting claims on just and equitable principles." This recommendation was in the year 1836 embodied in a law passed by the Legislature of New Jersey, which settled the controversy in regard to the property of the Society in that State.

It enacts and provides that, "In case of any division, secession or separation now existing in said unincorporated Society of Friends in this State on conscientious grounds, when both parties profess to adhere to the faith, system of discipline, constitution

and government of said Society when in unity, that then and in such cases, the personal and real estate of whatever kind (excepting burial-grounds) of said Society held for its use in trust or otherwise shall be divided between the parties in such division, secession or separation, in the same manner as if they were tenants in common of said estate," &c.

SECTION IV. "That the burial-grounds of said Society when in unity shall forever remain free and common for the burial of the members of either party and their descendants, the same as if no division, secession or separation had been made."

SECTION V. "And if in the course of proceedings it should become expedient to ascertain the number of members of said Society connected with the said parties respectively, and any member thereof shall be under the age of 21 years, such infant shall be counted with the party to which his or her father belongs, if he is living, and if not, to that which his or her mother belongs, if living, and if she is also dead, with the party to which his or her guardian belongs."

The Separation took place in New York Yearly Meeting in the 5th month, 1828, by the withdrawal of the Orthodox party, leaving the larger body in possession of the meeting-houses in the city. In the same year the separation extended to most of the Quarterly and Monthly meetings with the same result, a very large portion of the meeting-houses being left in possession of Friends by the withdrawal of the orthodox minority. In the city of New York, the Monthly Meeting assembled at Rose Street House, 6th month 4th, 1828, and after the usual time proceeded to business. Shortly after the opening of the

meeting, those called Orthodox, being a small minority, voluntarily withdrew, when the meeting unanimously agreed to appoint a committee to inform those who had seceded that Friends “were willing to do them justice in relation to the property belonging to the Monthly Meeting.” The committee was continued four years, and conferred individually with a considerable number of the Orthodox party, assuring them of the disposition of the Monthly Meeting to do them justice, and inviting them to accept an equitable arrangement; but they could effect nothing; the other party invariably professing to consider themselves entitled to the possession of the whole property in question.

The Meeting for Sufferings in New York, on the 6th of 10th month, 1828, adopted the following minute:—

“The meeting having its attention turned to that part of the extracts received from the Yearly Meeting, which advises, ‘That in all cases where the rights of property are involved, Friends carefully maintain our Christian character for justice and equity,’ and in order to carry the same into effect the following Friends are appointed to confer with those who have separated from us, (commonly called Orthodox Friends,) and to inform them that the Meeting for Sufferings are disposed to come to an equitable settlement in relation to the property belonging to the Yearly Meeting.

“Committee,—Samuel Mott, Thomas Everit, Thos. Walker, John Barrow, Nathan Comstock, Jacob Haviland, and Whitehead Hicks.”

To the above extract the committee subjoined the following notice:—“The committee above named

are individually ready to receive proposals from those styled Orthodox, and to meet them whenever desired so to do, for the purpose of a full and explicit arrangement.

“Signed on behalf of the committee, THOS. EVERIT.”

This communication was sent to many of their leading members, and also published in a periodical of the day; but after a lapse of two years, the committee had to report that no reply had been received.

In the Winter of 1832, an influential member of the Orthodox party intimated to a Friend that they were willing to confer in an unofficial manner relative to the property. This was acceded to, and ten of each party met together for the purpose; when the Orthodox party made *verbally* a proposition to this effect: That one of the meeting-houses in the city should be surrendered to them with its adjacent property,—that they should continue to have, as they then had, the use of the burial-ground in common with us, and “that their members would then make *a verbal declaration* to us that with these possessions and immunities they would be entirely satisfied.”

The ten Friends sent them in the 12th month, 1832, a written answer, in which, after reciting the proposition, they stated that they had carefully considered it, and made a pretty general exhibit of it to their fellow-members, and the result was, that it would be accepted, provided the Orthodox meeting would execute in their favor a quit-claim deed to the remainder of the property both real and personal; “and this,” they added, “if more agreeable to you, might be done through the name of an individual so as to avoid the commitment, on your part, of a particle of your religious or social testimonies. Far be it from

us, to seek to draw from you an acknowledgment, in any the most remote degree, of our claim to the title of Friends or Quakers." * * * * "We trust you will recognize in the above, an evidence of sincere amity and good feeling towards your Society, in which we subscribe ourselves your sincere friends. Signed, David S. Brown, William Wright, Robert Hicks, Isaac T. Hopper, Thos. Leggett, Jr., Thos. H. Legett, Samuel Willets, Samuel Hicks, George T. Trimble, Nathan Comstock."

To this communication they received no reply.

In the Tenth month, 1833, the Orthodox party in New York filed a Bill in Chancery for the recovery of all the property, with an application for an injunction, and the appointment of a receiver to take charge of the same; and in the 12th month following, the Monthly Meeting of *Friends* in the city, being apprised of this movement, appointed a committee, with full power either to compromise by amicable negotiation, or to defend the suit at law or in equity.

The Meeting for Sufferings also took up the subject, and with a view to an amicable settlement sent a deputation with a letter addressed "To the Meeting for Sufferings now sitting on Henry Street," — that being the place of meeting of those called Orthodox. But the meeting thus addressed declined to receive the communication.

The Chancery bill filed by the Orthodox party in New York was similar to that filed in New Jersey. It contained the same confession of faith, and reiterated their oft-repeated charges against Elias Hicks and those they called his followers.

In the answer to this bill, filed by Friends as defendants, they deny the charges made by the Orthodox, and

affirm that their belief and that of the Yearly Meeting to which they belong is the same as that of the early Friends, which they state as follows: "The said Society of Friends, as appears from historical records, and the writings of early Friends, have always believed in the existence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and that these three are one. That there is one holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who is the Father of all things; that appeared to the holy patriarchs and prophets of old, at sundry times and in divers manners; and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the everlasting Wisdom, divine Power, true Light, only Saviour and Preserver of all, the same One, holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who, in the fulness of time took, and was manifest in the flesh; at which time he preached (and his disciples after him) the everlasting gospel of repentance and promise of remission of sins and eternal life to all that heard and obeyed; who said, he that is with you (in the flesh) shall be in you (by the Spirit), and though he left them (as to the flesh), yet not comfortless, for he would come to them again (in the Spirit), for the Lord Jesus Christ is that Spirit, a manifestation whereof is given to every one to profit withal. In which Holy Spirit they believe, as the same almighty and eternal God." ¹

"In relation to the outward manifestation of Jesus Christ, they have always believed in the scripture testimony of his miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension: and they further believe, that 'he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.' Neither is there salvation in

¹ Penn's Innocency with her Open Face,

any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.”

“They also believe in the inspiration and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures; and that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished with all good works.”

This statement of their belief was also inserted in another bill they filed in chancery the following year, in the same suit, and an addition was then made of some paragraphs from Bevan’s Summary of the Doctrines of Friends, and W. Penn’s Christian Quaker.¹

In the First month, 1835, the chancellor gave his decision. After reviewing the grounds of the application for an injunction, made by the Orthodox party, he concludes in these words: “There being scarcely a colour or pretence for this application, on any of these grounds, I must refuse it with costs.” One of the grounds alluded to, was the charge brought by the Orthodox party, that the defendants had departed from the doctrines of Friends. In relation to this, the chancellor remarks: “Their creeds, though somewhat differently expressed, are substantially and virtually the same, and on this subject, whatever dissensions may have been produced by a difference of opinion heretofore, there would really appear to be no room at this day for disputation or controversy.”

It appears that the Friends who defended this suit acted judiciously in giving an exposition of their faith, which, though brief, is explicit.

A statement has been made in some publications

¹ See Extract from Bevan’s Summary, in Chapter VI. of this treatise.

of the Orthodox party, that two suits were brought against them in the State of New York, soon after the separation, for property in their possession, belonging to the Society of Friends. In explanation of this matter the following facts are stated in a communication signed by Saml. Willets, on behalf of a committee of New York Monthly Meeting. At the time of the separation, the Nine-Partners' Boarding-school and Farm were under the care of a committee, nearly all of whom were *Friends*, (belonging to the larger body,) but they had placed a superintendent in charge, who took sides with the Orthodox party, and having barred the doors and windows, he refused admission to the committee that employed him. The trustee who held the title to the real estate, and a few individuals of the school committee, without the knowledge of the rest of the committee, proceeded so far as to have a writ of ejectment served on the superintendent; but no further proceedings were had in the case, for when it became known to the general committee, they promptly had the suit withdrawn.

The school property, together with a fund of \$10,000, belonging to the institution, remained in possession of the Orthodox party. There was, however, another piece of land detached from the school property, but belonging to the institution, that the committee retained in their possession and leased to a tenant.

The other suit alluded to, was for \$500 belonging to the Purchase school-fund. The treasurer had loaned it under such circumstances that he felt himself accountable for it, and brought the suit on his own responsibility without consulting the Meeting. He obtained a verdict in his favor, but through the aid of eminent counsel employed by the Orthodox

party, the cause was removed for a hearing in chancery.

The decision of the chancellor confirmed the verdict first obtained, with additional costs.

The burying-ground belonging to New York Monthly Meeting was used in common by both parties. The larger body retained the title in their hands, but immediately after the separation, their committee instructed the sexton to pay the same respect to the orders of the Orthodox committee as to their own, for the interment of the dead; and that party were informed that if they preferred to employ a sexton of their own, no objection would be made.¹

It is highly gratifying to record the fact that an amicable settlement of the property question has been made between the two sections claiming to be the Monthly Meeting of Friends of New York city. In the 5th month, 1851, a committee appointed by the Monthly Meeting of Friends in that city reported that they had conveyed "to their brethren" called Orthodox Friends, a portion of the land lately purchased in the city of Brooklyn for a burying-ground, north of Twelfth Street; also seven lots of land on Christy Street, and three lots on Houston Street, in the city of New York. At the same time they received from the Orthodox Friends deeds releasing to them all right or claim to any portion of the property on Rose, and William, and Hester Streets; these being the lots on which were situated two meeting-houses in the city of New York, that Friends had occupied after the Separation. In making this arrangement,

¹ Bill in Chancery, New York, 5th mo., 1834, by John Corlies, Ba. Corse, S. Willets, and others.

Friends believed they had conveyed to their Orthodox brethren their full proportion of the property, and they placed the offer they had made on the ground that it was a "voluntary peace-offering for the purpose of restoring and promoting good fellowship and kind feelings amongst brethren." This happy result has, in a good measure, been realized, not only in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, but wherever a similar course has been pursued.

Arrangements are now in progress to make an equitable division of the property that belonged to Baltimore Yearly Meeting at the time of the Separation. The number of those called Orthodox Friends being a small proportion of the whole, they withdrew at that time, and left the larger body in possession of the meeting-houses, except that at Hopewell in Frederick County, Va., which has been occupied jointly by both. The burial-grounds throughout the limits of the Yearly Meeting have been used in common by both sections without contention or hindrance from either.

The larger body, which holds its Yearly Meeting in Lombard Street meeting-house, Baltimore, has made overtures to the Orthodox Friends for an amicable settlement of the property question, as appears by the following extracts from its minutes, viz.:

"The Clerks were directed to insert in our Extracts, the following Report of the Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings to that Body, respecting the division of Property with our Orthodox Brethren, viz.:

To the Meeting for Sufferings:

The Committee appointed at our last Meeting, upon the subject of the division of Property with the other branch of Society, Report that on the 20th of the 1st month last, they addressed to our

Orthodox Friends, a Communication, of which the following is a copy, viz. :

To the Meeting for Sufferings which represents the Yearly Meeting of Friends that meets at Courtland Street, Baltimore.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We have been appointed a Committee by our Meeting for Sufferings, to endeavor to carry into effect the object embraced in the following minute, which was adopted by our late Yearly Meeting, viz. :

‘The Meeting for Sufferings is directed to open communication with the other part of Society, commonly called our Orthodox Friends, for an equitable division of all the property we now hold, which was formerly jointly held by them and us, according to the number of members of the two branches at the time of the separation; and, if amicable arrangements to that end can be effected, to pay them the amount that may be agreed upon, as their just share of all the property held by us.’

We think it proper to state, that it has been the desire of some of us, for many years past, that a course of this kind should be pursued, and efforts to that end have been heretofore made; but the body of our Society was not then prepared to adopt the measure. It therefore seemed right, in order to move in that harmony which is so beautiful and healthful in a religious organization, to wait, as for the hindmost of the Flock, remembering the sacred injunction, ‘He that believeth, shall not make haste,’ and remain alive under the concern, till the opposition should be removed.

We are now favored to be able to say, that this desired period has arrived. The preceding minute was adopted by our late Yearly Meeting, with entire unanimity. Not one voice was opposed thereto.

Now, dear Friends, it is our ardent desire, that the proposition of our Yearly Meeting, thus made, may be entertained by you, in the same kind and conciliatory spirit in which it is tendered; and of this, we have no reason whatever to doubt. And moreover, we hope and trust, that the reciprocal exercise of kind and good feeling, in the amicable adjustment of this subject, may be the means of bringing us closer and closer to each other, in kindness and charity, by bringing us nearer and nearer to God, in the bonds of His love.

The present communication is made in entire frankness, and

with strict integrity of purpose, and, if we know our own hearts, in true brotherly and Christian feeling, in which we can subscribe ourselves your sincere Friends,

BENJN. HALLOWELL,
 SAMUEL TOWNSEND,
 SAMUEL M. JANNEY,
 DAVID G. MCCOY,
 BENJN. P. MOORE,
 JOSEPH MATTHEWS,
 RICHARD H. TOWNSEND, and
 GERARD H. REESE.

Baltimore, 1st Month 20th, 1865.

On behalf of the Meeting for Sufferings which represents Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, that meets at Lombard Street.

To which communication we received the following reply, viz. :

To Benjamin Hallowell and others, Committee on behalf of the Meeting for Sufferings which represents the Yearly Meeting of Friends that meets at Lombard Street.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We have considered the communication addressed to our Meeting for Sufferings, by you, as a Committee of your Meeting.

There was not time to call our Meeting together, but as members of it, we frankly state our views, which we believe to be those of our other members.

The proposition embraced in the minute of your Yearly Meeting, is acceptable to us, and we are prepared, with the consent of our meeting, to carry it out in the same Christian spirit in which we believe it has been proposed.

We cordially reciprocate the kind and brotherly feelings which you have expressed, and remain your friends.

R. M. JANNEY,
 FRANCIS T. KING,
 JAMES CAREY,
 JAMES CAREY THOMAS,
 JESSE TYSON,
 MILES WHITE,
 THOS. R. MATTHEWS.

Baltimore, 1st Month 20th, 1865.

Four members of our Committee, by appointment, subsequently had a very satisfactory personal interview with four of these

Friends, during which they expressed a willingness to unite with us in an application to the Maryland Legislature for power to sell and convey the Fair Hill Boarding School Property, and to aid in selling the Pasture Lot, and in the valuation of the Lombard Street Property. Indeed, a disposition was gratifyingly manifested to do their full part to carry out the arrangement proposed by our Yearly Meeting.

From the length of time that has since elapsed, the Committee believe it to be impracticable to ascertain, with entire precision, the number of members of the two branches at the time of the separation; but our Orthodox Friends, in our interview with them, expressed their belief, that the relation was about one to four, which would give one-fifth, or twenty per cent. for their share, and that they were willing to settle upon this basis; and although, from the best estimates we have been able to gain, this is a *large* proportion, yet the Committee have thought it best, for the sake of that precious harmony that happily exists between the Representatives of the two branches, who have had intercourse with each other upon the subject, and which harmony we desire may increase and extend, to recommend to the Meeting for Sufferings, that a settlement be authorized with them in this proportion.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

BENJ'N. P. MOORE,
DAVID G. MCCOY.

Baltimore, 3d Month 11th, 1865.

This Report, upon being read and considered, was approved and adopted by the Meeting for Sufferings, and the Committee was continued, and authorized and directed to divide the property with our Orthodox Friends, upon the terms contained in the Report; that is, to pay them one-fifth of the net proceeds of the sale of the Fair Hill Boarding School Property, one-fifth of the net proceeds of the sale of the Pasture Lot, and one-fifth of one-half the valuation that may be agreed upon of the Lombard Street Meeting House Property, these three pieces of property being all that is embraced in the minute of our Yearly Meeting, under which we are acting."

This arrangement, it will be observed, relates only to the property held by the Yearly Meeting, which

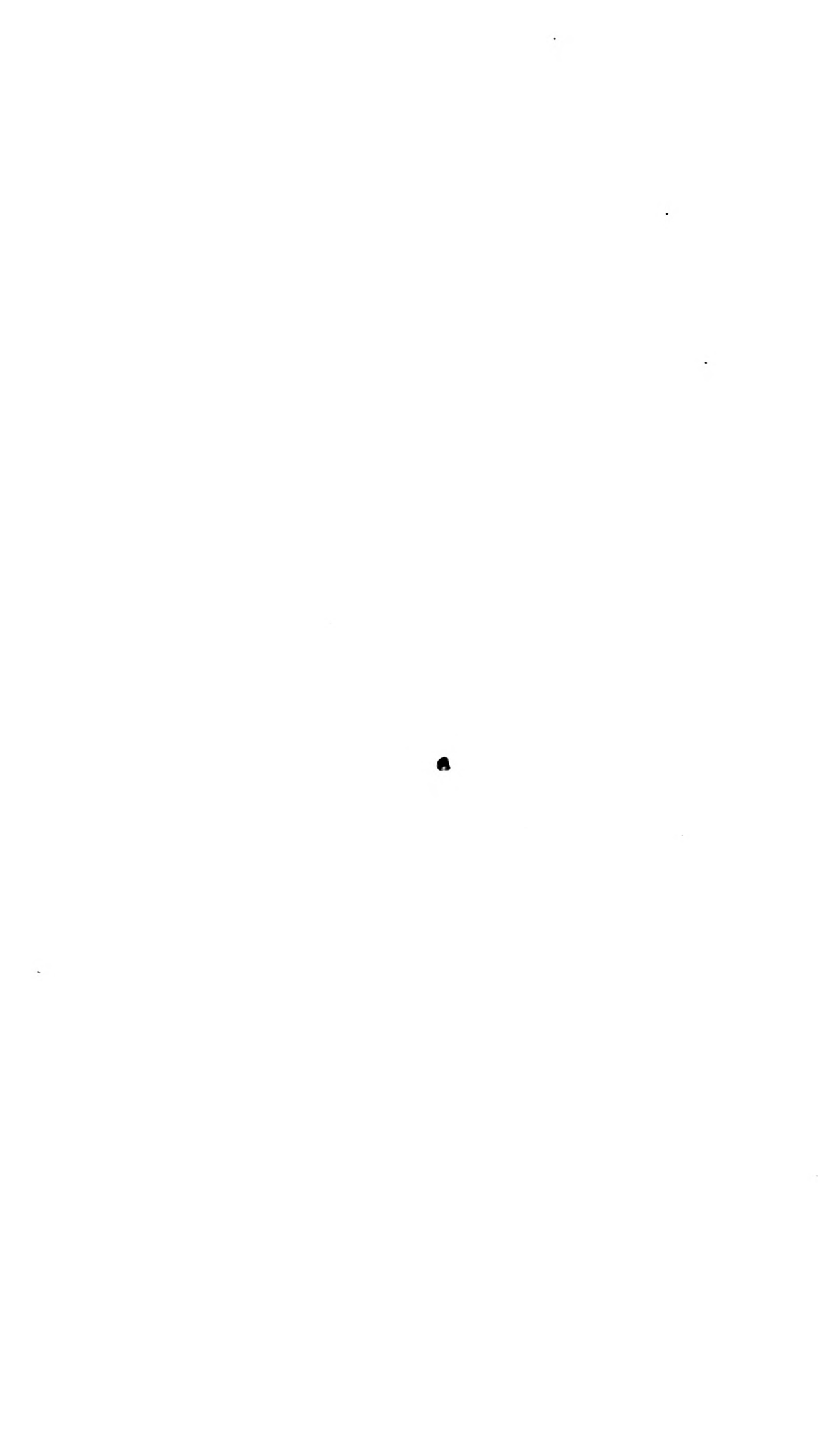
includes one-half of the Lombard Street meeting-house, the other half belongs to the Monthly Meeting of Baltimore. The property belonging to the several Monthly meetings remains mostly in the possession of the larger body, and the burial-grounds are used in common by both.

The cordial feelings manifested in the foregoing correspondence will probably lead to an amicable settlement of the property question in the several Monthly meetings, and must have a favorable influence in promoting mutual kindness between parties, who, in so many points of doctrine and discipline, are in agreement.

In closing the history of the Separation of Friends in America, the mournful consideration presents itself, that nearly all the prominent actors engaged in it have passed away from this stage of existence. May we not hope that in the clearer atmosphere of the spiritual world, those who differed here, will no longer "see as through a glass darkly," but, coming face to face, will discover in each other those pure principles and heavenly affections which are the fruits of the Spirit, uniting every member of the Church to its glorious Head, Christ Jesus.

It is not in entire uniformity of religious opinions that the harmony and prosperity of the Church must be sought, for the indwelling and government of the Spirit of Christ can alone enable his dedicated followers "to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."





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