

Friendly sketches in America. By William Tallack

FRIENDLY SKETCHES IN AMERICA.

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BY WILLIAM TALLACK.

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PREFACE.

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These Sketches of the Society of Friends in America are the result of observations and inquiries made during a four months' journey through the United States, in the summer of 1860.

The writer takes this opportunity of expressing his hearty thanks to the numerous Friends in that country who so kindly facilitated his efforts at collecting information, both respecting the subjects of these sketches, and others of a different nature.

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ERRATA.

Page 114, line 23— *read* “Somnium Scipionis” without the inserted comma.

“ 135 “ 2— *read* “species of fern,” not “pieces.”

“ 136 “ 17— *omit* “other” before “continental nations.”

“ 143 “ 10— *read* “trenched;” not “intrenched.”

“ 221 “ 8— *read* “tour;” not “town.”.

FRIENDLY SKETCHES IN AMERICA.

THE UNION AND DISSENT OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.

The Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland is a united community, but the same denomination in America has been more than once, since the commencement of the nineteenth century, interrupted by differences of doctrine which have led to several divisions in the previously united Society. The members of each of these claim to constitute the original Society of Friends, but as some distinctive appellation is necessary in speaking of each, they are usually known as the “Orthodox” and “Hicksite” Friends. The Orthodox have again separated into two classes, called respectively the “Evangelical” and “Wilburite.” Again, the Wilburites have, in several instances, had very small local secessions, each claiming to be “the Friends.”

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So that considerable care is requisite to avoid confusion of ideas with respect to the opinions and condition of the members of this Society in America.

They all agree, however, in maintaining the paramount importance of individual submission to the perceptible guidance of the Divine Spirit in each B 2 person. They all unite in a decided testimony against war, slavery, and other popularly tolerated evils, as being incompatible with a perfect Christianity. All agree, too, in a high estimate of the character and precepts of George Fox, Robert Barclay, and their associated early Friends. Each division of the Society also denies the right of any political authority to interfere in matters of conscience alone. Some of these views are also held by many of the other Christian sects who have never been associated with Friends. But there remain two other peculiar and very important principles which have specially characterized the Society of Friends from its commencement;—firstly, the adoption of silence as a basis of worship the most calculated to foster sincere individual prayer and reverent prostration of the soul before God; secondly, the practical and not merely theoretical adoption of the principle that a call to the ministry of the Gospel can only come from the Divine Spirit, and that, unless this inward call be given, all other outward or intellectual gifts are incapable of qualifying for this office; and further, that ministry, to be entirely disinterested and pure, had better, except in peculiar cases, be gratuitous, and that the recognition of a ministerial call from God rests with the whole body of church members.

These specially characteristic views of worship and ministry are still retained and highly valued by each division of American Friends, and these continue to distinguish them as a community who at least agree in holding some opinions decidedly different from those entertained by all other Christian sects of their country.

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Before entering on the points of difference amongst those who unite in so much, it is necessary to recur to the circumstances of the origin of the Society of Friends. Its founders and first adherents were mostly from the ranks of the Puritans. They were men whose

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spirits were wrought up to a high degree of tension and earnestness by the events of their time, and by the experiences of themselves or their relatives, in battle-fields, pillories, and dungeons. Around them were the struggles of Scotch Covenanters, French Catholics, Dutch and German Reformers, Genevan Refugees, and, nearer home, licentious native and foreign intriguers and adventurers of every bad description. Such a general state of things was calculated to develop extreme views in every mind. All religious and political opinions would be tinged with personal feeling and with stronger dread of contrary tendencies. The Puritans saw profligacy run riot in high places, and they shrank back into the opposite extreme of rigidly tightening or absolutely forbidding some of the lawful amenities of social life. They heard monarchs call to men to mould their consciences, under pains and penalties, to the gauge of court prescription, and attempt to enforce such impossible religious unanimity by the pillory and scaffold, and, in their desperation and Christian fidelity, they replied oftentimes in tones of less loyalty than resolute refusal. No wonder either that the godly men of those days should imbibe a portion of what would be rightly called over-zeal and fanaticism in our own age, but black and white are hardly more alike than the condition of religious and political society in the reign of Victoria compared with that of the Charleses. B2 4 Macaulay in his Essay on Milton has described, not unjustly, the reign of Charles the Second in these words:—"Then came those days never to be recalled without a blush, the days of servitude without loyalty, and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot, and the slave. The king cringed to his rival [Louis XIV.] that he might trample on his people, sank into a viceroy of France, and pocketed with complacent infamy her degrading insults and her more degrading gold.—The Government had just ability enough to deceive, and just religion enough to persecute. The principles of liberty were the scoff of every grinning courtier, and the Anathema-Maranatha of every fawning dean.—Crime succeeded to crime, and disgrace to disgrace, till the race accursed of God and man was a second time driven forth to wander on the face of the earth, and to be a byword and a shaking of the head to the nations."

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It was an age of extremes, and it is a natural law that even the best men should be thus influenced by extremes driving them to other extremes of language and action. The first Friends heard the creed of a simple Christianity in the mouths of multitudes notoriously deficient in the practice of that creed; and they became themselves convinced, and then taught others, that formal creeds are of small importance, and that a little sincere effort after good is worth a whole creed held in carelessness. They saw the profligate court and clergy of their day in possession of the same beautiful liturgy now used in English churches, and containing the same evangelical profession of dependence on the atonement of Christ, and they exclaimed, 'It is not enough to speak of Christ as an historic character, as one who lived, died, and rose sixteen hundred years ago, as a Being of the *past*. We want Christ's help *every day*, just as much as at the first moment of our soul's sight of His atoning efficacy. How can you have strength to do any daily good, unless you feel Christ to be risen and present *in you* personally by His Holy Spirit *now*? Yes, "Christ *in you*" is just as essential to your real spiritual life as ever He was on Calvary. We cannot even see the need of His death on Calvary, unless Christ Himself now, in our hearts, open our blind eyes to see our entire absence of good, our total inability to come to our most holy God without such justifying means of approach. God is a living *personal, energizing* Being, of the *present*, quite as much as of the past. So that how can we talk consistently of being saved by Christ's death, if we fall into abhorred sin for want of Christ's life?'

It is true that it is Christ's atoning death on Calvary which alone gives us a claim to *approach*, as accepted suppliants, at the crystal purity of the Divine Throne; but it is only a daily *permanent* current of Christ's cleansing vital Spirit that can *keep* us there, in the warmth, and power, and purity of His presence. "The just shall live by faith." Too many have been reading this as merely of the spiritual birth, but the just must not only be born by faith, but live by faith, and so continue to the end. We must feel that however we labour in Christ's cause, still we have a permanent vacuity of intrinsic goodness, which no amount of the borrowed goodness of faith will lessen. ⁶ We must be as "little children," leaning on Christ daily, to the end of our existence here below.

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But, in this earnestness of their sense of the need of Christ's *living* personal presence to help us from the daily recurrence of sinful habits, the early Friends inculcated that side of Christian doctrine too exclusively;—they left the other side, the value of Christ's death on Calvary, too much in the background. This omission, not wilful on their part, was continued by many of their successors, till, at a hundred and fifty years after the rise of the Society, it can scarcely be denied that this was an absolutely characteristic deficiency in its ministry and literature. It is seen at once by reference to the prevailing style and tendency of the biographies and official records of Friends in the eighteenth century. The extreme of a formal evangelicalism outside the Society in the preceding century had now borne its fruit, the opposite extreme of a formal spirituality in the Society itself.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century this extreme began to manifest itself more boldly than heretofore, and especially in America. A temporary check was given, but the error was too deeply rooted, and it soon broke out more extensively. Elias Hicks, a minister in the Society, resident on Long Island, publicly inculcated the doctrines that the inward manifestation of Christ through the Spirit is alone essential to salvation; that Jesus in the flesh was not also perfect God; and that the Bible is not a standard of religious truth more than individual inward suggestions, or, indeed, more than some of the writings of good men in various ages. He was reasoned with for preaching these doctrines, but persisted in maintaining 7 them. It is evident, on a comparison of his dangerous and unscriptural views with the general tone of the writings of Friends both in England and America during the eighteenth century, that he was merely a bolder enunciator of doctrinal errors, which had long been gradually and deeply infecting the Society. This is still further proved by the fact that a majority of the Friends in New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, supported his views, and continued in communion with him as a fellow-member. Out of the twenty-two meetings of Friends then on Long Island only two protested against his views by disowning them and him. The remaining twenty meetings continued to unite with him. Elsewhere, also, a similar majority of the Society took his part. These were called "Hicksites" and "Separatists" by the smaller body opposed to Elias Hicks, and who

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thenceforth became known by the name of "Orthodox" Friends, which was recognized by most of the Christian sects in America. After the separation which thus occurred, a census of the Pennsylvanian Friends was taken, and it was found that out of twenty-five thousand in that State, about seventeen thousand had supported Elias Hicks. So that only one-third of the Friends there allied themselves to the Orthodox section. In Philadelphia and New York the Hicksites still form a majority of those who popularly go under the name of "Friends." In Baltimore, also, the Hicksites are a large body, while the Orthodox there are a mere handful. And so in various places in the Central States.

After the year 1828, the Orthodox Friends continued their course more quietly. But, meanwhile, some Friends in Great Britain had taken an alarm at the state of the Society in America, and, dreading lest there should be any such error and separation in their own country, endeavoured to guard English Friends against the Socinian tendencies of their former literature and ministry, which had led to such unpleasant results across the Atlantic. Amongst those who were thus instrumental in awakening attention to the importance of more scriptural simplicity and a more evangelical form of doctrine, was Joseph John Gurney of Norwich, and he illustrated his views powerfully by a life of spirituality and beneficence. He combined the habitual daily dependence on Christ's inward presence, so emphatically inculcated by the early Friends, with a scriptural humility of prostration before the entire and only merits of Christ, as the incarnate atoning representative on Calvary of the human race.

Very much in consequence of the efforts of these Friends the Society has of late years devoted more attention to the scriptural education of its younger members, and to the careful examination of how far its traditional doctrines will bear the test of the Bible. Much of the formality and over-rigorous discipline which characterized Friends in England fifty years ago has now disappeared, to the decided increase of religious vitality and earnestness amongst its members, elder and younger. This improvement has extended to some parts of America, but not so generally as in England. It has had great influence in the Western States and in New England, but comparatively little on the Friends of

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Pennsylvania, who have generally continued to hold a system of doctrines certainly 9 distinct from the bolder features of Hicksism, yet not so evangelical as those of the Society in Great Britain.

In the progress of this re-action there became manifest, especially on the part of the younger members of the Society, a tendency to go too far again in this direction. Here was the old story of a vibration from one extreme to another. This tendency was very unpleasant to the minds of some of the more conservative and aged Friends, particularly to those in Pennsylvania and in some other parts of the Eastern States. Foremost amongst these was a minister named John Wilbur, of Massachusetts. He, and those of similar opinions, considered that the decided tendencies to innovation, which had of late years appeared amongst Friends in Great Britain, were mainly the direct result of Joseph John Gurney's writings; and, believing that it was undesirable to have a similar inquiring and alterative disposition aroused in America, he heard with great dissatisfaction that Joseph John Gurney had obtained the official consent of English Friends to pay a ministerial visit to the Society in America. Hereupon he believed it his duty to warn Friends of what he considered an approaching danger. To accomplish this he wrote letters of admonition, and paid personal exhortatory visits to those meetings to which Joseph John Gurney was about to come. This proceeding was certainly not a very courteous one to the English Friend. Nevertheless, it was under an honest conviction of duty on John Wilbur's part, and as it did not necessarily prevent Joseph John Gurney from carrying out his mission, it certainly appears to come under the head of that individual right which every Friend has, constitutionally, 10 to use all private persuasion or simple warning against what he believes to be error. If John Wilbur had openly preached opposition to Joseph John Gurney before his face in the meetings where he came, then it would have been a direct breach of common Christian order in the Society; or, if he had, even in private, circulated any statements which he knew or suspected to be false, then again he would have been guilty of malicious calumny. But it appears that he acted from sincere religious convictions, and did not really exceed the limits of legitimate persuasion and honest protest.

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The local body, or monthly meeting of Friends, to which John Wilbur belonged, held him in esteem for his earnest Christian life, and he was widely known in America and Great Britain as an able minister in the Society. The friends of Joseph John Gurney in New England considered, however, that John Wilbur had transgressed the church "order" of the Society by the perseverance and plainness of his expressions of warning. They urged his monthly meeting to call him to account for these proceedings, but that body did not choose to do so, but rather approved of his conservative zeal.

Under the original constitution of the Society of Friends, it had been much the same as the Independent or Congregational body, and as the early apostolic churches appear to have been, namely, that each local community of members forms a virtually independent church, associated with other similar communities for purposes of mutual advantage, but not for interference in its management or discipline (where religious doctrine is not involved), *except 11 with its own consent*. This was, and still is, the legitimate original constitution of the Society of Friends in Britain and America. But during, the eighteenth century there came to be gradually introduced, particularly amongst American Friends, a tacit claim of authority over the interior discipline of the subordinate meetings on the part of the elder members, and of the larger meetings with which these smaller meetings had voluntarily allied themselves for purposes of mutual aid and counsel, but not of authoritative interference *in cases not connected with doctrine*. However, this principle of authority was exerted in the case of John Wilbur. His monthly meeting was required to put him under disciplinary notice for his proceedings. It is to be remarked that he was not accused of any unsound doctrinal error, or of any act contrary to morality, but simply of an alleged breach of the ecclesiastical "order" of the Society. The only parties constitutionally competent to declare him guilty of a breach of "order" were the members of his own monthly meeting. They still approved of him, and there the matter ought, under the circumstances, to have been left, according to the principles of Friends. But this did not suit the larger and superior body of Friends in New England: they insisted that John Wilbur's monthly meeting should take him under discipline, and in order to enforce

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this, they sent a deputation of friends to use pressure upon the voluntary wish of the monthly meeting. Under this pressure the monthly meeting, or rather a portion of it, at last reluctantly “disowned” or excommunicated him. But at a subsequent meeting, when the deputation were no longer 12 present to interfere, they repealed the disownment, and reinstated their esteemed minister in his membership and position. And this they had a right to do, according to the very constitution of the Society. If John Wilbur, or themselves, had been guilty of any decided breach of moral rectitude, or of doctrinal soundness, then the case would have been different; then the larger meeting of New England might constitutionally have interfered, but not till then, and not in any case of a simple breach of church “order” not adjudged by the monthly meeting to be worth notice. On hearing of the reinstatement of John Wilbur, the larger meeting proceeded to a further unconstitutional course,—they “broke up” the monthly meeting itself. But this was more than the smaller meeting could tolerate, so they constituted themselves thenceforth an entirely independent disciplinary body, and, of course, still retaining the name of “Friends.” Thus commenced the separation of the Orthodox American] Friends into the two divisions of “Evangelical” and “Wilburite” Friends; those who sympathized with Joseph John Gurney being called by the former appellation for distinction, and the friends of John Wilbur being styled after himself.

In some other parts of America there were Friends who refused to withdraw their acknowledgment of John Wilbur's supporters being still as virtually members of the Society as ever. They continued to give them official recognition, and, in some cases, have separated themselves from the “Evangelical” Friends who refused such recognition.

The larger body of Orthodox in Pennsylvania tacitly sympathize with the Wilburites of New England 13 and elsewhere, but have not as yet seen fit to give them such official recognition as would involve a rupture with a small minority of their own members who are of “Evangelical” sympathies.

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So that the number of Orthodox Friends, known as Wilburites, forms a very small proportion to the Evangelicals, if we only reckon those who have officially separated,—but the number of virtual Wilburites who still remain nominally united to the Evangelical Friends is considerable, especially in Philadelphia and other parts of Pennsylvania. It is in New England, Ohio, and New York, that the *actual* and official separations of the Wilburites have taken place.

The Society of Friends in America has, for purposes of mutual convenience, arranged itself into disciplinary Provinces called Yearly Meetings, because, in each Province, an annual gathering is held of representatives from each smaller constituent meeting of the whole Province.

The Orthodox have eight of these Provinces, namely, the Yearly Meetings of New England, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, and the Western Yearly Meeting. There used to be a Yearly Meeting of Virginia, but it became so small in numbers, that it was merged into that of Baltimore. There will probably be a ninth Yearly Meeting established in 1863 in Iowa.

The Hicksites have six Provinces, namely, the Yearly Meetings of New York, Philadelphia, Genessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Baltimore. As regards numbers, the Orthodox preponderate in the Western States, and the Hicksites in the Eastern. The total number 14 of Orthodox in America is about 80,000; the total of Hicksites also about 80,000.

[There are about 17,000 Friends in Great Britain and Ireland.]

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.

For many years I had felt a deep interest in everything relative to the United States, and especially in the Society of Friends there. At the commencement of 1860, I was in Australia, and, being about to return to England, decided to cross the Pacific and visit America on my way home. By this means I had an opportunity of spending four very

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interesting months in the United States, and during that time took constant occasion of mixing with Friends of all classes and opinions. My time was chiefly spent at Richmond, the seat of Indiana Yearly Meeting, and at Philadelphia, the seat of the most interesting but least harmonious Yearly Meeting in the Eastern States.

Before going to America, I had entertained a high estimate of the Americans and their country, and am bound to say that I left their shores with a still increased respect for them. I crossed the United States from California to Virginia, and from Mexico to Canada, and was everywhere struck with the universal energy and perseverance displayed. The Americans might add to their motto of "Go ahead," the words "Gone ahead," at least in many respects, and they may say without egotism—"Ours is a great nation." They are annually advancing in the esteem and respect of Great Britain and the other nations of Europe, who have not till recently estimated their high national position in a degree commensurate to its actuality. There has been too much caricature of American peculiarity current as real portraiture, and the great drawback of slavery has been so exclusively dwelt upon, and so brandished about in front of their national character, as to give impressions greatly distorted.

With respect to the Society of Friends in that country, I was sorry to find party spirit running to an extent which it does not approach amongst ourselves. Some of us are by no means of precisely identical views on the very same religious matters which interest our American brethren; but on our side the Atlantic we "agree to differ," and our variety of opinion does not prevent us from enjoying social union and harmonious religious action as a corporate Society. At any rate there is amongst us so little exception to this harmony, that it is the general rule of our condition.

It also seemed that there is hardly the same amount of individual liberty amongst American Friends as with English ones. The simple exercise of an impartial examination of both sides of a question, at any rate if it involves a friendly intercourse or any considerable degree of conference and courtesy with the members of an opposite party, is treated with

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a harshness and even disciplinary action which would not pass current amongst English Friends. For instance, when I mentioned to American Orthodox Friends that I was desirous of seeing a little of the Hicksites also, and of hearing what they had to say and show 16 of their own side, I was strongly dissuaded, and told that it was considered derogatory for an Orthodox Friend to attend a Hicksite meeting, or associate with them, and that, in fact, it was positively a disownable offence. I was sorry to have to act differently from the advice of my kind friends, but replied, that we had an old English motto, "Hear both sides," and that I was resolved to act upon it.

There is a greater disposition in America than in England to consider that because an individual has general preferences for one particular party, that, therefore, he ought to endorse all the minute specialities usually associated with that party. This is probably the consequence of the mode in American politics of acting in large masses. Things are considered necessarily associated, which have no involved connexion whatever. Thus, this autumn, during the presidential campaign, the Republican party favourable to the election of Abraham Lincoln have saddled on the question of a protective tariff to their chief party characteristic of anti-slavery extension. This policy is not considered good in Britain. The great Anti-Corn-Law League would not have been so universally triumphant, if its leaders had insisted on saddling the wholly independent question of the Game Laws, or the Temperance Prohibitory Law, on to the main question of Free Trade. The American maxim is, "Endorse the whole ticket of your political party, whether you like the details or not."

And the same principle has been introduced too much into the Society of Friends in that country. The early Friends were prominent for their advocacy of individual liberty. In George Fox's days, Friends 17 were not expected to conform so precisely in little out-ward details of costume, nor were they so closely catechized to see whether they were "sound" upon minutiae of doctrine; but if they adopted the glorious, simple, fundamental principles of Christ's living personal guidance of individuals and of the church, and our other leading

doctrines, as silent worship and a free ministry, then they were acknowledged as brethren, and received “the right hand of fellowship.”

EXTERNAL PECULIARITIES IN AMERICA.

The adoption of a peculiar style of dress has become popularly associated with the essentials of membership in the Society of Friends. This peculiar style has not by any means implied inexpensiveness, but rather the reverse; neither simplicity of pattern, or even convenience to the wearer, but a tacitly understood and prescribed form,—so clearly laid down as a “religious fashion,” that its uniform minutiae have rendered it almost as much a ceremony as any of those against which the Society has been in the habit of protesting in the observances of other Christian communities. But it is quite a mistake to suppose that George Fox and his associates prescribed any such form, for some of them are known to have dressed in one way, and some in another. All that they inculcated on the subject of dress was the impropriety of giving excessive attention to *any* particular style at all, and especially of changing from time to time, merely because a senseless standard of fickle fashion prescribed an alteration. C

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But when the founders of the Society were dead, and their successors of the retrogressive eighteenth century, having little stimulus of persecution or profitable mental activity, began to mistake formality for orthodoxy, then they gradually and almost imperceptibly grafted on to the usages of the Society a stereo-typed form of dress, and of its minutiae. But the strangest and most inconsistent part of this eighteenth century contribution to Quakerism was, that it arbitrarily selected certain parts of the dress, and virtually said, “Friends, you must be peculiar in dress in certain respects,—but be peculiar in collar above all other things. You may change your buckles to straps, or alter your sleeves and loops. You may substitute (but we do not advise it) a black stock for a white cravat, or change a pair of knee “shorts” to trousers; or you may wear black in place of drab, if you can afford it; you may even have a hat, with a not particularly broad brim; but, above all other points

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of dress, you must preserve a collar of a particular shape. We say you must; because, if you do not, we shall call you “inconsistent” and “unfriendly,” and shall not appoint you, however worthy and religious you may otherwise be, to the position of ministers, elders, or overseers. So that, whatever style of dress you adopt or relinquish, see that you keep a peculiar collar.”

Although this is not a literal copy of any official document or address of the Society of Friends, yet it is a virtual copy of the substance, and of the officially illustrated meaning of hundreds and thousands of documents and sermons issued and enforced by its social and disciplinary practice. And it is only within the last twenty years, that it has ceased to be the 19 virtually expressed language and policy of the Society in Great Britain; and it can barely be said that it has completely ceased here, even yet. But it still remains to be the virtual language and practically enforced policy of nearly half or two-thirds of the Evangelical, and nearly all the Wilbur Friends in America, down to the very date at which I write. As an instance, a Friend, who is well known in Indiana, was nominated for the appointment of clerk to a large meeting; but it was objected against him, in the committee of nomination, that his hat-brim was not so broad as was generally considered “consistent.” The Friend stated in his defence, that the hatter of Whom he bought it had not in stock one with a wider brim. This explanation was deemed so far satisfactory, that the appointment was allowed to pass; but in the same town, another Friend, who has also been thought peculiarly qualified for a clerk to the meeting, and is really so qualified, has not been at any time called to the office, because he has a collar not “peculiar.” And it would be regarded amongst Friends generally in America as a very objectionable and unprecedented thing, to appoint ever so real a Friend, ever so humble and religious a member of the Society, to the office of clerk, overseer, elder, or minister, so long as he did not add to his other qualifications that of a “peculiar” collar.

Again, in another part of Indiana, in the women's meeting, for the transaction of the arrangements of their own particular matters, a minister nominated one young woman to some unimportant office. Immediately up rose an elderly member and said, that “She

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thought that only 'consistent' Friends should be appointed to C 2 20 the offices of the Society." Now, as this young woman, who usually wore a peculiar bonnet, had omitted to do so on one or two temporary occasions (I think, in harvest-time, or some time of the sort), she was adjudged "inconsistent," and was refused the appointment. The minister who nominated her informed me that the result was to disgust some of her young Friends with peculiar bonnets altogether. And no wonder.—But had it been the case of a young man with a collar not peculiar, there can scarcely be a doubt that he would not have been even nominated to office.

If George Fox and his associates could rise out of their graves now, and witness in America the formalism which has been thus grafted on to the simple original principles of the Society, and which is still so strongly and, generally, practically enforced there, it is more than probable that these, the founders of the Society, would say to their representatives, "How have you undone a part of the work which cost us so much labour and persecution! What was it that we so arduously struggled after, but to call men away from *all outward* objects of religious reliance to Christ as their *living* Saviour? You have added something external. You have established a standard, virtually at least in many cases, of judging of the spiritual condition of your fellowmen, and that to a great degree, too, by that which has no other moral or religious sanction than some trivial details of the shape of their garments! We called men away from those outwardly taken 'sacraments,' which had at least venerable ecclesiastical authority, and much apparent rationality in their favour, and you have almost 21 substituted a third 'sacrament,' of considering a particular cut of apparel an *essential* for religious and social worth. Do not say it is not held by you as 'essential,' for if you admit (and you cannot help admitting it) that you characterize every fellow member as 'inconsistent' or 'unfriendly,' who does not thus dress, however really plain and simple his attire, then you have rendered peculiar minutiae of dress essential to religious 'consistency,' and to 'friendliness,' and what is this but the least reputable kind of formalism? The broadening of phylacteries, and enlarging the borders of their garments by the Pharisees of old, was Divine obedience itself, compared with this, for they had some

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appearance of legal command—but they were rebuked by the Highest for their spirit in doing that for which they had more excuse than you.”

It is, indeed, a great mistake to represent the set peculiarities of dress, which popularly characterize a “Quaker,” as any part of the example of the founders of the Society. The founders, if now alive, would probably be early in giving them up, as innovations upon the very fundamentals of the Society; innovations at least mischievous from their gradually associated estimate.

And yet it is still the case, that a large proportion of the Society of Friends west of the Alleghanies, as well as east of it, enforce these forms virtually by at least a disciplinary exclusion from Society offices, *irrespective* of personal worth and spiritual growth, of any or all their members who do not feel religiously bound to turn up, instead of down, the collars of their coats, or rather to cut a slit in their collars, for the 22 American “Friends' coats” have turned-down or “roll” collars, only without a *slit*; that secures the standard of external orthodoxy, if, at the same time, the brim of the hat be sufficiently broad;—but even this will pass in most cases, provided the turned-down coat collars be not slit. Why, really, it is a great derogation that the truly glorious and philanthropic as well as apostolic principles of the Society should ever have been even fancied as *necessarily* associated, by ourselves or the public, with such “weak and beggarly elements” as a slit in a turned-down coat collar.

When I entered the United States I was myself partial to the “peculiar dress” of Friends, and still wore it from feelings of many pleasant old associations, and from a belief also that it possessed some real advantages. And so, when I came to the western settlements of Friends, and found amongst them a far more general maintenance of these external peculiarities than is now the case in Great Britain, I was much gratified, and thought to myself—“Well, now, this is something like what I have often wished to see; here is a realization of the often fancied aspects of the ‘good old times.’” For I saw the great body of the Friends around me dressed in coats of a drabness, collars of an evenness, bat-

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brims of a broadness, strangely in excess of what I had been accustomed to witness in the meetings of London, Dublin, Bristol, and Leeds.

But from Indiana, right through to Philadelphia, every week showed me fresh instances of the too general and mischievous working of this alleged appurtenance of Quakerism, both amongst Evangelical and Wilburite Friends, though far more amongst the latter than the former. Thus, in one place in Indiana, I found a religious and talented young Friend, earnestly desirous of promoting the interests of religion, and of being led by the Holy Spirit, but not convinced of the necessity of being “peculiar” in dress. He was told that if he would only dress as other Friends, he would be at once “brought forward” in Society offices, and publicly encouraged by the elder Friends. This offer, however, confirmed him more than before in his sense of the formalism thus sanctioned and fostered, and he remained under a tacit ban of official criticism.

In another part of the same State I met with a female Friend who is now an “acknowledged” minister. But when her friends were considering as to the propriety of recognizing her as such, it was objected that her bonnet, although a “peculiar” one, was not in the most approved style of peculiarity, being straight behind, in English fashion, instead of rounded off, as in those of American female Friends. Not wishing to give offence, the Friend got a round-backed bonnet, and was then soon received as a minister. In another State I met with two former Friends who had been once “peculiar” in dress and sincere in attachment to the Society, but became disgusted at the prominence given to these minutiae in conversation and criticism amongst Friends, and left the Society altogether.

But in Philadelphia, amongst the Wilburite Friends, I found the existence of special acerbity towards those who have taken more really Friendly views of true simplicity in dress. There I found that by the 24 Wilburite class of Friends, their brethren in Great Britain were considered to be almost hopelessly “departed” Friends; and it was alleged to me as a reason, by a leading member of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, that in England

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there had actually been some Friends allowed to sit “ fronting the meetings,” with turned-down collars, having slits in them; and, to make matters worse, it was reported that at least one such attired Friend in England had been received as a minister whilst still retaining a slit collar! Now really this would be ludicrous, were it not for the positive acerbity which the Wilburite Friends manifest towards their Evangelical brethren for such minutiae, and yet they venture to adduce as their defence that they are desirous of upholding the “ancient testimonies” of our Society! One gets tired of hearing so much in Philadelphia about these “ancient testimonies,” when one finds perpetually, on closely questioning, that they mainly resolve themselves into a “testimony” against slit collars; but it would puzzle their astutest advocate to show that the early Friends preached or practised a policy of acerbity towards those who wore slit collars in their day, or any other moderate style of dress either. There is a small periodical published in Philadelphia as a sort of “organ” of the Wilburite Friends, but it is so characterized by its frequent advocacy of the need of minute peculiarities of dress, as to suggest the idea that it may be subsidized by some persons having a pecuniary interest in the making-up of clothing in its own approved style.

So great is the importance attached to the peculiar dress by a large proportion of the American Friends, 25 that the consideration is already forcing itself upon some of the most thoughtful ones there, that the Society has really suffered serious injury by this strangely engrafted formalism, and that the sooner it is expelled from its usurped and false position of being any religious “testimony” our early Friends, the better.

It is nearly abandoned by Friends in Great Britain, and, in spite of the fond regards of its admirers in America, there are several indications that even there the foundations of its power are being shaken, and that in about a quarter of a century hence, it will be numbered amongst those exploded popular prejudices which, on the retrospect of their sway, we wonder could ever have received any general degree of respect, and still more that they could ever have had power to introduce dissensions and coolness amongst brethren, otherwise prepared to unite in cordial and holy fellowship.

FRIENDS IN THE WEST.

In no part of the world has there been such an extraordinary change in the whole aspect of things, within so short a period, as in the Western States of America. Since the commencement of the present century, the country immediately west of the Alleghany mountains was almost a region of unbroken forests and unclaimed wildernesses, only inhabited by the uncivilized Indians and the wild beasts on which they depended for their chief food. Ohio, Indiana, 26 and Illinois are now covered with a network of extensive railways, and dotted with flourishing cities, containing magnificent public institutions, and yet the dates of the commencement of the existence of these three as States are so recent as A.D. 1803 for Ohio, 1816 for Indiana, and 1818 for Illinois. There are many of the original settlers of those States still alive who vividly remember their entrance on the previously unbroken forests, and the anxieties arising from their wild Indian neighbours, whose very existence in those parts has now become little more than a matter of history.

Many of the first settlers in those States were Friends from North and South Carolina and Virginia, who left their former home chiefly from a desire to escape the social and religious disadvantages of slavery. In many cases they formed emigrating parties wholly from the members of their own and neighbouring meetings, and so came in social bands across the mountains and through the forests to the site of their future homes. There they settled down together, forming Friends' "colonies." And at the present day it is an interesting thing to a stranger to find himself amongst these "colonies" in various parts of the west. Most of the lands, and nearly every house, for miles, are held by Friends; and, in some cases, there is only one place of worship for the neighbourhood,—a Friends' meeting.

It is interesting to hear some of these pioneers recount the incidents of their westward emigration—how they took weeks on the journey, now performed by rail in one day; how they came slowly on, with their old canvas-topped and hooped waggons, delayed, 27 from time to time, by breakages and mud, and overflows and accidents, or even by illness and death; how they built their first log huts, and each family had only one room to live in by

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day and night (which is still the case in many places in the west, amongst Friends as well as others); how some of them used to hold their first meetings in the strong enclosure which they erected to protect their cattle by night from wolves; how they had for years scarcely any advantages of even rudimentary education for their children; and how they saw gradually, year after year, one difficulty conquered after another, until they have in most cases now realized comfort or even affluence.

And now the same thing is being repeated, but under easier aspects of removal; for some of the "colonies" of Indiana and Ohio are becoming too crowded, and their surplus population is finding its way to Iowa and Kansas, in the former of which there will probably be a new yearly meeting established in 1863, and in the latter of which there is an interesting little Friends' community still under the care of Indiana Yearly Meeting, until it shall have gained numbers and strength, enabling it to stand on a more independent footing.

In the Friends' "colonies," the State officers for the district are often chosen from amongst their own body, especially the trustees or managers of the "common schools" of the neighbourhood. These are then able to dispense the school funds, derived from local taxation, in a manner favourable to the interests of Friends; as, for instance, in supporting the day-schools appointed under the oversight of the monthly 28 meetings, and in paying the salaries of teachers chosen from amongst members of the Society.

These "colonies" are also characterized by much pleasant brotherly sympathy and social freedom, and frequent visiting at each other's houses. At the same time, the very absence of any considerable number of persons professing other views, and the very similarity of life arising from rural position and occupation, from similar views and modes of management, and general mutual equality of mind and of outward station, and from intermarriages, tend to foster a stereo-typed uniformity, not always healthy in its religious influence, and decidedly favourable to somewhat of formality and spiritual complacency.

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A pleasing feature in these districts, and not confined to Friends alone, is the general practice of adopting orphans. It often happens that some rural neighbour, or perhaps only recently-established emigrant, dies before he has surmounted his first struggles against poverty. In some cases his wife may soon follow her husband to a premature grave, leaving one, two, or more helpless children unprovided for, and amongst strangers. It is a general thing, in such cases, for the neighbours to form themselves promptly into a sort of "relief committee," and to go around amongst their acquaintances soliciting assistance. One will give money, another the same, another will say, "Send one or two of the children here—we shall not feel one or two extra mouths a burden at our table;" and so the little ones come, and are brought up on an equal footing with the rest of the family they have been received into. There they continue until grown to an age capable of taking care of themselves; then they can either remain and become permanently united to their old friends, or go out into the world farther west, to push their own fortune. But they do not go empty. Either some such present as a hundred dollars, or a horse, or both together, is usually given them on their final departure from the home of their adoption which they now leave, blessed in themselves, and the means of drawing down a blessing on those who have so long and kindly cared for them.

A similar manifestation of neighbourly feeling is common in the west when a person loses his house by a fire, or his crops by storms. In the former case, it may be, perhaps, only the day after the fire that he sees a party of acquaintances come to his homestead; "Well, neighbour, we are come to rebuild your house. What sort of a one shall it be? the same as the old one, or larger? Better have it larger and finer; however, be quick and decide." Then away go some of them, with long axes, to the adjoining forest, and cut down trees. Others haul them away to the saw-mill and back. Then all unite in building; and in a wonderfully short time there is a new house, better and more comfortable than the one that was burnt. Most of the western houses (except in the large cities) are built of wood, but very neat and commodious, often in a mixture of Swiss and French style, well painted, and comfortably furnished within. Others, however, are rough, both within and without. Many are only of

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one room, with a chimney of stone at the end, or of thick logs covered with mud, and having mud plastered between them.

The lives of the rural western Friends are very 30 different from their more refined brethren of the Eastern States, and in Great Britain. Every one must do nearly everything for himself; chop timber for the fires, cut down trees, and then cut them up into rails for the universal fences; "plant" the heavy gate-posts, make the gates, groom the horses, feed the cattle; do oneself all the household carpentering required; cook, mend clothes, go to the town or village store, and be able to mend every ordinary domestic or farm "fixing" when needed.

The western Friends, like their neighbours, have to be very early risers. In summer, it is common for them to be up at three, A.M., or at the very earliest daybreak. An English Friend, who had just come to one of the rural settlements of Indiana, determined to accommodate himself to the ways of the place, and to rise early with the rest. He woke about five o'clock in the morning, and immediately dressed and joined the family, who were evidently amused at something, and expressed general hopes that he had "slept well," adding, "Why, we've all had breakfast an hour ago." The new-comer was astonished to find that five A.M. was about two hours later than the ordinary time for getting up.

The women Friends are closely engaged in cooking, and the ceaseless round of domestic duties; the men are out in the fields, and "about" generally at any of the multifarious work to be done. In summer, the days are very hot—oppressively so to a stranger—causing perpetual and profuse perspiration and thirst. Early rising involves early retiring; and by about eight o'clock, the country western Friends are ready for sleep.

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"First day" is a day of rest, even in the unrelaxing, ever-working west. On that day, however, they are up nearly as early as usual, and have much to arrange for, in the long

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hours before going to meeting. Then the "buggy," is got out (the universal name for the light, black, neat-covered "two wheel" used as a family vehicle throughout the States), and, at any rate, a part of the family ride off to meeting, passing or accompanying many of their neighbours similarly bound. After meeting they return and dine, and then the old folks settle down in the arm-chairs or rocking-chairs, and perhaps think they are reading some good books or tracts; but either they nod off unawares, or the sun shines on their faces, and their handkerchiefs are thrown over their eyes, and somehow they fall asleep, well, long, and soundly. Meanwhile, the young Friends have some acquaintances of their own age come to spend the afternoon; or they go to meet some elsewhere (as there are no afternoon meetings as a general rule in the west on first days—at least in rural parts), and go out in the orchards, and pluck the softest peaches or the reddest apples, and exchange the gossips of the meeting and neighbourhood, very cheerfully, very friendly; and by-and-by the sun has set, and the Sabbath soon ends, and a night's rest prepares for the commencement of another week of hard rural toil. And so, year after year rolls by, interrupted only by the yearly meeting times, when most Friends endeavour to go to the appointed place.

Such is, or has been, a general picture of the rural life in Friends' colonies—but to all things comes a change; and of late years railways and telegraphs have climbed over the Alleghanies, and run across the Mississippi valley, and are now rapidly reaching forward toward the peaks of the Rocky Mountains, and the streams that flow into the Pacific. And it follows as a thing of course, that where rails and telegraphs are thoroughly settled, there must be a world of innovation introduced, both in business and social life. And the log houses and painted wooden homes of the Friends' "colonies," and other western districts too, are undergoing a change. The universal tendency, now-a-days, all over the world is—assimilation. From this tendency the farthest west and the wildest backwoods cannot withhold compliance, even if they wished it; and we find that in their most secluded homes, there is a growing fondness for the refinements of literature and science.

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About twenty-five years ago, Jonathan and Hannah Backhouse, two English ministers, paid a religious visit to the west, and seeing the great need of a general attention to at least rudimentary and religious education, laboured earnestly to promote the establishment of "first day\$ schools amongst Friends. When Joseph John Gurney came, he gave a further stimulus to the same movement; but, notwithstanding the efforts of these enlightened visitors, and the favour with which their suggestions were received, it is probable that little of a permanent nature would have been accomplished, had it not been for the persevering patient attention, and arduous personal labour which a few individual western Friends gave to the cause. Foremost amongst these were the Friends of Richmond, especially Elijah Coffin, who was for thirty years clerk to the yearly meeting of 33 Indiana Aided by other Friends in the same yearly meeting, the Richmond Friends have borne up the educational movement "in their arms," and maintained it through the first years of indifference and open opposition, which every new movement of the kind is sure to encounter, even amongst good men. Some of the elder and more rustic Friends thought the educational tendency would lead to a "departure from the simplicity of Friends;" others boldly hinted at its being "aristocratic." Some said one thing, and some another, and its supporters had hard work to maintain their ground. However, the Richmond Friends, aided by the hearty co-operation of their Cincinnati brethren, have at length succeeded in establishing a prosperous and well-working system of instruction for Friends' children, both in "first-day" and other schools. Thus fostered, the educational movement has taken a general hold of the Society in the west; far more so, indeed, in some respects, than amongst the elder yearly meetings east of the Alleghanies.

It is now evident that the attention which has been thus awakened, has introduced a greatly improved and extended degree of acquaintance with the real scriptural views of Friends on their original basis; and there can be hardly a doubt, but that if this movement in favour of religious education had been introduced into America a half instead of a quarter of a century ago, we should have heard very little of the errors of Hicksism. That schism could not have flourished had there been a sounder and more general knowledge

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“of the truth as it is in Jesus” diffused through the Society in America, D 34 instead of the vague traditional ideas of “truth” which were so prevalent.

As an instance of the absolute need for a greater attention to education in a right way, in the rural meetings and “colonies” of the west, may be mentioned a circumstance which occurred recently at a meeting of the kind in the centre of Indiana. An acute Yankee lecturer came to the village and introduced himself as a “phrenologist,” and by representations of the importance and interest of his favourite science, succeeded in getting the favourable regard of the most influential families of Friends there, and they loaned him the meeting-house to give his lectures in. He continued for three weeks to “instruct” his simple auditors (comprising young and old) not only in “phrenology,” but also in such specious views of downright scepticism and materialism, that the minds of the good Friends became quite bewildered, and their religious views so unsettled, that it nearly led to the dissolution of the meeting, and the effects are still painfully felt there. Now it is not to be conceived that the educated Friends of Richmond, Cincinnati, or the Eastern States, would have been thus entrapped by the plausibilities of an unprincipled infidel propagandist.

Another very characteristic feature of the western Friends is their hearty hospitality. Personal attention, and meals, and bed, and vehicles, are placed at the disposal of the visitor. On entering a house, the first thing, usually, is to offer, except in winter, a glass of water (very welcome in the heat of a western summer). An arm-chair or rocking-chair is handed, and a meal soon prepared. (Arm-chairs are getting 35 more universal in America now than rocking-chairs; in many rooms there are no other seats but the former.) At meals there is much similarity between breakfast, dinner, and tea; nearly the same kinds of food being produced at each. There is, generally, several times the quantity of food placed on the table which could possibly be eaten by the heartiest appetites of those present, and plates are piled with so much, that they are seldom empty at the end of the meal. Animal food is seldom seen in the west in the form of joints, as in England, but cut up into slices, and is chiefly of bacon and “beef-hams.” It is rare to see mutton at a western

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table. Throughout America, at least east of the Mississippi, there is a universal liking for flat fruit pies, about the size of an ordinary dinner plate, round, and an inch deep, and covered with pastry over and under. It is usual to help a visitor to two or three slices of such pies at a time. Deep pies, as in England, are not met with in America, or but seldom. Another characteristic western eatable is Indian corn (always known as “corn” there); it is brought to table in green boiled heads, sweet and juicy. These are eaten whilst held in the hand, and the “cobs” cleared of the soft grains from end to end. Tea is usually offered with dinner, and universally at western meals there is a bottle of molasses. Tomatoes, dried apples, and, frequently, preserved peaches, are also general accompaniments. But there is no kind of intoxicating drink at the tables of American Friends. Even the moderate or only occasional use of such would be considered a “breach of discipline,” to be taken cognizance of in the answers to the “queries,” and by the action of the monthly meetings. This is another illustration of “the whole ticket” system,—the American plan of expecting individuals to accept entirely, and in detail, the decision and policy of the majority. D 2

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Of course, the necessity of temperance as a duty is too clear to need a word of defence; but it does not always present itself to the minds of even scrupulously religious Christians as requiring a universally rigorous abstinence, under penalty of church discipline for the slightest use except medicinally. This system of not recognizing the distinction between general union of principle, and the subordinate varieties or detailed shades of opinion necessarily existing in individuals, has been a bane to the harmony and religious prosperity of Friends in America.

One would naturally suppose that western Friends must be excellent pedestrians, from their industrious rural life. But it is far otherwise. Indeed, throughout America, persons think it necessary to ride, where an Englishman would smile at the idea. I was much surprised at Friends' frequently getting out a horse and vehicle to call at some house, or go to meeting, when the distance was only a mile or even half a mile. One reason for this habit may be the often poor condition of western roads, arising from decayed “corduroys,” or from deep

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mud-holes. This, of course, renders a short walk very unpleasant in wet weather. But their roads are much better than they used to be. There are also the improved facilities of railways. An English ministering Friend, on a visit to Indiana some twenty-five years ago, was desirous of having a religious interview with some 37 members of the State Senate at Indianapolis. The journey was performed “express,” in a strong waggon, through the deep mud. It took the party a long, tiresome day to perform a distance now done by rail in an hour or two; and, after all, the Legislature had adjourned for the session, when they reached Indianapolis.

The difficulties and dislike of rural travel in the west operate on the constitution of the Society there by causing the local disciplinary districts, named monthly and quarterly meetings, to be very small—often smaller than is desirable for a healthy interchange of opinions. The quarterly meetings are of such limited extent, that a tinge of local personal feelings unduly in favour or disfavour of individual members sometimes occurs, where a larger district would have prevented or greatly modified such a tendency.

In 1857, it was considered necessary to divide off the western portion of Indiana Friends into a new yearly meeting. This did not arise so much from any increase of numbers, as from inconvenience or dislike of travelling far to the yearly meeting. And yet the distance was very little, comparatively. Friends in Great Britain do not think it too far to go annually from all parts of the nation to their great meeting held in London. No one dreams of setting up a new yearly meeting at Birmingham, and another at York or Newcastle. And yet the distance between Plainfield, the seat of the new “Western Yearly Meeting,” and Richmond, the seat of the old and present Indiana Yearly Meeting, is only eighty-five miles, and there was then, and still is, a good railway direct from each to each, by which the distance is performed in about two hours and a half. There is, however, one thing to be borne in mind: that whereas, in Great Britain, the assembly of Friends which meets annually in London is a representative one, rather than an actual gathering of the main body of members, it is different in America, where some of the yearly meetings are attended by such a large

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concourse as to form a much greater relative representation than with us. And this practice certainly has some advantages.

As an illustration of the brotherly and united feeling amongst the western Friends, may be mentioned the great interest which they took in the relief of the distress brought upon their far-western associated members in Iowa and Kansas by the violent tornadoes which characterized the spring of 1860. The western plains and prairies are always liable to tremendous blasts of wind, which gather strength from their uninterrupted sweep over long and level distances, and often involve in prompt destruction any weak obstacles with which they may meet. In the season just alluded to, the extent of these storms was far eastward of what it has usually been. Even in Cincinnati, five hundred miles east of the prairie districts, there was enormous destruction of property; and at various places between that city and the Ozark mountains, I observed striking traces of the late presence of these tornadoes, indicated by unroofed houses, and by tall thick trees broken off abruptly in their mid-height, or entirely uprooted and lying prostrate in the forests. But it was chiefly in Iowa that the greatest violence of the storms was experienced. In the Friends' "colonies" there, many were wholly deprived of house and crops by the tremendous power of the winds. When these calamities came to the knowledge of their brethren in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, liberal collections of money and clothes were at once made for the sufferers, and a general feeling of practical interest expressed, especially as it was known that, previously, many of the Iowa Friends were in very struggling circumstances, and the effects of these storms would therefore be doubly discouraging.

Both in Iowa and Kansas, a great interest had been awakened in the establishment of Sabbath schools amongst Friends, and much success had accompanied these efforts. A Friend in Philadelphia, who had just returned from a visit to the scenes of devastation in Iowa, mentioned two striking incidents which had occurred there during the tornadoes, and powerfully testifying to the reality of the Divine omniscience, protection, and majesty. The first instance was that of several children, who, amid the approach of the whirlwinds, proposed amongst themselves to retire and sit in silent prayer before the Lord. They did

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so. On came the storm and destroyed every part of the house in which they were, except just that portion occupied by themselves.

The other case was also during the evident gathering of a violent outburst of tempest. A Friend remarked to her son that they ought especially to acknowledge the power and sovereignty of the Almighty in such manifestations of His providence. The young man replied in terms blasphemously disparaging the wisdom and beneficence of the Deity. Almost immediately he had spoken, a whirlwind seized him and literally 40 dashed him to pieces on the spot, not injuring the others present. This circumstance made a profound impression on those in the neighbourhood who saw or heard of it.

WESTERN MEETINGS.

With the exception of those in the larger cities, all the American Friends' meeting-houses are built of wood; and are composed of two divisions, separated by a high panel-work of sliding shutters, so as to form a distinct meeting-room for the men and women at their larger and disciplinary gatherings. On ordinary occasions, only one of these divisions is used, the men having seats on one side of it, and the women on the other. But on the days for holding the monthly or quarterly meetings, the men and women take their seats at once in the separate divisions; so that when the meeting for worship is over, they do not have to change rooms (as in Great Britain) for transacting their separate discipline, but merely draw up the partition shutters, by which means the meeting for Society business follows immediately on that for worship, without an interval of any delay for temporary withdrawal.

Many, or most of the country meeting-houses are in secluded spots, sometimes in the woods. There are few walkers to meeting; nearly every one rides, and quite a string of vehicles follow one another as the meeting-house is approached. The lanes are often muddy, and frequently lead across unbridged streams, through miles of woods, and, when mended, 41 are more generally planked with separate planks, laid laterally across half the road, than macadamized. On arriving at the meeting-house, the horses are not usually

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taken out from their vehicles, but merely “hitched up” to a tree, or “horse-rail.” There they stand patiently for the two or three hours during which the Friends are engaged. American horses are quieter than English ones, and more rapid in pace.

The Americans, as a nation, excel in driving, and even in Australia, American drivers are preferred to English for the public vehicles. When, however, asserting that American horses are quiet, I must except the half-broken “mustangs,” used on the overland express route from California through Texas; as those who have been drawn by them know well, by experience, that they are the most restive and rearing beasts of draught to be found.

In summer, the Friends usually sit in meeting with several doors open, and one sees them thus seated from some distance off between the trees when approaching. They do not commonly enter the meeting-houses gradually, or as they happen to reach them, but wait till about the appointed minute for commencement. Some Friend of “standing” then leads the way, and the others follow in a body, filling the house at once. This appears to be another little instance of the American plan of acting in masses. And a similar thing is observable in their discussions in meetings for discipline, at least in the rural districts. For when some Friend proposes or acquiesces in any particular suggestion, it is common for a string of others to follow with “So do I” “I 42 do, too,” one after another. Their rural meetings are not quite so silent as English ones, owing to the occasional cries of infants, or the expectorations of men Friends. An English minister travelling in America proposed that the infants should be left at home; to which it was replied, that in that case a large proportion of women Friends would have to give up attending meetings, as they have generally no one else to leave in charge. In winter time, Friends occasionally leave their seats during worship and go to the stove to warm themselves awhile, and then return. This does not promote the silence of the meeting, neither does the presence of dogs, which in some cases are allowed to come in and lie around the stove. These interruptions must not be understood as applying to the meetings in large places, or farther eastward, where they are just as quiet as in Great Britain.

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There is more ministry heard generally in American meetings than in England. Frequently, most of the time is thus engaged. In the west, great prominence is given to the doctrine of the Atonement and to the Resurrection. At the same time, the precious truths of the reality and indispensable necessity of Christ's inward appearance to each individual member of His church are not omitted. It is frequent for western ministers to speak twice during the course of one meeting.

There is also noticeable (at least to an Englishman) more fluency and copiousness of expression in these meetings than ordinarily amongst ourselves. Fluent speech is a characteristic of the American nation. Although valuable in its place, yet in religious addresses, a care is always needed that substance, rather than manner, be chiefly looked at. And it has been found in our Society, both in Britain and America, that the most edifying portion of its ministry is that which consists rather in the solemn suggestive and awakening "demonstration of the Spirit," than in eloquence or fluently appropriate phraseology. And in some of these western meetings, it is pleasant to see that amongst the most rustic is to be found very edifying ministry, exercised in humble simplicity.

Friends are "acknowledged" as ministers rather more readily in the west than in England. It is the custom, too, in some districts there, for ministers travelling to receive, not merely at the end of their journey, but from every monthly or quarterly meeting visited by them, an acknowledgment of approval (unless disapproved, which is a very rare thing), called a "returning minute." The expenses of travelling ministers in the west are paid by special private subscription, and not out of the common stock of the meetings. But in cases where Friends are nominated to travel on disciplinary or sympathetic accounts, they are expected to defray their own expenses. I know a Friend in Indiana whom such appointments cost about two hundred dollars (£40) in a single year, in consequence of being nominated to go more than once to and from Iowa and Kansas.

When foreign ministers come (as from Great Britain), then a special committee is nominated to see that they are provided with all necessary accommodation and

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introduction, and to convey them about from place to place. It is the custom, on some of the American railways, to permit ministers of any denomination 44 to travel for half-fares. I observed this, for instance, when travelling with some Friends, ministers, on the "Indiana Central" Railroad.

The collections of money for the general purposes of the Society are not made in America by entirely voluntary choice of the amount, as with English Friends generally; but an assessment of the property of the members of each meeting is made by a committee appointed for the purpose, and each person is expected to pay so much per cent. of whatever sum is needed for any Society business. Thus, when the new "Western Yearly Meeting" was separated from "Indiana Yearly Meeting," the latter was assessed in 6000 dollars as its share of the expenses of erecting a large building at Plainfield for the accommodation of the annual assemblies who would gather there for the future. Each particular meeting would be assessed in such a case, and the assessment then further subdivided amongst its constituent members, according to the estimate of their pecuniary ability. Although payment is expected in accordance with the amount assessed, yet it is not always or even generally adhered to as a rule. One reason is, that the contributions are not collected (as in England) by Friends appointed to go round to the houses of the subscribers, but each Friend is expected to bring his own contribution to the Friends appointed receivers. As he may not be at home when called on, or absent from meeting when the money is brought ready for him, irregularity of payment often necessarily results, and sometimes to a considerable extent.

Nearly the whole time of one western meeting for discipline, at which I was present, was taken up with 45 complaints of the arrears of required contributions for the Society's expenses, and with proposals for a remedy. In anticipation of such difficulties, the assessments are often made about fifty per cent. above the real amount which is needed; but this is found to be only a partial remedy, as the meaning of it is understood by the assessed and allowed for accordingly.

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The “queries” [or periodic questions to be publicly answered by the meetings in their collective capacity, an important part of the discipline of the Society]. are considered in the west previous to the public meetings of discipline, by the “overseers,” and answers written out to be brought to the meeting for approval. If not approved, such alterations are made as may be then and there suggested.

There is a pretty general freedom of discussion in the western meetings, but it is not extended to the young Friends. This applies also to the Eastern States. The speaking of young Friends, whether in ministry or in meetings for disciplinary business, is generally discouraged throughout the Society in America, or, at any rate, looked coolly on by elder Friends. In consequence of this suppressing policy many of the junior members leave, and go off to other denominations where their expressions and efforts of religious interest are not attributed to “over-activity,” or considered as necessarily too “forward.”

Most of the “disownments” amongst western Friends are for marrying out of the Society.

There is some difference between the position of “elders” in America, compared with those of the Society in Great Britain. The original office of these was, in both countries, to watch affectionately over the 46 ministry of their meetings, and in Great Britain the elders are very generally “fathers in the church,” exercising their duties in love, yet faithfully, and rather watching to sympathize than to judge. But in America it can hardly be said that this is the case, or at any rate to the same degree. There the office of “elder” is rather more associated with the idea of authority and “censor.” A Friend in an Eastern State asked me if I did not think that the position of elder was “above” that of a minister, and seemed much surprised at my immediately giving a decided negative. It can hardly be denied, however, that in America the ministry of the Society holds a lower relative position than in Great Britain. For instance, elders instead of ministers are usually placed at the head of American meetings; and ministers, whether American, or foreign ones on a visit, are

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required, at any rate in some States, to have one or more elders travelling with them as the companions of their religious journeys.

It is further a matter of regret in America, that, somehow or other, from an omission of the needful circumstances of right time and place, it too frequently transpires to the meeting when an elder has had occasion to exercise his office of admonition. All such advice ought to be given in a secure and assured privacy; and although it is in Gospel order that ministers should be accountable to the church for their doctrines, yet "elders" should also remember that their own office is chiefly one of sympathy. At any rate, privacy, sound discretion, and deep Christian sympathy, should characterize the office of elder, as it does usually in Great Britain. There are many elders amongst American Friends who are indeed true "fathers in the church," and a real blessing to it; and the existence of any other class is probably owing to the plan, too commonly permitted in that country, of promoting to this, and other important offices, Friends whose chief apparent qualification is the possession of a grave exterior, and a reputed "consistency," considered to be guaranteed by the wearing of unslit collars.

Very serious is the mischief which has been wrought in the Society by this one misconception of "simplicity" and "consistency." However, better times seem coming, and it is a cheering thing that, especially in the Western States, correcter views are beginning to follow in the wake of increased scriptural education, and evangelical doctrine.

RICHMOND AND ITS VICINITY.

Richmond is a neat and pleasantly situated town in the east of Indiana, about six miles from the borders of Ohio. It is sixty-nine miles from Indianapolis, and sixty-four from Cincinnati, and is connected with both by railways. It is in Wayne County, and it may here be mentioned, that it is of importance to state the county in which a place is, on the address of all letters to the United States, except in the case of the largest cities. The reason for this is, that there are so many places of the same or similar names in the vast

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territory of the Union—so many Jeffersons, Washingtons, Franklins, and Jacksons, that in some cases there are at least two places with identical names in one State. I am not aware whether there is 48 more than one Richmond in Indiana, but at any rate there is a large Richmond, the capital of Virginia; and I had to wait an hour or two at an important railway station of the same name in Lower Canada, where the Quebec branch unites with the main line of the “Grand Trunk Railroad.”

Richmond has a population of about six thousand, and is the principal seat of manufactures in the State of Indiana. These are chiefly of agricultural instruments, and other hardware, paper, cotton, and cloth. From the circumstance of its having been originally founded by Friends, (who still constitute an important proportion of its inhabitants,) it is often styled (like Philadelphia) “the Quaker City.” Thus, one sees advertisements in the Indiana and Cincinnati newspapers, of the “Quaker City Insurance Company,” the “Quaker City Iron Works,” and so on.

The country around is flat, or gently undulating, and generally wooded and fertile. Close to the town is a broad and deep ravine, with steep sides of limestone. Through this runs the picturesque Whitewater River, and from its eastern side the town slants up with a long slope. In the limestone is a profusion of beautifully preserved fossils, chiefly corals, and molluscas of the genera *Rhynchonella*, *Spirifer*, *Productus*, and *Terebratula*. In a branch ravine of this river, about a mile from the town, the stream flows over a perpendicular wall of limestone, about twenty-five feet deep, and one hundred and fifty broad. This is so full of petrified corals, in masses and small branches, that it resembles a portion of one of the Pacific reefs, transported bodily to the spot.

The streets of Richmond, like nearly all American towns, are straight, and laid down at right angles, and beautifullyavenued throughout with trees on each side. There are about a dozen churches. But it must be remembered that in America the word “church” is used where we use “chapel,” as there is there no priority of one sect over another. Nearly all the churches in America have towers or steeples, or both together, whatever may be their

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denomination. All the churches in Richmond, or nearly all, are of wood and painted white. The houses also are mostly of wood, and with green shutter-blinds.

It is surprising how neat and comfortable the American wooden houses are. Many of them have good porches, galleries, and verandahs. Some of the larger ones have neat railed "look-outs," or "observatories," rising from their roofs.

There are two Catholic churches in Richmond, several banks, and a good town-library. In almost every place in the United States there is a free library provided out of the local taxation, and for loaning books to anyone who chooses to apply for them. The selection is often very good indeed. The books are strongly bound, and a librarian is present regularly to lend them out.

Most of the best and largest residences in and around Richmond belong to Friends, and in addition to a regular "Friends' bookseller," I saw that at the post-office, kept by another bookseller, was a conspicuous placard advertising "Friends' Books."

As in other American towns, there are many daguerreotypists in Richmond.

Across the Whitewater are several long wooden tubular bridges. Many or most of the American bridges E 50 are made tubular, with slanting roofs to the keep off the rain. If they were not thus covered they would soon rot.

The Friends' meeting-house at Richmond is a very large one, built of stone. It resembles a great German building, and has broad gables and small windows in a double row. It is surrounded by a wide and spacious grassy yard, and around this again is a large paddock and grove. At one side is the burial ground, with white upright stones inscribed with the names of the Friends interred there. There is also, just by, a day school-house, for the children of Friends of Richmond meeting. On ordinary meeting days there is only one-half of the building used, and that is a large room. But the yearly meeting of Indiana is also held in the same meeting-house in autumn. There are many high rails around the yard,

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to which the horses of the numerous vehicles are “hitched up” every meeting-day. There they remain quietly the whole time. There is also a pump which serves the purpose of a “drinking fountain,” and is in considerable request in summer. Before meetings the Friends usually wait outside talking in groups. The men are mostly dressed in light drab clothes, with white hats having very broad brims. The women wear white or grey gowns, with small white three-cornered shawls of the old-fashioned eighteenth century style. The front seats and galleries of the meeting are usually well filled, and it is a common practice in the west to place all strangers on a seat fronting the meeting, whether ministers or not.

At the great annual gathering, or yearly meeting, the house—which holds three thousand persons—is 51 filled to overflowing, and a large number of Friends have to meet outside. Sometimes there are three large meetings thus going on at the same time; one in the double meeting-house, and two others in the spacious grounds, and sometimes three ministers preaching at once, one to each assembly. It is customary for other persons besides Friends to come to these gatherings. Some years ago the Indiana Central Railroad Company put on special trains to Richmond during the yearly meeting, but this was found to be inconvenient, rather than advantageous; for it brought such crowds of holiday makers from Indianapolis and other towns, that more good accrued to the tavern-keepers than to the Friends, and the latter were so disturbed that they had to use their influence to prevent the special trains, and they were accordingly discontinued.

The Indiana Yearly Meeting lasts for a week, by adjournments. During that time there are many interesting and large disciplinary meetings and committees held, as those relative to the first-day schools, to the branch meetings in Kansas and Iowa, to Earlham College, to the Associations of Friends for advocating the rights of Indians and coloured people. The houses of the Richmond Friends during yearly meeting are of course crowded and overcrowded with guests, many of whom have to lie in rows on the floor, on straw, or other extempore “beds.” But this is a common experience in the “roughings” of western lodging and travel.

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Having just mentioned Indians and coloured people, I may state that there have been a very few instances, as in Kansas, of Indians becoming attached to the E 2 52 meetings and principles of Friends, but scarcely ever any negroes or coloured people. Their minds are unable to appreciate the abstractions and refinements of our spiritual views; they must have in their worship loud prayers, camp-meetings, much singing and colloquial exhortations, or else they are apt to go to sleep. Such was the account given me of them in the west, and I can quite believe it. Friends at Richmond have taken a great interest in aiding coloured people, and do still, but they have become importunate by frequently laying in wait for Friends after meeting, with petitions for subscriptions for one object or another.

Near the Friends' meeting at Richmond, is another large one belonging to the Hicksites. It seems so strange to an English Friend in America, to meet persons exactly resembling those we regard as brethren, and to be told, "Those are not Friends, they are Hicksites." As is usual between religious denominations who hold some views in common but have differed, there is a greater separation between Orthodox and Hicksite Friends in America, than between either and the members of other denominations. A leading Friend remarked to me at Richmond, "We would rather unite with Episco-palians, Methodists, or Baptists, than with Hicksites."

There is at Richmond a very efficient Friends' Tract Association, for the printing and diffusion of tracts and books which elucidate the principles of the Society, or of general morality. Elijah Coffin and Joseph Dickinson are actively engaged in sustaining and promoting this Association. Richmond is on the "Great National Road" to the 53 west. Before the introduction of railways, this was the main thoroughfare north of the Ohio, but it is now very little used as such. It extends from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and was a noble undertaking at the time when it was projected.

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Most of the principal Friends' meetings in Indiana Yearly Meeting are within easy reach of Richmond; as Cincinnati, Newport, Spiceland, Raysville, Milford, New Garden, and Bethel.

Cincinnati, although in the State of Ohio, is included within the limits of "Indiana Yearly Meeting," on account of its greater proximity to Richmond than to the main body of "Ohio Yearly Meeting" who are chiefly located in the eastern part of the State. There are probably nearly two hundred Friends in Cincinnati, and they have actively co-operated with their brethren at Richmond, in the promotion of those educational and other improvements which have so greatly benefited the Society in the west.

Shortly before I was there they had received a visit from Henry Grattan Guinness, of Dublin, who, although in no ways connected with Friends, had felt a great interest in their religious welfare, and had held meetings in various parts of America for the especial object of addressing our Society, who attended in considerable numbers. I was informed in the west that although his sermons were very Evangelical and excellent in feeling, yet that there was one decided point of difference between himself and Friends,—he was not prepared to adopt silence as a basis for worship.

Now this principle of silence as a *basis* for worship is perhaps our most valuable distinctive privilege as a Society, and it is to be earnestly hoped that we shall ever preserve it with a jealous zeal for its most conservative maintenance, and that we shall not allow it to be in the slightest degree infringed upon. During the last few years I have occasionally, when travelling or otherwise, taken opportunities of attending the worship of most of the various Christian denominations; and such a practice, when occasional, and not habitual, is, I think, calculated to give a Friend at the same time an increased sympathy for other Christian bodies, and a deeper estimate of the high privileges of true Quakerism, and, beyond all, of its silent, spontaneous worship. If any Friends, by the occasional attendance of other modes of worship, find that it suits them better, it is a pretty evident proof that their own vocation is not for the Society of Friends, and that they had better join such other body as they may find to be most adapted to their own edification. The change will be a

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mutual benefit to the society they unite with, to the one they have left, and to themselves. As far as my own experience has gone, I have found that nothing suits me so well as the Friends' principle of silence as a basis, and it seems more precious than ever. At one time I considered it right, when in any place on the Sabbath where there was no Friends' meeting, to bear testimony to the universal duty of "assembling ourselves together" as Christians, by uniting with some one sect or other in public worship. But I have so missed the liberty, and *uninterrupted* opportunities for all kinds of individual spontaneous worship afforded by the Friends' meetings, beyond all others, that I have relinquished the practice of uniting with others, even when in places where there is no Friends' meeting. When I was recently crossing the 55 Atlantic, most of the passengers met to celebrate public worship together, whether belonging or not to the denomination of the minister who then preached. This was a good thing, and commendable for them, but I preferred retiring to my own cabin to worship in my own way. Afterwards, on one of the passengers asking me the reason why I had absented myself from the others, I replied, "On the same principle that when I sit down to my dinner, I like to eat it myself, and not see some one else eat it for me." I further explained that in most modes of public worship, except Friends', the time is so *exclusively* absorbed by the ministers or others that no interval is afforded for the spontaneous expression of, or meditation on, the *individual* and peculiar wants of each private worshipper. For first comes a hymn, then immediately a prayer, then directly another hymn, then the sermon followed by a second prayer, and again by a final hymn; so that, however the devotional feelings of the worshipper may have been affected, he has in general little or no opportunity afforded for his own spontaneous utterances, in his own individual time and manner and matter. And of all things it seems to me that the "right of private judgment" and of the most untrammelled ease and freedom is to be retained in worship, so as to fit exactly every varying shade of private individual feeling and requirement.

Of course, some vocal ministry, when good, is a great advantage, but even this should be subordinate to the spontaneous silent communion of each worshipper with his God.

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Therefore, I hope that both in the west and east, the Society of Friends will maintain an uncompromising conservatism of this 56 most distinctive, and fundamental, and precious principle of her communion; this, which is not based on eighteenth century formalism, or even on the sanction of her respected founders, but on a far higher standard—the present heartfelt wants and approval of our own spirits in our own age.

EARLHAM COLLEGE.

The same persevering and enlightened Friends of Richmond and Cincinnati, who have so fostered and maintained the system of Friends' Sabbath schools in the west, also became awakened to the need there was for the establishment of a really good institution in their yearly meeting for affording to the younger members of the Society, and especially to those designed for teachers, an education liberal and comprehensive, yet under thoroughly Friendly influences. The subject was introduced to the attention of Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1837, but it was not till 1847 that they were able to complete the erection of the noble institution which is the result of their efforts. Out of respect to the memory of the late Joseph John Gurney, of Earlham Hall, near Norwich, the western Friends have given it the name of Earlham College—a course which has not received the approval of those Wilburite Friends further eastward, who consider that Joseph John Gurney introduced “unfriendly” innovations. It is only recently that the College has been incorporated by authority of the State Legislature of Indiana, and thus empowered to grant degrees. These are M.A. and B.A. There is also the degree of 57 B.S. (Bachelor of Science). The State Legislatures of America, and the Universities of that country generally, are careful about the bestowment of the higher degrees of D.D. and LL.D. These are mostly, throughout America, reserved for the elder colleges, and to be given to persons of well-approved attainments or literary celebrity, and chiefly as honorary degrees. But the subordinate degrees, and also that of M.D., are given in America to students of a lower grade of attainment than would be generally admitted to them in any of the colleges of Great Britain and Ireland.

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Earlham College forms a massive block of neat masonry, with about three hundred feet frontage, and extending half as far back in depth. The height of the centre is about seventy-five feet. It stands in its own grounds, which are of about one hundred and twenty acres area. The original cost of this land was twenty dollars (£4) per acre. The building cost fifty thousand dollars (£10,000). It contains some very spacious halls, and the flat roof of its centre affords a fine promenade of about one hundred feet square. From the middle of this rises an "observatory," from which there is an extensive prospect over the surrounding country, with its numerous woods, fine undulations, neat villas, the long broad ravine of the river Whitewater, and, about a mile off, the white spires and white houses of Richmond, abundantly interspersed with the green foliage of its street-avenues and gardens.

Around the College is its farm, which is under good cultivation. I observed a mowing machine in operation, on which the driver was comfortably seated on a narrow raised bench, having nothing to do but only drive the horses. One or two other men were engaged in distant parts of the large meadow in raking-up the hay with light, capacious, revolving "rakes." On the grounds, at some distance from the College, are two residences for the married teachers.

The College is calculated to accommodate about three hundred students, when in full operation; but at present it has only reached half that number, and then only in the winter sessions. The year is divided into the summer and winter sessions. Two vacations intervene, of four and three weeks respectively. The students are of both sexes and of various ages, from twelve to twenty-five years. They are divided into three departments, according to their age and studies, viz., the "Primary" (or Junior), "Intermediate," and "College" Departments. The female students form rather more than half of the whole number. Both sexes receive class instruction, and perform their recitations together, and also take their meals in the same large hall. They are not together when preparing their studies for class, or on other occasions.

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This plan of partial mixing of the two sexes is not adopted in any other of the Friends' similar educational institutions in America, and is looked on with some disapproval by many of the Society eastward. But it has been found to work very well at Earlham, and has given a great stimulus to the studies of each sex, and has greatly promoted the politeness and propriety of behaviour of all. Previously to its adoption, considerable difficulty was experienced in the discipline of the establishment, but now it is far otherwise, and the students in each wing need very little exercise of control on the part of the teachers. The superintendent, teachers, and some of the committee informed me, that the plan has been successful in all respects, and is by no means likely to be relinquished. The same system has been adopted by one of the principal northern universities of America, and by a large normal college for students of all religious denominations at Lebanon, near Cincinnati, and in each case with great success as to studies, discipline, and behaviour.

College education throughout America is more general and less expensive than in Great Britain. The expenses at Earlham are from £24 to £32 per annum for board and education. The expenses at the highest and oldest universities in the United States are similarly low in proportion. Thus, the annual expenses for board and tuition (as given in the American Almanac) at Cambridge University, near Boston, is £48; at Yale College it is £40; at Brown University, R. I., only £25; at Bowdoin, in Maine, £28; and at the University of Virginia, £46.

Many of the students at Earlham obtain the means for defraying their expenses whilst there, by previously taking temporary situations as teachers or otherwise. There is a growing demand for young Friends as teachers in the west, in the State schools, which are not for their own, or any particular religious denomination. (It may be just incidentally mentioned, in connexion with this, that where a neighbourhood becomes partially "colonized" by Friends, it has the effect of raising the value of land in the vicinity.)

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The studies at Earlham are as follows:—For the Collegiate Department—physiology, geography, 60 astronomy, chemistry, mathematics (including the differential and integral calculus), geology, and the higher classics (Herodotus, Plato, Juvenal, and Tacitus).

For the Intermediate Department—geography, grammar, history, natural philosophy, physiology, and elementary mathematics and classics.

For the Primary Department—geography, grammar, history, and arithmetic.

Scarcely any attention is given to the modern languages, and this is merely by allowing those students who prefer it, to substitute German for Greek in the regular course. It is probable, that if in English schools the time which is so often wasted over a smattering of French, were devoted to Latin or Greek, it would be a great addition to thoroughness of education. Modern languages can be learnt better by a three months' visit to the Continent, than by five years' study in England; and unless one goes to the Continent for at least a month or two, it is scarcely ever worth while to pay any attention to them at home. At Earlham, the prominent attention which is given to classics has an excellent mental influence on the students, and they really enjoy their Greek and Latin lessons. In these, the young women are at least equally proficient with the young men, and in the girls' study-rooms were many classical text-books, and on the numerous black boards many neat geometrical diagrams. There is no need to apprehend that these studies may unfit the female students at Earlham for household duties. They are all well trained in those at their rural western homes, before and after their college studies. The latter 61 both refine and strengthen their minds far more than the musical and other light accomplishments of their sisters in the eastern cities.

Just as I entered the recitation room of the senior Latin class, one of the young men was reading that striking passage from the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, which might be adopted as a peculiarly characteristic motto for a Friend,—

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—“Si consilium vis Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid Conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris; Nam pro jucundis aptissima quæque dabunt DI, Carior est illis homo quam sibi.”

Which may be freely translated, “If thou wishest for right guidance, thou must allow God Himself to apportion out to thee from that which is good for us, and that which befits our circumstances; for God will give us that which is most suitable, rather than what is most agreeable to us—for a man is dearer to God than he is to himself.” Dr. Test, the classical tutor, illustrated the morning's lesson by appropriate remarks and questions relative to the synonyms, and historic or geographical allusions, and syntactical constructions of the portions read.

In the classical and other recitations, after the student has given an answer or translation, the others present are asked if they have any corrections or “criticisms” to make on what they have just heard.

The students take their meals in a large dining-hall on the basement. This hall is about 100 feet square, and has tables arranged parallel to three sides of the four. The young men and women sit in alternate rows at each table. All the arrangements were neat and quiet. Every one waits till all the rest are served before beginning a meal; this is usual in families throughout the United States. It is only in hotels and steamboats that (as with ourselves in general) each person commences eating as soon as served. I did not observe anywhere in the United States that caricatured hastiness at meals which some ludicrous accounts have represented as taking place in that country.

Behind the College is what is common to similar establishments in America, an enormous wood-pile for fuel instead of coal. Wood is generally used in the west everywhere, except in some manufactories and cities near the collieries of the Upper Ohio.

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Earlham College has no endowments to depend on for support; but has to rely on the payments of its students. It is, however, self-supporting; and last year the income exceeded the expenditure by £100. It is peculiarly deserving of the support and favour of the Society, both in America and Great Britain, inasmuch as it is the chief fountain of future influence over the Society in the whole of the Great West, and is the largest Friends' educational establishment in America. The circumstance of so many of its students being teachers, either past or prospective, adds very much to its importance and influence. Another feature of interest about it, is its independent efforts at self-support; and it is not borne up by wealthy Friends, as some of the Society's institutions east of the Alleghanies. Neither are its students wealthy; but in most cases entirely dependent for their education there upon their own previous exertions. Some of them come for one or two sessions, and then leave 63 to earn money to enable them to return for a further period of study.

A regular meeting for worship is held in the Institution, as it is a mile and a half distant from the one held at Richmond, (usually styled Whitewater Meeting.)

The observatory was not yet fitted up for want of funds; but they have an achromatic telescope, with a six-inch object-glass, and of eight feet focal length.

The young men have a literary association amongst themselves, named "The Ionian," and the young women have a similar one, named "The Phoenix."

The Institution is under the efficient care of Walter T. Carpenter as superintendent, who is also aided by a committee of twelve Friends, appointed by Indiana Yearly Meeting. This committee forms itself into seven sub-committees—to attend to the appointment of the officers, to the scriptural and literary instruction, the farm, the buildings and furniture, the library—and an executive sub-committee. Half of this committee of twelve are men Friends, and the other half females. Much importance is attached to the scriptural studies and examinations.

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The building is heated by a hot-water warming apparatus. This causes a current of heated water to pass through each room, between double plates of dark polished iron, which reflect the heat around.

The salary of the superintendent is £220 per annum (1,100 dollars), and board; that of each of the two senior married teachers, £140 per annum, and a house and garden. The female teachers receive about £60 per annum, and board.

A gymnasium is about to be erected for the young 64 men. The young women have a grove, picturesquely situated in the estate, as a part of their own grounds for recreation and exercise.

The study of history has been very successfully pursued at Earlham. The only regular text-book is Lyman's "Historic Chart" (quarto). This contains conspicuously separated divisions of centuries and epochs, and is used as a skeleton and basis, which the students have to amplify by private reading from any historic works to which they have access in the library, or elsewhere.

A pleasant feeling appears to prevail throughout the Institution, mutually amongst committee, officers, and students, and the present condition of the College is a credit to all concerned in it, and especially to those persevering pioneers of improved education amongst western Friends, whose labours have been thus far crowned with success,—to the benefit, not so much of the students merely, as of the larger number of scholars, who, in future years, throughout the States of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and elsewhere, will receive from them, and still further extend, those important influences which are now emanating from this large establishment.

MOUNT PLEASANT, OHIO.

After leaving Cincinnati, I proceeded to Mount Pleasant, the seat of "Ohio Yearly Meeting." My route was up the beautiful Ohio river to Wheeling, which is nearly 400 miles from

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Cincinnati by water. 65 We took three days in steaming it; but this included several short delays from running aground, as the water was low in some places, as usual on the Ohio in summer and autumn. Wheeling is in the narrow strip of Virginia which intervenes between western Pennsylvania and the Ohio river. It is at the foot of steep hills, which form the noble valley through which that river runs. The town is, like Pittsburg, generally covered with clouds of smoke from the many foundries, breweries, and tall stacks of chimneys which characterize the place. It is a very rare thing to see a smoky town in America, as the atmosphere, even of their largest cities, is usually most pure and unsullied. A distinguishing feature of Wheeling is its fine suspension-bridge, more than 1000 feet long, and ninety-two feet above the river. Coal is mined in all directions around and in the town.

Mount Pleasant is ten miles from Wheeling, on the Ohio side. It is in a very picturesque and thoroughly rural district, strikingly like Devonshire. Everywhere around are hills and valleys; no level ground; the hills round but not lofty; the valleys winding and narrow. Woods are abundant, together with orchards and clear streams; and throughout the district are frequent croppings out of coal strata, which are worked in very simple style, by just running in "adits" or tunnels in the hill-sides, or in some places merely by quarrying the coal at the surface. Many of the roads are of plank, which renders them slippery in wet or frosty weather, when the horses' shoes must be made rough. Light passenger vans, termed "hacks," run three times a-week between Mount Pleasant and Wheeling. F

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I have seldom seen more thoroughly picturesque scenery than the quiet valleys of this part of Eastern Ohio. The foliage is of great variety; the slanting branches of the many beech trees, the light leaves of the "buckeye," the tall and elegant "sugar maples," the numerous low papau trees, with fine leaves, much resembling those of the Indian-rubber plant, but smaller, and all hanging down; the tall spikes of the abundant red "iron weed," the "polk," the yellow mulleins (characteristically frequent in America), and the large-leaved "milk plant," which resembles a euphorbia—these, together with many other trees and

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shrubs, render the varied forms of the landscape still more interesting. Many strata of blue shale and limestone crop out, especially in the beds of the numerous streams, and produce small "falls," exhibiting a miniature of the geological aspect of Niagara; for, in several places there, the soft shale under the limestone has been washed or dissolved away, leaving a long, hard shelf of limestone projecting some half-dozen feet above it and over the pool of the falls. A frequent tree of the district is the "catalpa." This resembles a huge-leaved mulberry, and is very ornamental, though indigenous. It is common in Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Elms are also frequent, but present a somewhat different aspect from our English ones, being less rounded in outline, and the leaves appear more pendent.

Mount Pleasant deserves its name. It is a small place, extending in one long street on the summit of a broadly convex hill, and with many trees intermixed and surrounding. From its elevated position, it is conspicuous several miles off. The best houses belong to Friends, who were here, as at Richmond, the founders and first settlers.

There is a cheerful Friend still living at Mount Pleasant, aged ninety-five, who had been at Richmond, in Indiana, when there was only one house there; and who came to Mount Pleasant when the ancient forests were still unbroken, or, to use her own expression, with "not a stick amiss." She also remembers the times of the Revolutionary War, and was at Trenton, in New Jersey, on the day of the celebrated battle there. Although she did not remember seeing Washington, yet she was well acquainted with Friends at whose house he lodged.

Washington always preferred lodging with Friends, towards whom he was especially affable and respectful. The wife of one of his entertainers had some cherry trees, which the soldiers broke down to get at the fruit. She complained of this to the General, saying, "They were welcome to the fruit, but not to the trees." He went out and gave orders to stop the mischief, and no more trees were broken down. On another occasion (I believe at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania), a Friend was going through the forests, and heard a voice

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near him, amongst the foliage. He quietly crept up to the spot, and was surprised at seeing Washington on his knees in private vocal prayer. Ever after this, the Friend had a high opinion of the General, whom he had not previously supposed to be a religious character. Another time, near Baltimore, Washington's carriage was delayed at a Friend's house. He remarked to his host, "I have a driver, who aims so well, he never misses a stone in the F 2 68 road," pleasantly alluding to the driver's clumsiness in jolting against obstacles.

The same aged Friend at Mount Pleasant remembers well the sufferings of Friends from both armies during the revolutionary period, on account of their conscientious refusal to unite with either side. Her father had "every cow, horse, and hog," taken by the soldiers. She heard a by-stander calling out, "Take away all you like from the Quakers; take it all away. They'll all be full again in another year." Another time, this Friend and his neighbours were turned out of their meeting-house, which was taken for a hospital; after which, the meetings were held in a wheelwright's shed. The grandfather of a Philadelphia Friend whom I met, was tied in an arm-chair by British soldiers, who kept him there for several hours whilst they threatened to take his life and burn his property. He remained calm, and they did neither.

Many Friends are scattered round the neighbourhood of Mount Pleasant, and there are probably more in that district than in any other part of Ohio. The meetings are mostly of a rural stamp, as at Coleraine, Smithfield, and Shortcreek; and most of the Friends are engaged in agriculture.

They have established first-day schools, as in Indiana, and the advantages have been very evident.

Friends and others at Mount Pleasant are so zealous for the promotion of temperance, that there is scarcely a vendor of spirituous liquors in the town or neighbourhood. Any such find that the general feeling there renders it impossible for them to continue their calling with pleasure or profit. One of 69 the reasons of this is that, notwithstanding the

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great cheapness of whisky and other spirits in America, there is excessive adulteration practised. It is an almost universal charge against the American whisky, in the western and rural districts, that it is drugged with strychnine and other pernicious ingredients. And there is, probably, some truth in this; for there have been many instances of persons being rendered ill, and even fatally so, just after drinking quantities so small as not to be at all likely to produce such serious results, unless mixed with something powerfully deleterious. This is one of the reasons why the American Friends are so stringent in the application of their disciplinary rules to any of their members who introduce intoxicating drinks even in small quantities at their tables, or into their houses.

THE SEPARATION OF FRIENDS AT MOUNT PLEASANT.

With the exception of Philadelphia, there is no other place in America where a Friend finds the subject of Society differences so painfully and prominently brought before his attention as at Mount Pleasant. About forty years ago, there was only one united body of Friends there. Subsequently, the Hicksite separation occurred, and this made two parties instead of one; but both continued to use the large meeting-house to hold their yearly meetings in. About twenty years ago the Wilburite dissensions commenced, and when the sympathizers with John 70 Wilbur, in his opposition to Joseph John Gurney, were disowned by the Evangelical Friends of New England, there was a considerable proportion of Friends in Eastern Ohio who were of the same opinions as the small Wilburite party in New England, and they resolved, if possible, to give the latter the official sanction and support of Ohio Yearly Meeting. But there were also many warm adherents to the views of Evangelical Quakerism in Ohio, and these were strongly opposed to the encouragement of a seceding body, whom they considered to be the advocates of doctrines tinged with formalism and error.

And now commenced a ten years' conflict amongst the Orthodox Friends of Ohio. Year after year, at their annual gathering, there was introduced the question of the recognition or non-recognition of the smaller body of New England Friends. The clerk of Ohio Yearly

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Meeting, during this period, was a Wilburite, and took advantage of his official position, as recorder and arbiter, to give an undue favour to the speakers of his own party. He used to persist in registering minutes of a Wilburite tendency, by dint of quietly ignoring the dissenting voices of “fifty Friends in a morning,” on speaking from the Evangelical party present. The latter had patiently borne this state of things, year after year, till it had become intolerable; but being in a numerical minority, they were unable to effect a change of clerk for a more impartial one.

At last, in 1854, they determined to make a firm stand, and at the commencement of their yearly meeting nominated one of their own views for the office of clerk. On taking the voices of the committee 71 of the whole meeting for the appointment of clerk, it was found that only twelve of that committee were in favour of the newly-proposed clerk, and the remaining twenty-four wished to continue the preceding one in office. This the Evangelical Friends would not endure, and ordered their nominee to come forward to the table and officiate. According to the legal constitution of the Society, it is plainly obvious that they were “out of order” in thus proceeding—glaringly so, indeed. The Wilburite Friends, being in a majority of two-thirds, had a perfectly constitutional right to maintain, as clerk, their nominee of so many preceding years; and it is quite clear that he was the only real representative clerk of their yearly meeting of 1854, according to the universal customs and precedents of the Society of Friends.

On seeing the determined proceedings of the minority, the larger body of Wilburites, including their clerk, quietly walked out of the meeting, leaving the others in possession. The latter, under the presidency of their new clerk, then proceeded with the ordinary business of the yearly meeting, which they now claimed to constitute. Next day, the Wilburite Friends met by themselves, and also proceeded as usual with the ordinary yearly meeting business; which they considered they were alone constitutionally competent to carry on.

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And there can scarcely be a moment's hesitation in saying, that the Wilburite Friends are the true constitutional representatives of the originally united "Orthodox" Yearly Meeting of Ohio. But that the Evangelical Friends were right in demanding a change, is equally clear; only they did not go to work in a way consistent with the universally recognised disciplinary proceedings of the Society. However, an actual separation thus took place, and, ever since 1854, there have been two yearly meetings of Orthodox Friends at Mount Pleasant, both claiming to be the original one of Ohio. They have so far mutually accommodated one another as not to push a claim on either side for the exclusive possession of their large and valuable meeting-house at Mount Pleasant, and by arranging the period of their annual gatherings to take place at different times, they both use the same house. The Hicksite Friends have for some years made a similar arrangement, and every alternate autumn, at Mount Pleasant, there is the singular spectacle of three annual gatherings of Friends, once forming a united body, and all claiming to be the original yearly meeting of Ohio, and all meeting respectively in the same meeting-house.

As it has been, and is, customary for the various yearly meetings of the Society to keep up a friendly sympathetic annual correspondence with each other, whether in America or Europe, there came in due course to the London Yearly Meeting, in 1855, two letters, each claiming to be the ordinary one from the original Ohio Yearly Meeting. It was, of course, necessary to decide which was *the* one, and this was a very difficult question. I well remember being present at that yearly meeting in London, and was much interested in the long discussion which ensued, and which extended over nearly three days. There was no doubt as to the prevailing sympathy of the meeting. That was unmistakably in favour of the Evangelical section of Friends in Ohio. But it was so obvious that they had acted unconstitutionally, and were themselves the "separatists," that, notwithstanding the general sympathy of the English Friends, there were nearly as many voices expressed for the recognition of the one as of the other, or at any rate against acknowledging the smaller body as being exclusively the real and original Ohio Yearly Meeting. Still there was no doubt they had been driven to extremity, and at length, on a consideration of

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the preferability of their being peaceable in separation rather than disturbed in union, and also as a decided expression of which interpretation of Quakerism was approved in Great Britain, the London Yearly Meeting accepted the letter of the smaller and more evangelical, but also more unconstitutional, minority of Ohio. This acceptance, of course, involved a non-recognition, but by no means a rejection, as Friends, of the larger body in Ohio. It was a curious instance of a virtually constitutional necessity of acting in a manner literally unconstitutional.

But it occurred to me at the time, and has often done so since, that it would have been a better course for English Friends to have accepted *both* letters, and to have said to their brethren in Ohio,—“We perceive that you do not agree amongst yourselves on some points, still there is so much on which you continue to agree, and such an absence of any necessity for separation, that if you cannot agree to differ, or at any rate unite in the choice of your annual clerk, you may as well meet at separate times, but as to our interference with either party it is unnecessary; and if you think that we wish to withdraw our recognition of either section, we are too friendly to you all to do any such thing; still, we may as well just say that we rather sympathize with some of you more than others, but there is no necessity for altering our policy of recognizing all. So continue to send us letters as before, and we will recognize them merely as two sheets of one document, and the shaking of the two hands of one individual.”

Such a policy, however, would not have been quite in accordance with the views of those Friends who think that “church order” is paramount to all other considerations, and in this case a possibility of friendly irregularity was sacrificed at the shrine of uniformity.

But the consequences of the separation in Ohio did not end here. For the spirit of disagreement is like an avalanche,—it gathers as it moves, and includes more and more within the disagreeable complexities of its limits. And so in this case; for when the two Ohio Yearly Meetings sent their letters to Philadelphia and the other American yearly meetings, the latter all recognized the smaller Evangelical body as English Friends had

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done, whilst their Philadelphia brethren, who were mostly of Wilburite sympathies, had no difficulty whatever in distinguishing between sympathy and constitutional order, and of course recognized the larger body of Ohio Friends. "Well, but how shall we now be able to correspond with London and the other yearly meetings, who have adopted a different policy?" said the meeting in Philadelphia. Here again interposed the power of legal precedent and a presumed necessity of uniformity, which would be quite right and necessary in questions of politics or property, but by no means so necessary in a body of persons substantially retaining the essentials of similar 75 belief on religious subjects. It was considered by Philadelphia Friends, or at least by a large majority of them, that it would be unconstitutional to continue to correspond with the other yearly meetings, with whose policy towards Ohio they did not themselves unite.

Now where was there any necessity of the kind? Why should any of these yearly meetings have discontinued to correspond with any others, merely because they did not wholly take the same view of an independent question? And what is there now to prevent the resumption of a friendly correspondence all around? Certainly, there appears to me, no sufficient reason.

But, since 1854, the Ohio Friends have been just as separate as two distinct denominations of Christians. In some cases it has been allowed to interfere with social courtesy; and in others, both before and since the actual separation, it affected and darkened some of the ministerial communications there.

A Friend from Yorkshire was travelling as a minister in America for several years during the differences in Ohio. He was of Evangelical sympathies, but a very impartial well-wisher to both sides, and did not desire to mix himself up with either. But on one occasion, at Ohio Yearly Meeting, a Wilburite minister observing that the English Friend had been present three years following at their annual gathering, quoted, for the edification of the meeting, the instance of Balaam, whom the Moabites had sent for three times to curse

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Israel, but that he could not curse them. The stranger bore this insult 76 silently, merely remarking to a Friend, after meeting, "I am sure I did not wish to curse them, poor things."

Another Wilburite elsewhere, after hearing the same Friend preach at considerable length, rose up just after the other had concluded, and said, "Now then, Friends, do let us try and have a little silence, where we can get some good."

The same and other English Friends were in various instances requested by the Wilburites not to come amongst them; that their ministry was not wanted, neither approved of. In other cases, where some of the Evangelical Friends have driven their ministerial visitors from one meeting to another, and presumed upon their receiving the customary courtesy of a night's lodging when in rural districts away from hotels, they have, on reaching the houses of Wilburites, been refused admission, and have had to go off and seek somewhere else for the ordinary and universally afforded entertainment in such cases.

And the head and front of offence in all these instances has been, that English Friends have refused to express a disapproval of Joseph John Gurney, or of the interpretations of Quakerism which he set forth in his works. A hearty old Friend in Ohio, in speaking to me about the Wilburites, said, "No one can get any good reason for their bitterness out of them. It's all only 'Joseph John,' and 'Joseph John,' and 'Joseph John.'"

There is a Friends' Boarding School at Mount Pleasant, which contains from thirty to seventy pupils, according to the season of the year. Since the separation this institution has remained in the hands of the Wilbur majority, although the Evangelical 77 Friends are said to have been the chief contributors. The master of the school is a worthy Friend, but must, of course, be a Wilburite in his views. It was mentioned by Friends that there had been considerable difficulty at the school, in consequence of an order from the Wilburites that only "peculiar" jackets should be allowed for the boys; but in consequence of the great variety of juvenile dress in America, especially in rural districts, the master was puzzled as to what sort of jackets should be reckoned peculiar or not, inasmuch as the slit collar

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is scarcely a test here, because many American children of various denominations wear jackets with "straight" collars.

Since the separation, the Evangelical Friends in Ohio have had very quiet, harmonious gatherings. It was remarked to me by them, both in the east and west of Ohio, in speaking of the Wilburites, "We have had such pleasant meetings since they left us." At the last yearly meeting of Ohio there was amongst the Evangelical Friends quite a "revival," and amongst the younger members a powerful visitation of solemn religious impressions. But their Wilburite neighbours have ever since the separation been continuing to differ amongst themselves, and appear on the eve of another secession of Wilburs from Wilburs.

MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, AND CAROLINA FRIENDS.

After leaving Mount Pleasant, I passed eastward over one of the most interesting railways in the world, "the Baltimore and Ohio." This line is nearly four hundred miles in length, and in its course 78 passes over range after range of the Alleghany mountains, attaining on them to the height in one place of three thousand feet; and at other times following for scores of miles the romantic windings of long forest rivers, as the Potomac, the Monongahela, the Patapsco, and the Youghioghany, and conducted up and down circling gradients, over lofty viaducts and along perpendicular sides of precipices on galleries of iron trestle-work, now dashing through ravines and at other times through tubular bridges or underneath high cliffs, as at the magnificent gorge at Harper's Ferry, where the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers unite their wildly picturesque valleys. The line is entirely in Maryland and Virginia—a region not populous except eastward, and abounding in tracts of unbroken forest and almost uninhabited hills.

The scenery of the Alleghanies is not so rugged as in lands of snow-covered peaks and battlementpinnacled precipices, but it is very fine, and especially so from the dense and nearly universal covering of its forests. We look downwards on blue rivers and upwards at wooded walls of rock, through which we every now and then pierce in dark tunnels,

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emerging by other long glassy bends of water, and then reascend valleys amongst green forested hemispheres of mountain, down which flow many smaller streams. Again, we glance from between the openings of steep pine forests over square miles of tree tops far beneath, towards which we soon roll smoothly down between an undergrowth of laurels and rhododendrons.

Almost every mile of the long "Baltimore and Ohio" contains enough of the romantic to establish the reputation of fifty miles of ordinary route, and 79 the same may be said of considerable portions of the Central and North-western Railways of Pennsylvania, by the latter of which I had a welcome opportunity of a second time crossing the Alleghany ranges.

Nearly the whole of the large State of Virginia (equal in size to England and Wales) is full of wild scenery of mountains and rivers, affording copious variety for the lovers of the picturesque, but of little civil or commercial interest. There are very few Friends in these districts, and their numbers are continually diminishing, in consequence of discouraging circumstances arising chiefly from slavery. They are annually emigrating to the similarly agricultural but far more prosperous localities included in the extent of the new "Western Yearly Meeting," or to other parts of Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa. The old yearly meeting of Virginia has been extinct for about a quarter of a century, having been united to that of Baltimore, which, with this addition, is only composed of seven small monthly meetings.

These are included in the two quarterly meetings of Baltimore and Dunning's Creek, and in "the half-year's meeting of Virginia." Only two monthly meetings out of the seven make up the latter.

The Baltimore Friends, although very few (at least as to the Orthodox part of them), endeavour to promote the social and religious welfare of the slave portion of their State; and have been able, by acting vigilantly and conciliatorily, to procure for them some amelioration of their condition. But had they gone to work in a more direct, or boldly

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“ultra” manner, it is probable they would have unintentionally been the instrument of increasing the sufferings of their oppressed neighbours. Indirect means are often far more effectual than direct ones, and “discretion is the better part of valour.”

Amongst the Hicksite Friends of Maryland and Virginia is Samuel M. Janney, the well-known writer on the biographies of William Penn, George Fox, and other early Friends.

The Carolina Friends, although far more numerous than those of Maryland, are yet a decreasing body. They are almost exclusively in North Carolina, and their yearly meeting is designated after that State. They are obliged to be exceedingly careful of their actions and words respecting slavery, and the vigilance exercised over them is so unpleasant, that it is a chief cause of the diminution of their numbers by emigration to other States, where they can enjoy free expression and be exempt from the inevitable social demoralizations and pollutions of the slave system.

As a sort of outlier and appendage to these southern communities of Friends, is the similarly decreasing little body of their brethren in and around the town of Friendsville, in Tennessee. This spot is rendered permanently interesting in its association from its having been the place where the good William Forster, of Norwich, died, and was interred, whilst on a religious visit there with three other English Friends.

The circumstances of his decease are thus alluded to by William J. Allinson, of Burlington, in his valuable Essay, “Quakerism Vital:”—“There was one locality, a meeting-place of his own people, in the heart of Tennessee, which had been, as it were, photographed on his heart before he left England. The 81 meeting he attended here will be memorable while the Society of Friends has a history. The shadows of life's evening were closing around him as he stood and preached his favourite theme, ‘the unsearchable riches of Christ.’ One of his audience testifies, ‘In his vivid description of the life of a dedicated Christian, it seemed as if he might have been involuntarily drawing a picture of himself:— first, beautifully setting forth the fruits of early dedication, the blessed results arising from a

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full surrender of the whole man—body, soul, and spirit—to the tendering, sanctifying power of Divine grace in the very morning of the day, before the heart is seared and hardened by the cares of the world or the love of other things,—tracing the course of such from one degree of religious attainment to another, gradually mellowing under the bright beams of the Sun of Righteousness, till, finally, the ripe fruit is brought to perfection. In describing the winding up of the earthly course of the perfect man in Christ Jesus, and the crown of glory which awaited him, it seemed as if he almost opened heaven before us; and a little glimpse was given of those blessed realities which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, but which God hath laid up in store for all those who love and serve Him.’ When the meeting closed he walked round the graveyard, in which he was presently to be laid, and spoke of the pleasantness of its location, Next day, he lay in his death sickness. His heart yearned towards his loved ones at home; ‘But,’ he said, ‘it is better to depart and be with Christ.’ To one of his loved and faithful companions he quoted the words of Bunyan's ‘Hopeful,’ G 82 ‘Be of good cheer, my brother, I feel the bottom, and it is good.’

“He died in the midst of his testimony against a wrong towards humanity, a sin towards Him who took on Himself a servant's form, and who, in doing so, rendered the human image of God more sacred and inviolable. William Forster never rested till, in the final sense, he ‘entered into rest.’

‘Fallen, while his loins were girded still; His feet with Zion's dewes still wet; And in his hands retaining yet The pilgrim's staff and scallop shell.’”

The Essayist concludes with words well worthy the attention of Friends. “And it is such Quakerism as his that is needed now. A Quakerism, not satisfied with garnishing the tombs of the Fathers, with lauding their dedication and merely imitating their modes. A Quakerism, having the same presiding Head that Fox and his associates recognised, and that moves as freshly under His guidance. A Quakerism, looking not backward, but forward and around,—ready for the sacrifices, ready for the work of its own day.

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'The past and the time to be are one; And both are now.'

"I am sick of the unmeaning talk we hear about 'modern' Quakerism, as though a fossil or a mummy could show forth praise, or constitute a church; as though the days, and the hours, and the minutes were not modern! (they will be ancient enough when we have done with them.) As though Barclay and Woolman were not modern Quakers in their day, 83 though the one was ancient to the other. It is modern Quakerism that we want and must have, if we have any at all. A Quakerism ancient and ever new; ancient as Christianity itself, and new as the radiant orb that, in fresh glory every morning, though older than the primitive hills, comes forth as a bride-groom out of his chamber, and rejoices as a strong man to run a race. A Quakerism not expended upon the past, but adapted to every emergency,—practical, vital."

PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia is the second city in the United States, in size and importance. Its present population is six hundred thousand, and during the last ten years it has been increasing in a greater ratio than New York. But the latter city affects no apprehension of ever being overtaken by its neighbour, and patronizingly calls it "the village." Far more of the historic associations of America are clustered around Philadelphia than any other city, even Boston not excepted. Besides its connexion with Penn, Logan, and Franklin, there is its revolutionary preeminence. In Chestnut Street is still standing the State House, containing the venerable Hall in which was signed the memorable "Declaration of Independence," and which is daily visited by hundreds. It is a curious circumstance, that English visitors appear to entertain a higher respect for this Hall than the Americans do themselves. When in it this autumn, I was informed by the custodian that a few days G2 84 previously an Englishman on entering it remarked, "You ought to make every man take off his hat who enters here;" and, really, I felt a strong inclination to do so myself. The event which this room commemorates has been fraught with boundless blessing, religiously, intellectually, and commercially, to the whole world, but especially to the two branches of the one great

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Anglo-Saxon race; and, perhaps, nearly as much to the mother-country as to her great Transatlantic offspring.

Philadelphia was founded in 1682, and was the first capital of the United States, and the seat of her first Congress. In its vicinity were fought the battles of Trenton, Brandywine, and Germantown. It is on the banks of the two fine rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, but five miles from their confluence. One of the greatest disadvantages of the city is, that it is situated nearly a hundred miles from the ocean, and that the country behind it, being so mountainous, does not present equal facilities for communication with the Great West as those enjoyed by New York. But as far as railways are concerned, these obstacles have already been overcome. It is a neater but less splendid city than New York, and much quieter. The neighbourhood is picturesque in many parts, especially along the Schuylkill, but generally level or undulating.

The streets are, as in other American cities, straight, and at right angles, affording great advantages to the many street rail-omnibuses and cars, which are more numerous in Philadelphia than any other city in the Union. Wherever one walks, there is a constant stepping over street-rails. By a convenient system of 85 "exchange tickets," a person can ride in a rail-omnibus several miles down one street, and then change to another going at right angles to any part of the town he wishes, and all for seven cents. The railway trains for distant parts of the country are also drawn through the centre of the city on the street-rails; but it is only by a team of horses till they get to the suburbs, when the locomotives are attached, and the regular speed attained.

Another characteristic of this city is the number of large and well-supplied market-houses, filled with stalls and shops for all kinds of agricultural and horticultural produce, especially piles of huge melons, squashes, tomatoes, peaches, apples, "egg-plants," green "corn," and "sweet potatoes." Most of the streets of Philadelphia areavenued with trees. The central business-streets are exceptions. There are two very wide streets, "Market" and "Broad," but the others are narrower than in the generality of American large cities.

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Most of the houses are of red brick, faced with white marble around the doors and windows. The latter have white shutters. Nearly every door is approached by four or five white marble steps. The marble of Philadelphia, though purely white, is of a roughish grain, and does not look so well as the Italian kinds. The characteristic aspect of the city is the prevalence of the bright red and white colours of its universal brick and marble.

Overhead are skies of Mediterranean clearness. There is no hazy, murky smoke and fog as in London; and, from year to year, the bright red bricks and pure white marbles of the city retain their original colours as freshly as if just erected. The fires of wood or anthracite coal do not obscure the city air with smoke, and, consequently, green gardens and city laundry-grounds are amongst the sights of Philadelphia. It was striking to observe people drying their “washing” on the house-tops. Imagine such a thing in London, and its effects. Indeed, since my return to England from the blue skies and most clear atmosphere of America, I seem to have seen no really bright daylight in comparison.

The streets of Philadelphia are named numerically “first,” “second,” “third,” and so on, in the direction parallel with the Delaware. But those that cross from river to river have names not numerical, and chiefly after trees. The order of the eight largest transverse streets is easily remembered by the couplet—

“Market, Arch, Race, and Vine, Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce, and Pine.”

Amongst these names are some of the various families of the Friendly notabilities of the city, as Penn, Logan, Callowhill, and Benezet. The good common-sense of William Penn is conspicuous in almost every arrangement of the original city; and the whole United States, and some of our colonies, are indebted to him for much of their civic and even political advantages.

Amongst his foreseeing calculations was the provision for numerous central breathing-places for the city, in the way of large squares planted with trees. Numerous squirrels

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gambol about on the grass in these, and have boxes placed about amongst the 87 branches for their accommodation, and are protected from annoyance by penalties enforced on those who molest them, and still more by the favourable interest taken in them by all classes of citizens, old and young. In Logan Square there is a herd of deer in addition to the usual squirrels.

There are exquisitely picturesque localities within reach of a few hours' excursion from the city, such as those up the Schuylkill Valley, or amongst the Blue Ridge of the Alleghanies, or at Mauch Chunk and the Lehigh. A favourite summer resort of the Philadelphians is to Atlantic City, on the New Jersey seaboard, immediately eastward. Cape May is a similarly popular watering place, at the mouth of Delaware Bay. It was hither that the unfortunate "Great Eastern" took the crowd of excursionists last autumn, who so loudly vented their dissatisfaction at the commissariat deficiencies of the contractors, and especially at the want of ice, which is an American necessary of ordinary life.

Philadelphia abounds in public charitable institutions. Most of these are of great size, and admirably conducted. They are magnificent establishments. It is usual to invite a few Friends to be on the committee of each, whether originated by our Society or not, as it is popularly considered that Friends make very good committee-men, and have a peculiar tact for combining the pecuniary interests with the philanthropic aims of such institutions. These are of various kinds, as hospitals, asylums, schools, refuges, penitentiaries, and also similar establishments for coloured people.

In the State House I was shown some of the old 88 government records of Pennsylvania. They were generally written in a neat legal hand, and uniformly in the style of language and dates harmonizing with the old peculiarities of the Society.

Friends now form but a very small proportion of the population of the city, but they retain considerable influence in civic and pecuniary respects, and their body possesses some valuable portions of land in and around Philadelphia, as the property of its particular

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meetings. The old school of Philadelphia Friends, such as Nicholas Waln, Anthony Benezet, Thomas Scattergood, Samuel Emlen, John Pemberton, George Dillwyn, and others, have all passed away. Their excellences and peculiarities are retained by many in their city, but some of those who have most zealously preserved the latter, have taken less heed to the former; and many of those who possess the former, have been in various ways impressed with the non-necessity of making the latter any essential for imitation.

PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS.

The Friends of Philadelphia form an exception to the general condition of their Society in Europe and America; and their state, for more than a quarter of a century, has been by no means suggestive of their city's name—"Brotherly Love."

All the other yearly meetings of Friends, those of London, Dublin, Indiana, "Western," New England, New York, North Carolina, Baltimore, the Evangelical 89 portion of Ohio, and the small communities of the Society in Norway, Germany, France, Australia and Tasmania, are in unity and regular official inter-communication; but Philadelphia Friends have isolated themselves from their brethren, as if they were the possessors of an orthodoxy, not yet attained by the other yearly meetings. "Dost thou not know," said a well-known minister of their city, to another minister in Indiana, "dost thou not know that Philadelphia has ever been an example of orthodoxy? But London Yearly Meeting is rotten at the core."—Now, really, there does not seem to be any particular reason for such complacency on the part of the Wilburite majority there, in the estimate of the superiority of their own "orthodoxy."

It is observable in their city, that the small minority of Evangelical Friends are mainly the supporters of the old character of the Society for philanthropy and active efforts in bettering the social and religious condition of their neighbours, as well as of themselves. If we look at the lists of the supporters of the various charitable and public institutions of Philadelphia, it will be seen that these receive little aid from the many Wilburite Friends, when compared with the prominent and industrious labours of their few Evangelical

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brethren. And the Sabbath-school movement, which has attained to such prosperous growth amongst the Friends of England and Indiana, has only within a few months managed to get a slight introduction amongst those of Philadelphia, by the greater part of whom it is, and probably will continue to be, kept as under a ban. Indeed, there have been recently distributed amongst English Friends some 90 admonitory papers, emanating from the American Wilburites, to express their disapproval of such movements as our Sabbath schools, of our reading meetings for religious and social advantage, and other attempts of a similarly beneficial nature.

Again, the disciplinary gatherings of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting are so disunited and controversial as to have become almost proverbial. But the assemblies of their Evangelical brethren there, and elsewhere, are characterized by harmony and pleasantness. So that if their superior "orthodoxy" consists in an antiquarian zeal for unslit collars, a demeanour of stiff reserve, and a general policy of passivity, the justice of their claim is evident; but, if it consists in a higher degree of philanthropy and harmony, we must be pardoned for receiving such an assumption with a doubting hesitation.

Previously to the first great division of the Society in America into Hicksites and Orthodox, in 1827, there was, especially in Philadelphia, a class of Friends professing great zeal for the "ancient testimonies" of their body, but exercising an undue influence in the disciplinary management of the Society, and by no means specially characterized by charity towards those whose views did not unite with their own. When the Hicksite schism occurred, it is generally admitted that many Friends were driven into a union with Elias Hicks, far less from any sympathy of doctrinal views, than by the harsh manner in which they were treated by some of the officially influential members who were opposed to him. Whole families, and even meetings, were disowned by a summary and generalizing process; and I was credibly informed, by a valued Orthodox Friend, that numbers of the members of Philadelphia meeting were disowned by a retrospective action, in consequence of their having merely attended meetings of sympathizers with Elias Hicks, before there had been any actual separation from the Orthodox body. In fact, the meetings in some parts of

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America at that time, but especially in Philadelphia, were under the governing influence of a number of individuals having a close outward appearance of Quakerism, but practically denying its Gospel power and love. After these had irritated many Friends into joining the Hicksites, and had thus contributed their share towards rendering it a wide and permanent schism, then they continued the same policy in their own community of Orthodox Friends. And whilst in a manner still looking around for some object on which to exemplify their unabated zeal for formalism, it happened that Joseph John Gurney wrote his doctrinal works and came over to America on a religious visit. On him fell the arm which had already strengthened its muscles during the exercise of strife with Hicksism. He was accused of being "Episcopalian," and in various ways "unsound."

A small body of New England Friends were the first to take any decided step of opposition, owing mainly to the unconstitutional manner in which some of their brethren treated them and their leader, John Wilbur. They met with warm sympathy from many of their Philadelphia Friends, who as yet took no decided action themselves. But in Ohio and Western Pennsylvania their sympathizers were more energetic, and commenced that course of decided opposition to the views of J. J. Gurney, and of favour to the 92 smaller party in New England, which resulted, after ten years of unpleasantness, in a Wilbur and Evangelical schism in Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1854. The Wilburite party in Ohio did not receive official recognition from London, or the other yearly meetings, who on the contrary recognized, from the necessities of the case, their Evangelical brethren, the minority in Ohio, who had been goaded into a literally unconstitutional separation from their opponent Friends in that district.

But the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting took this opportunity to declare its sympathies plainly and boldly. It acknowledged that the Wilburite body of Ohio were the sounder and only true yearly meeting of that State, and that the others had no claim to their official recognition, which was accordingly withheld.

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The yearly meeting of 1855 was a time of great excitement to Philadelphia Friends. The main body of the meeting, including the clerk, were for recognizing their Wilburite brethren in Ohio, but a small Evangelical minority were strongly opposed to this. "Scores" of Evangelical Friends rose and expressed their opinion at that assembly, but the clerk (imitating the policy of the Wilburite clerk of Ohio) disregarded them and ignored their protests. At length he rose to read the obnoxious epistle of recognition of the Ohio Wilburites. Whilst beginning to read, Friend after Friend of the smaller body in Philadelphia rose to protest, one saying, "That epistle must not be read;" another, "I protest against the reading of that document;" another, "That epistle cannot and shall not be read;" and so on. Still the imperturbable clerk stood holding the document, and, from time to time, recommencing to read it amidst the successive protests of the minority. At last, the latter, seeing it was useless to strive, ceased, and the majority carried their point by reading and adopting the epistle of recognition to their Ohio brethren of the same views.

At the end of the meeting the Evangelical Friends kept their seats, and remained to consider what course they should adopt under such unpleasant circumstances. They gave it solemn and prayerful consideration, and an impressive occasion it was. At length, they had almost come to a unanimous conclusion to secede from the majority of their yearly meeting, and to form themselves into a small but harmonious one in sympathy and union with the Evangelical yearly meetings of the large body of Friends elsewhere in America and Great Britain. Just at this crisis one influential Friend wavered, from his feelings of deep pain at the idea of a separation from brethren of such long standing, and bound to them by so many ties of interest and relationship. Then an aged Friend from a rural district arose, and, with tears in his eyes, begged the meeting to delay a little longer, saying that the sympathy of English Friends, three thousand miles away, would be of little counterbalancing effect when compared with the loneliness and weakness which would result if they separated from their brethren, who, being in such a large majority, would leave themselves scattered about, mostly in little rural meetings of twos or threes, or very few indeed, and that such consequences would be worse than their present

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disagreeable position. Several other Friends now expressed a wish that the question might be deferred for at least one year longer. Finally, this 94 course was resolved upon, and the meeting separated without having done anything to free themselves from their condition of subjection.

But their proceedings were not without indirect effect—for next yearly meeting, in 1856, when they again expressed their determination not to allow the Ohio Wilburites to be recognized without themselves seceding, the majority in Philadelphia were afraid to press the repetition of their last year's triumph, and so did not send any epistle of recognition to Ohio. However, to avoid any appearance of alteration of sentiment, they determined not to correspond that year with any other yearly meeting at all. And since that time, Philadelphia has continued to keep itself separate from all other communities of the Society of Friends. It gives no official recognition, by correspondence, to London, Dublin, New England, New York, Indiana, or Ohio, or the other Evangelical bodies of the Society.

Meanwhile it continues to be divided and at issue on various points of practice and shades of doctrine. Recently, the ultra Wilburites there, have been threatening to secede from their less extreme brethren of the same party, on the ground of the inconsistency of the latter, who have long been under the guidance of one influential and intelligent family in that city. It was two members of this family who were a means of persuading the Ohio Wilburites to take that decided stand in favour of the New England associates of John Wilbur, which led to the division of Ohio Yearly Meeting. After this occurrence, and the general sympathy with it expressed by Philadelphia members, the latter were naturally looked to by the New England Wilburites for official recognition. 95 And the more consistent and decided Wilburites in Philadelphia said, "Well, as we have given our recognition to our brethren in Ohio, on the very account of their sympathy with our New England partizans, of course we are now bound, in all consistency, to give to the latter what we gave to the former." "No," said the less consistent Wilburites of Philadelphia, led by the family just alluded to, "we do, it is true, sympathize with both our brethren who form the majority in Ohio, and those who are the small minority in New England; but there is a difference between the

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circumstances of each.” Those in the latter yearly meeting are not nearly so numerous or influential as the former. Accordingly, they gave the regular sanction to the one body, and withheld it from the other, although expressing their real unity with both. And when their friend, John Wilbur, came from New England to pay a religious visit to his Philadelphia sympathizers, the latter refused to receive him officially, or even to read in public the certificate which his own meeting had granted him, as the usual voucher of his being a rightly appointed minister sent by them! It is no wonder that the consistent Wilburites express their disunity with such a wavering policy, and speak of their fickle brethren in terms of censure.

Whilst I was in Ohio, some of the separate body of Wilburites there were engaged in holding “caucuses” to bring about a secession from some of their own party. These caucuses are a common American institution, and are very frequent in times of political elections. They are preliminary meetings, or committees, to arrange a course of future action on a more 96 extended scale. When I was in Philadelphia, a month subsequently, there also I heard of a caucus just being held in Bucks County, near that city, to discuss the propriety of the extreme but really consistent Wilburites seceding from their inconsistent partizans. About a hundred composed the caucus, and came to no immediate conclusion, but decided to defer the question for the present.

The disunity of the Wilburite party is thus patent everywhere, where they exist as a body. In one small meeting in New York State there have been three secessions of Wilburites from Wilburites, and each professing to be “the Friends.” So that their claims to be considered the representatives of Quakerism are somewhat ludicrous, whether in Philadelphia, or Ohio, or New England, or New York.

And yet, when an Evangelical Friend attempts to reason with them, and to propose a more agreeable and harmonious policy, and an adoption of beneficial, rational means of promoting the religious improvement of the Society—such as Sabbath schools, more scriptural study and instruction, or a less Socinian tinge of doctrine respecting our Saviour

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and His atonement—they seldom give a conciliatory reply, but assume that themselves are all in the right and the others all in the wrong, and mix up a number of vague charges and expressions about “Joseph John Gurney,” “unsound English Friends,” “sparks of creaturely activity,” “our ancient testimonies,” “departure from primitive simplicity,” “dependence on the letter of Scripture instead of on the Spirit,” and so on.

It is by no means rare, amongst this section of the 97 Society, to hear their ministers preach “at” their Evangelical brethren in a style hardly warranted by “the love of the Gospel;” and there are a few special texts which have been used over and over again by them in a sense which it is difficult to reconcile with their obvious meaning and context. One of these is that from Isaiah I. 11, “Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks; this shall ye have of mine hand—ye shall lie down in sorrow.” This text they quote against such religious proceedings, whether of a ministerial, educational, or even social nature, as do not precisely accommodate themselves to the formal and stereotype notions of Wilbur orthodoxy, even although such proceedings may be honestly made under a sense of essential Divine aid and requirement. The context of this passage in the preceding verse is to encourage, and not to discourage, each person who may, by such obedient action, “trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God.”

Another similarly misapplied text, used sometimes as a warrant for a relaxation of prayerful effort in worship, is Numbers xxiv. 5, “How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel,” by which a slothful inactivity in religious matters has been justified as superior to that struggling earnestness of prayerful aspiration, even amid inconsistency and failure, which the Bible so repeatedly and prominently enforces; that prayer “without ceasing,” that wrestling importunity, which, so far from being discouraged by God Himself, is specially presented for our imitation.

But the Wilburites differ from the ordinary acceptance H 98 of such precepts. Of course they have a perfect right to differ from others, but they can hardly expect that others will be brought to their views by a policy of rebuke and unconciliatory pertinacity. These are more

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likely to produce in their Evangelical brethren the thought of Job's words, when even that patient man was tried at the assumption of his would-be instructors, and replied, "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you."

And this is nearly the course adopted by the Evangelical minority in Philadelphia. They see that it is of little or no use either to reason with or to resist their more numerous brethren; so they have relinquished the attempt, and have given up nearly every active participation in the yearly meeting, or other large disciplinary assemblies. "We sit as silent spectators and watch the Wilbur Friends disagreeing amongst themselves." Such was their own account to me. Valuable elderly Friends in that city and its neighbourhood told me that the influence of their yearly meeting in a religious way was so nullified that it was of no edification to attend, but rather the contrary. One Friend remarked, "I wonder there are any young Friends left in Philadelphia at all. It is surprising that they have not all joined other Christian denominations, from disgust at the strifes and jealousies they witness in their own Body." And many of them have left. It is said that some Episcopalian clergymen in Philadelphia boast that their congregations are almost entirely composed of those who were formerly members or attenders of Friends' meetings.

It is thus a curious circumstance that the Wilburites, 99 who profess such peculiar dread of "Episcopalian tendencies," should themselves be the chief promoters of an increase in the number of adherents to that denomination, through their own discouraging system of "putting down" and damping the manifestations of spiritual life and action in their younger members and others.

There are four large meetings of Orthodox Friends in the city of Philadelphia, and three of these are chiefly attended by Wilburites. They are called Arch Street, Orange Street, and North meetings, respectively. The remaining meeting is that of Twelfth Street, sometimes called the Western meeting. It is chiefly and almost entirely composed of Evangelical Friends, who form a pleasant and harmonious body, but are watched with a criticising eye by the other three meetings. The younger members of these meetings scarcely take any

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part in their discipline, or, in any religious Society action; but the young Friends of Twelfth Street take more interest in such things, particularly as to attempts to establish Friends' Sabbath schools in their city; and the elder members of their meeting do not "put down" these attempts.

Twelfth Street meeting and a few associated members in the outskirts of the city have for several years pursued a quiet but increasingly independent policy as to the other meetings, in conjunction with which they still nominally form one yearly meeting.

Some years ago they, as a monthly meeting for discipline, nominated some of their own members as elders or ministers, which they were quite at liberty to do. But, according to the constitution of the H 2 100 Society, such nominations must be approved by the larger meetings, as the yearly and quarterly ones, of which the smaller monthly meetings are a subordinate part. It is almost a universal practice in the Society for such approval to be accorded; but the majority of Philadelphia Friends did not choose to allow the members of such an "unsound" meeting as Twelfth Street to be received into such positions as ministers or elders. The smaller meeting accordingly submitted, and have continued without such officers being appointed,—at least without any additional ones besides those nominated in earlier and less dissentient years.

Twelfth Street wished to have a greater circulation of religious books amongst its younger members, and accordingly a few of its Friends established a Book and Tract Society. This gave great offence to some of their Wilbur brethren, who publicly protested, especially when the first book published by the new Society was a "Life of Elizabeth Fry." That good woman is not in high esteem amongst the Wilburites, partly because she was a Gurney, and partly because they allege against her "Episcopalian tendencies."

William Allen's Life was another book published by the same parties, and this, too, was considered wrong; be, also, being "in unity with Joseph John Gurney." However, it was no good for the members of the three meetings to interfere. Twelfth Street has maintained

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its Book Association ever since, and it is in active and beneficial operation at present. Further, it has established a weekly periodical called "The Friends' Review." This has a wide circulation amongst the western and other Evangelical Friends, and is a 101 valuable substitute for the Wilburite organ which had previously been in the field, and which came out with its frequent interpretations as to the value and nature of "peculiar" habiliments.

Another matter in which Twelfth Street has taken a quietly independent action, was in the case of a new burial-ground. There had resulted for years considerable inconvenience to Philadelphia Friends from a want of larger space for interments. A committee of the four meetings had been appointed, and continued for about six years without being able to come to a final conclusion, as to the eligibility of any particular location. At last, one was offered possessing peculiar advantages. It was proposed by some Evangelical Friends to the other members of the committee. Some of those who were Wilburites once more took objection, and placed such obstacles in the way that the committee had to be dissolved without accomplishing its object. Upon this, Twelfth Street meeting purchased the ground on its own responsibility. When the purchase was completed, they resolved, as a matter of courtesy, to give the other three meetings the option of participation, but subject to their own conditions; one of which was, that there should be plain tombstones inscribed merely with names and dates. This was contrary to the Wilburites views of "simplicity." One of them rose in the meeting which had collected to entertain the proposition, and said the Evangelical Friends would be for erecting "monuments as high as the sky." Other similar ebullitions of party-feeling found expression, and, finally, the Wilbur Friends declined to accept the offer of their subordinate meeting, which had presumed to take 102 such an independent step as to complete the purchase on their own account.

Some of the members of the three meetings carry their acerbity so far as scarcely to speak to their Evangelical brethren when they meet them.

So that Twelfth Street Friends have acted wisely in the gradual adoption of a virtually independent Society action. They have found that it was useless to protest, and

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mischievous to struggle against the majority of their yearly meeting. That body, therefore, remains nominally one, but virtually a divided assembly, isolated from its kindred communities, and nullifying the influence for good which it would be in its power to exercise. And it is likely that it will thus continue. The Evangelical portion of it are wearied with the contest, and have practically relinquished their right of participation in the management of any section of the Society, except their own small local one, of which they are almost the entire constituents. The Wilburites have all the power in their own hands, but do not wish to draw upon themselves the general reprobation of all the other divisions of the Society, which they might reasonably look for if they entirely cast off their Evangelical brethren who differ from them on such non-fundamental points.

And it is also stated, that a part of the landed property belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was donated to it by William Penn, or by some of his contemporaries or successors, on the condition of their "unity with London Yearly Meeting." So that this may have some weight. The Evangelical minority are in unity with English Friends, and if an open rupture took place between themselves and their 103 brethren, it would probably involve a complete secession of the Wilburite majority from all the rest of the great Evangelical body of the Society in Europe and America, and they would lose such property. And it is to be wished that such a complete secession should take place, rather than that the present mutual state of dead-lock should continue.

And a principal root of all these things is the controversy about slit collars, and such trifles. And yet one would suppose that even in Philadelphia there had been plain evidence that the "peculiar" dress is not the slightest guarantee against hypocrisy of the grossest kind. Within the last few years, the clerk of one of their quarterly meetings in the neighbourhood of the city has had to make a public confession of his own wilful misrepresentation of his pecuniary transactions, and to acknowledge that he has thus sacrificed the money of orphans committed to his care. But he was, for all that, a "consistent" Friend, by the Wilburite test.

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Another clerk of a quarterly meeting near Philadelphia has had to be disowned for flagrant immorality, which had been carried on for years, and during the very time whilst he, as clerk of the meeting, publicly affected a religious scruple against reading, in official routine, the certificates of two worthy English Evangelical ministers then on a visit to America. But, nevertheless, he was “consistent” in the mainly alleged tests of Quakerism.

Another aged and valuable Friend gave it as one of the recent experiences to which he had been enabled to attain in his old age, that “even good Friends could be found wearing travelling caps.” He alluded 104 to the visit of an English deputation of four Friends to America about twelve years ago, whose religious example and personal integrity were so strongly evident that their aged American brother could no longer resist the conviction that they were really consistent Friends, even although one or two of their party wore a travelling cap at times, instead of an orthodox broad-brim!

Really, the “strong delusion” that must have crept over the Society, when, even in the middle of the nineteenth century, such puerilities as these minute standards of orthodoxy could have so passed current amongst really religious and worthy Friends, as being any essential part whatever of Quakerism; and that more than a few, on seeing a young man adopt a slit collar instead of an unslit one, have exclaimed, “It is a pity that he has thrown off the Friend.” As if “the Friend” was, in its whole soul and essence, involved in the slit! If we venture to criticise the formalities of any other sect, they may well refer us back to our own, at least till we have rejected such as the above.

Said a Philadelphia Friend in high standing to me, “You English Friends are so courteous in your yearly meeting. Your young Friends or others express their views, and the elder Friends speak theirs, but, being in a minority, do not press them strongly; and the innovations are adopted by the yearly meeting, and then you have a time of silence, and mistake the quiet of courtesy for the approving sanction of the Holy Spirit.” Well, now I this is certainly paying a very poor compliment to the religious discernment, or even ordinary common-sense of London Yearly Meeting. 105 However, it is a rare thing in

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the Philadelphia annual gathering to witness the slightest interval of even a “quiet of courtesy,” and the good Friend had, perhaps, had little opportunity of any of those solemn harmonious occasions which certainly are witnessed in the “unsound” English body.

Even in the matter of “courtesy,” our Wilbur brethren might do worse than imitate the policy of their London Friends, especially when one of their members, several years ago, rose and objected to the word “dear,” in the ordinary commencement of “Dear Friends,” in the heading of some official correspondence with England.

Whilst I was in America, a very “consistent” and officially acknowledged Wilburite minister was preaching in the North meeting in Philadelphia. Whilst thus engaged, a female Friend who had a headache or some other indisposition left the meeting. The preacher, thinking that she meant some “testimony” against his doctrine, called out after her as she went down the aisle—“The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth.” The same Friend justifies the personality and warmth of his zeal on various occasions by quoting the text, “I came not to send peace, but a sword.”

Another circumstance, which happened while I was in that city, really astounded me. This was the rejection by Wilburite Friends of the “Life” of the good and apostolic “Stephen Grellet” from the chief library of the Society in Philadelphia. It was characterized in the committee of the library as being a “pernicious” book. “Pernicious!” Whatever next? Now, if there has been one book more than another, 106 in the whole literature of the Society, which can be styled blamelessly scriptural, and, at the same time, most graphic and interesting, it is the biography of Stephen Grellet, who, as a missionary preacher, travelled, at his own expense, repeatedly over Europe and America, and was peculiarly and generally beloved; whose visits were welcomed alike by the Catholics of Spain, the Protestants of Germany, and the members of the Greek Church in Russia, including the Emperor Alexander the First, whose friendship for the Quaker preacher was of the most cordial nature. By the whole of the great Evangelical body of the Society, Stephen Grellet was beloved and revered, and the word “pernicious” is the last which should be thought of

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in connexion with anything emanating from himself; but the secret of any objection to him in Philadelphia is, that he was on good terms with English Friends, including Joseph John Gurney.

And what another “strong delusion” it is, that so many in America should have brought such heavy charges of heterodoxy against the latter Friend. His biography is shunned by most of them, and excluded from their dwellings as being also a “pernicious” book; but surely it is not asking too much to suggest that they should carefully give it, at least, a fair perusal. See what Joseph John Gurney really was; witness his youth, manhood, and whole public and private life; what he accomplished, and in what spirit he treated those who so opposed him; and especially witness his spirituality; and if our Wilburite brethren, elder and younger, would only divest themselves of the almost unaccountable perversions 107 respecting him, which are current amongst them, I think they would wish themselves to become more like him.

And further, if the same Friends would try for a year or two the experiment of relinquishing their beloved peculiarities of dress, they would find that it is far more “taking up the cross” to be a consistent Friend, with an ordinary than with an extraordinary dress. Especially if young men relinquish these peculiarities, they find it far more humiliating to have to give a really *scriptural* reason for non-compliance with fashionable unchristian observances, than to say, “Oh, I do not do so and so, because I am a Friend,” or, “because my predecessors did so.” It is far harder to say, “because I wish to follow Christ.” The world calls a “peculiar” Friend one of “the *respectable* Society of Friends,” and requires no further explanation. The sufferings and persecutions of his ancestors have saved him from modern annoyance in following *them*. But it is quite another matter when he follows *Christ* in such things; there is far more “friendship of the world” now-a-days to a Friend in an unslit collar, than there would be to the same Friend if really acting out genuine Quakerism in a slit one. These minute peculiarities save the trouble of inconvenient appeals to a fundamental Christian standard. Every objection which can be brought against ordinary “forms,” such as of being “unduly rested in,” can be urged against these, with the additional one, that

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they are eminently favourable to the encouragement of spiritual sloth, and of a shrinking from the faithful and straightforward avowal of the real reasons why we refuse to comply with what 108 is unchristian—namely, because it *is* unchristian, rather than because it is “unfriendly.”

Yes, it is far more easy to rest on an appeal to eighteenth century recognized customs, established by long and arduous perseverance, than it is to lean our appeal alone on Christ, and to encounter in ourselves the ridicule, and the criticism, and the various kinds of disunity and opposition which such an untraditional basis still brings in its train.

The objection against the courtesy of English Friends, as being a sort of latitudinarian weakness, was mentioned to me more than once whilst in America. It is certainly not incompatible with true Christianity, or true Quakerism, to be courteous and cheerful; and there are few things which nullify the influence of an earnest Christian more than an accompaniment of stiffness and reserve. The Wilburites are at least not much in danger of receiving a “*tu quoque*,” when they bring forth this charge of courtesy against Evangelical Friends.

There is instruction in an anecdote mentioned of a family who were in the habit of receiving frequent ministerial visits, and after one of these, when their visitor had afforded them pleasure as well as edification, one of the household exclaimed, “What a nice thing it is when folks are good without being disagreeable.”

MACAULAY AND WILLIAM PENN.

When in Philadelphia, I heard an interesting anecdote of Lord Macaulay, which, its unquestionable 109 authenticity, is of considerable importance in connexion with the misrepresentations made in his “History” respecting William Penn, and which is another confirmation of the many preceding proofs that “Macaulay sometimes gives his subjects such a turn, as to turn them quite round.”

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It has often been a matter of surprise that the historian, who was connected with Friends on his mother's side, and whose father, Zachary Macaulay, was so actively associated with many members of that Society in philanthropic efforts, should have displayed in his works a bitter hostility to a body whom he was thus peculiarly bound to do justice to.

But the real secret of his sneers and misrepresentations lies in the fact of his having been once rejected from the representation of Edinburgh in Parliament, mainly through the powerful influence of some Friends there, who turned the scale against him in the election, because some of his political votes or sentiments were very contrary to their own opinions. After this he took opportunities of retaliation, by inserting in his works charges derogatory to the Society.

This has long been a well-understood reason amongst Friends; but it is by no means so generally known, that he has himself acknowledged that his personal feelings were the cause of these attacks. But I was informed by a highly respectable citizen of Philadelphia, Thomas Kimber, Jun., who is a member of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, and Managing Director of one of the chief railways in Pennsylvania, that during a visit which he made to England, a few years ago, he breakfasted one day with Macaulay, and in the course of conversation 110 remarked, "We Pennsylvanians do not consider that you have done justice in your History to the Founder of our State." Although a sincerely attached member of the Society of Friends, Thomas Kimber does not adopt the "peculiarities of dress and speech," and therefore Macaulay did not suspect him to be one; and, to show the authority for his allusions, took down from a shelf a volume, with a contemporary attack on Penn, which was quoted from a writer named in it. Thomas Kimber examined the book, and presently found in another part of it a statement, that the very writer just quoted was not always to be relied on for accuracy. Macaulay was nonplussed at this very unexpected check, and quickly changed the conversation, remarking,—“Well, you know, if Penn hadn't been a Quaker, I shouldn't have said anything about these matters; but he was a Quaker, and I hate the Quakers.”

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“He who lies where the Minster's groined arches curve down
To the tomb-crowded transept of England's renown,
The glorious Essayist, by genius enthroned,
Whose pen as a sceptre the Muses all owned,—

“Who through the world's pantheon walked in his pride,
Setting new statues up, thrusting old ones aside,
And in fiction the pencils of history dipped,
To gild o'er or blacken each saint in his crypt,—

“How vainly he laboured to sully with blame
The white bust of Penn, in the niche of his fame!
Self-will is self-wounding, perversity blind;
On himself fell the stain for the Quaker designed!

“For the sake of his true-hearted father before him;
For the sake of the dear Quaker mother that bore him;
For the sake of his gifts, and the works that outlive him,
And his brave words for freedom, we freely forgive him!” *Whittier.*

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Haverford College.

Haverford College is the principal educational Institution for the American Yearly Meetings east of the Alleghanies. It is designed for an elder and more advanced class of pupils than those who attend the Friends' schools at West-town and Providence.

It is incorporated, by a charter from the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania, as a college empowered to confer degrees; and its course of study is more extended and complete than that in the majority of the American universities. Its Managers state, in their latest report,—“In thoroughness of instruction—a point of much more consequence than the variety of subjects, or the number of pages studied—we believe that no Institution surpasses our own.”

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The College is six miles from Philadelphia, and is pleasantly situated in a rural, well-wooded, undulating district. Haverford derives its name from a settlement of Welsh Friends, who, in the early days of the Society, emigrated thither from Haverford west. It is situated close to the "Pennsylvania Central Railroad," and there is a small station for the special accommodation of the College, and its visitors. It is merely a "flag station," and the trains do not stop at it unless the guard is informed by signal, or otherwise, that a stoppage is required.

The College grounds include about 200 acres of land. That portion immediately around the Institution buildings is planted with a well-selected variety of trees and shrubs. It was the aim of the Managers to have as 112 many species of American native trees there, as they could get together. The lawns are thus well-wooded close up to the College, which is concealed from view by foliage until near at hand. There are some long avenues of lindens, many ornamental oaks, some of which have large fringed acorns, hickories, and some fine magnolias. On the estate is a valley containing a sheet of water; this is doubly useful in winter, as furnishing a skating ground for the students, and a supply of ice, to be stored for summer convenience. Near it is a farm-house, where visitors to the Institution are accommodated.

Haverford College was opened in 1833, and is under the management of a Proprietary composed of about twenty-five Friends. Its number of students is sixty, all of them boys or young men. Each student pays 300 dollars per annum (£60). The expenditure is at present about 21,000 dollars (£4,200) per annum, and the revenue about 19,000 dollars (£3,800). To supply the deficiencies which may from year to year exist, through an excess of expenditure above income, the friends and former students of the Institution have subscribed a permanent reserve fund of 50,000 dollars (£10,000). This has been invested, and its annual interest is appropriated to the wants of the College over and above its regular revenue. Whatever surplus may remain from this annual interest, above the portion of it needed to supply deficiencies of income, is spent in free scholarships for such

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students as cannot afford to pay the regular charge for the annual course, and especially such as are intending to become teachers. There is a vacation of nine weeks in summer, and three in winter.

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Besides a Principal, there are usually three resident professors, and two teachers of the less advanced and junior pupils. The present classical professor is a graduate of Harvard University, near Boston, and has travelled extensively in Greece and Italy. The professor of science and literature has under his particular care a museum of natural history, especially furnished with a good geological cabinet. The professor of mathematics and philosophy has the superintendence of the observatory.

Haverford is in the hands of the Evangelical section of Philadelphia Friends, and its management is exceedingly well conducted.

Each student has to be present in the class-rooms, or hall, five hours daily. Of this time he has to give the chief portion to attending three classes, or "recitations," of one hour each, and conducted by the respective professors. The remaining part of the day's study may be spent, at the option of the students, in their own separate bedrooms, or in their private class-rooms. The senior students allotted class-rooms for groups of three or four each. The junior students have a general class-room. There is also a comfortable parlour for the use of all, and one daily newspaper is allowed them.

In front of the building is a long, raised, open gallery, with wooden columns, from which steps descend to the lawn. Behind these are convenient laundries, and a large covered gymnasium, well furnished with parallel bars, ladders, ropes, leaping-bars, and high, wooden "horses," on and over which the students practise vaulting. By the sides of the "horses," on the ground, are broad, thick-padded, leather cushions, 114 to break the fall of those who slip, or perform a more extensive vault than contemplated.

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Each student has a small but very neat bedroom, carpeted, and furnished with a wooden wardrobe, a table covered with a clean white cloth, a blue flowered window-blind; and some have, in addition, small libraries, pictures, or vases of flowers, according to the taste of each occupier.

The Institution is lighted with gas made on the estate, and is well ventilated and very neat throughout.

The course of studies is arranged to extend over four years. There are daily classical recitations, and each student, in his "course," will have read, in addition to several books of Xenophon and Homer, two of the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides; the Oration of Demosthenes on the "Crown," and portions of Thucydides; and in Latin, besides several books of Virgil and Livy, and Orations of Cicero, the Odes and some of the Epistles of Horace; the Histories, or the Germania and Agricola of Tacitus; the first book of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations with the Somnium, Scipionis, and the Captivi of Plautus. He will also have had exercises in writing both languages, and instruction in history, antiquities, and classical geography, in connexion with his daily lessons. The most approved mural maps are provided to aid the student, and the library presents the best manuals of biography, mythology, antiquities, and geography. The mathematical course extends to the differential and integral calculus, mechanical philosophy, and practical astronomy. The students have the use of valuable apparatus for experiments performed by themselves, under the direction of the professor. For the study of chemistry there is a well-supplied laboratory. The study of history is combined with that of geography, and the extempore delineation of maps on the blackboard, drawn by the student, to illustrate the regions which are the subjects of the lessons. "Declamation" is one of the College studies, and there is an annual public examination, when an opportunity is afforded the students for delivering the themes they have prepared.

As in many or most other American educational institutions (at least amongst Friends), there is no time devoted to the modern languages. The English language is so exclusively

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becoming the one medium of speech in the vast dominions of the Anglo-Saxon race, the world over, and especially in North America, that it is scarcely worth while to give that attention to the languages of France and Germany, which may so much more profitably be bestowed on the strengthening and refining study of the Greek and Roman classics.

The Managers thus report respecting the religious instruction at Haverford:—"In addition to the daily readings of the Holy Scriptures, recitations in them are required of each student once a week. In the last two years of the course there are recitations weekly in the Greek Testament; Gurney's "Observations," and a treatise on "Biblical Antiquities," are also studied in the junior and senior years."

The rules of the College respecting degrees are:—"Students who have completed the full course, and passed the written examinations on all the studies in I 2 116 a satisfactory manner, and who shall perform an original exercise at 'commencement,' or present a thesis satisfactory to the faculty, will, if their moral character be unexceptionable, receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and the diploma of the College. Graduates of three years' standing can take the degree of Master of Arts, on submitting to the committee on instruction satisfactory evidence of continued good moral character, and presenting a thesis on some literary or scientific subject, which shall receive the approbation of the faculty."

There is a Friends' meeting-house near the College. The students and officers compose nearly the whole of the regular attenders. A long, narrow, raised plank-path leads the entire way to the meeting under the trees, about a quarter of a mile.

Half of the students belong to the Orthodox Friends, a fourth to the Hicksites, and the remainder to other denominations, but all form one meeting during their stay at the College.

At the time of my visit the American autumn was just beginning, and some of the graceful maples had already assumed their gorgeous crimson tints. Many woody and numerous-

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branched althseas were in blossom along the winding pathways of the College grounds. At night, many glow-worms were shining in the grass, but there were few of the still more beautiful fire-flies which had been so numerous during the summer months. The season was now getting too advanced for them, and they were disappearing. Fire-flies, are among the chief ornaments of an American evening landscape, rising and falling with long graceful curves, like silently floating stars of green 117 fire, amongst the dark openings of the forests or over the night meadows.

I spent an evening in the observatory at Haverford. It is about forty feet high, and of a circular form, with two low wings at the base. One of these contains a large transit instrument which cost 1000 dollars (£200). There is a gas lamp attached to its axis, to exhibit its spider threads in night transits. The horizontal centre "wire" of the transit "field" is double. The observer's stool has a reclining back, and slides on a small railway. There is an astronomical clock in this room and another in an adjoining apartment. The precise time of transit across each wire is accurately and instantaneously registered by a touch from the observer's finger on a small key close to the instrument. This key is connected with an electro-magnetic register in the adjoining wing of the observatory, and by this means the time of the meridian passage of each celestial body is ascertained "to the hundredth part of a second." This is a great improvement on the old plan, of the observer's attention during a transit being distracted by having to listen to the tickings of the astronomical clock, whilst he is also counting the seconds and jotting down the crossings of each wire with a pencil, and all during the time he is observing the heavenly body. The electro-magnetic register causes a needle-pin to dot each transit on a ruled paper stretched evenly around a revolving cylinder of polished brass connected with the astronomical clock. The upper story of the observatory contains the equatorial telescope, and is crowned by a revolving dome, one gore of 118 which can be slided down during observations. The telescope is a large and good one,—a refractor with eight feet focal distance. It is eleven feet in length, and is mounted on a thick central pier of white stone, but moves freely at a touch from one's little finger. It cost 2500 dollars (£500). After leaving

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the observatory we saw a beautiful aurora borealis, with long bright and feathery rays of rose tint above, and a green light at the base. It was like some peculiarly beautiful summer-morning dawn.

Altogether, the impressions which a visitor to Haverford receives, respecting its present condition and past history, can hardly fail to produce the conviction that it stands amongst the foremost of American educational institutions.

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF WILBURISM.

Having frequently alluded to the injurious effects of some of the characteristics of Wilburism, it is only fair to speak also of its brighter side; for, like all parties and individuals, the Wilburites have their good points, and some very valuable ones too.

Conspicuous amongst these is a trait which appeared to me to be possessed by some of them in a particular degree,—that of religious weight and spiritual depth. If there was one thing more than another which shone forth in the Founders of Quakerism, it was this depth and seriousness of religious impression. What I mean has been expressed, with peculiar appropriateness, in some beautiful lines by our own poet, Whittier:—

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THE QUAKER OF THE OLDEN TIME.

The Quaker of the olden time! How calm, and firm, and true;
Unspotted by its wrong and crime,
He walked the dark earth through!
The lust of power, the love of gain,
The thousand lures of sin
Around him, had no power to stain
The purity within.

With that deep insight which detects
All great things in the small,
And knows how each man's life affects
The spiritual life of all,
He walked by faith, and not by sight;
By love, and not by law;
The presence of the wrong or right
He rather felt than saw.

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He felt that wrong with wrong partakes, That nothing stands alone; That whoso gives the motive makes His brother's sin his own. And pausing not for doubtful choice Of evils great or small, He listened to that Inward Voice Which called away from all.

Oh, Spirit of that early day! So pure, and strong, and true, Be with us in the narrow way Our faithful fathers knew. Give strength the evil to forsake, The cross of truth to bear, And love and reverent fear to make Our daily lives a prayer.

I may be mistaken, but it is my real impression that the Evangelical portion of our Society has by no means surpassed the Wilburite section in the special feature of religious depth of character. There is a danger of erring on each side, and it is far easier to lay down the formalisms of a minute peculiarity of dress or speech, than it is to take up in their place an increased adherence to the real simplicity, the spirituality, and the self-denial which genuine Quakerism and Christianity inculcate. And it does appear that, amongst some of the warm approvers of Wilburite views in America, are more than a few whose lives evince a watchfulness and noncompliance with a thoughtless world which some of ourselves may very profitably imitate. Both in Philadelphia and elsewhere that section of Friends includes some whose services and influence would be doubly valuable in a united Society.

We can hardly conceal from ourselves that even the good tendencies of Evangelical Quakerism require (like all other good things) a watchful eye, lest they should lead into a diminished heed to a reverent watchfulness for the perceptible gentle intimations of the Divine Presence in the heart; and this principle of personal daily regard to a personal Deity manifesting Himself (if looked for aright) in the soul of each of His children, is, and ever has been, the special characteristic of Quakerism. Other Christian sects have embraced this precious truth, but probably none to an equal extent. And even if others have professed an equal esteem for it, they have not exemplified it so practically in their worship, as Friends have done in their inestimably valuable system of silent collective looking to the omnipresent Spirit of the Lord. Now, however deficient the Wilbur Friends

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may have been 121 in some other things, they have at any rate borne a noble and unflinching testimony to the world on this fundamental principle.

And, in fact, the Society has need of a Wilburite leaning in some respects, in order to counterbalance tendencies in another direction.

“What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder;” and we find that in every political and civil community there are two tendencies, one to conservatism, and another to progressive adaptation to the necessary requirements of ever-altering times and circumstances. These two are not meant to be separated. Great is the mischief when they are. It is one of the secrets of the prosperity of the British nation, that she has ever been blessed with a strongly developed balance of conservative men and conservative tendencies, that have been able to give sufficient, but not nullifying, resistance to the powerful demands of the inevitable changes of successive years. Thus has Britain become, under the Divine blessing—

“A land of settled government, A laud of just and old renown, Where freedom broadens slowly down From precedent to precedent.

“Where faction seldom gathers head, But by degrees to fulness wrought, The strength of some diffusive thought Hath time and space to work and spread.”

Conservatism and progress must ever combine by a system of good-tempered, mutual compromises, or, at least, by erecting new structures of change only as fast as the old ones can be conveniently dispensed 122 with, or are found to be no longer suitable, and then only in harmony of mutual relation.

Nature always introduces the daylight by the gradual development of the dawn. Similarly, we find, that the bounds of positive right and positive wrong are seldom or never marked with unmistakable clearness. There is a gradual sliding or shading off, which must be left to circumstances to determine the nature of, as to which frontier it is within. And however

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logicians and abstract moralists may argue otherwise, there does appear to be such a thing as a right expediency, a lawful neutral ground at the confines of right and wrong, but at the confines only. The necessary checks must be, the spirit of charity, the teachings of common sense, and, above all, the solemn spiritual intuitions in connexion with those laws of Holy Scripture which admit of no ordinary ambiguity of interpretation.

This principle and its limits are set forth in the Gospel in contradistinction to the rigidly legal precision of the Pharisees. "Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the showbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests? Or, have ye not read how that on the Sabbath days the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless?" Again,—“Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath day?” From these words of the Highest we may infer that in things which do not come under the head of fundamentals or essentials, 123 we must define the limits of our principles of action by the spirit of charity, rather than by that of a literal law.

And if this view had obtained greater acceptance amongst the Wilburite Friends, especially with reference to those minutæ of individual action which are peculiarly under the power of time and circumstance, the really valuable and much-needed qualities of some of that body would have possessed still a powerful influence in places where such influence is now either extinct or very weak.

The Wilburites do well to admire and imitate the main conduct of the Early Friends, but it by no means follows, that we should minutely copy those of their subordinate and merely personal characteristics, which were founded upon the features of the age in which they lived, rather than upon the basis of Christian principle. Our Founders had their faults and failings like ourselves. Some of their language, as that of George Fox to Justice Sawrey, or of Edward Burrough to Richard Baxter, was plain scurrility, or, at best, a sort of well-meant imprecation in solemn phraseology. And some of their acts were just those mistakes of

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human impulse for spiritual guidance which they were liable to, in common with ourselves; as, for instance, the denunciations of George Fox against the city of Lichfield, and the positively outrageous conduct of some, both men and women, but especially the latter, who assumed the name of Friends in early times, and whose proceedings, although in some cases recorded in Sewell amongst the “acta sanctorum” of the Society, would have been in this age handed over, even by Friends themselves, to the 124 attention of the police magistrate, or the examiner of lunatics. We may venerate the principles and examples of the Early Friends, without running to the confines of idolatry or canonization; and if we refuse to recognize as calendered saints such good men as Augustine and Chrysostom, we are similarly bound to refrain from virtually setting up a St. Fox or a St. Penn.

There is also something to be said as to the charges which the Wilburites so frequently bring forward respecting the tendencies of Joseph John Gurney's writings, and which are specifically enumerated in the pamphlet issued by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in 1847, under the title of “An Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends.” The same charges are also specified, and illustrated by quotation, in an Essay published in 1860, in Philadelphia, and entitled, “Decline of Friends in Great Britain.” The charges are thus embraced in a concluding summary:—“It is shown that the doctrines of Joseph John Gurney on the Scriptures, ‘the Trinity,’ ‘original sin,’ imputative righteousness, the body and blood of Christ, sanctification and justification, are different from those of the Early Friends, and in accordance with the Articles of the Church of England.”

It is a weak point of both of these pamphlets, that they take the Early Friends as their most prominent standard. The Early Friends themselves would have been indignant at the idea of making their early predecessors standards, rather than Christ Himself. They were the most original, innovating, and boldly alterative men of their age, and were the last to rest 125 their defence upon old ecclesiastical precedents. As to the particular question of Joseph John Gurney's soundness or unsoundness, it is of comparatively little consequence either way. If English or any other Friends made him their standard or

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representative, it would be very different; but they do no such thing. Much as we admire the life and example of that worthy Friend, we would indignantly reject the idea of making him, in any degree, our foundation. "None but Christ as a standard" is our motto.

But it is replied, that English Friends have virtually allied themselves with Joseph John Gurney's writings, inasmuch as they were approved by an official committee of ministers and elders, to whom his works were submitted for censorship and sanction. Now, those who reflect upon the nature of any such official censorship must see that, after all, it is merely an individual approval or disapproval, and not necessarily that of the main body of the Society. In fact, the plan of at all submitting any works to such a censorship is now nearly abandoned by Friends, as being on many accounts a custom "better honoured in the breach than in the observance." And whether the writings of Joseph John Gurney were approved or disapproved by those who officially examined them, does not at all alter the simple fact, that neither the author nor his writings are a standard for English Friends.

But it probably will be admitted by many, if not most of those who have read some of that writer's works, that, here and there, his expressions are more in accordance with other views than with those generally adopted by the Society; and, granting this, what 126 does it matter? Are we to expect perfection in any author? And why are J. J. Gurney's errors of any more consequence than those of any of the many subsequent writers in the Society who have since published similar or even more decided views? In fact, as to the real condition of English Friends, or as to any alteration of our standard, J. J. Gurney is no more to them than if he had belonged to any other religious community. It is very doubtful whether one English Friend in fifty has ever read a volume of his works, except one or two of his smallest ones.

So that the Wilburite Friends are partly right in their estimate of the tendency of his writings, but at the same time have enormously over-estimated the importance of such a tendency.

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Besides, we must in this case do what we do in nearly every common matter of life—strike the balance between the good and evil. By so doing, we shall see that for one influence of evil there are fifty good ones in the life and efforts of that Friend.

It is very well for our American brethren to theorize about perfection being an acknowledged doctrine of our Society. It is true that we acknowledge that perfection should be our standard; but it is equally indisputable that we never did, do, or shall, find perfection in any living man, whether a Friend, or of any other denomination whatsoever. If so, then why ever quibble because this or any other writer is not perfectly “sound?” Where do we expect to find perfect “soundness?” It would be the eighth wonder of the world, and far more marvellous than all the rest put together.

It is, therefore, much to be wished that the Wilburite 127 burite section of the Society could convince themselves that they attach vastly more importance to the writings of Joseph John Gurney than Evangelical Friends do; and it is, indeed, a pity that whether he was right or wrong should have influence, either way, in separating any one division of the Society from their brethren.

Another characteristic of the Wilbur body, is the frequency of their use of spiritual interpretations of portions of Scripture, having an obviously literal and outward signification. Now, although it is certainly meant for us to receive these outward significations as records of genuine historic facts; yet, if we confine ourselves to this view of them, we suffer serious loss. The examples of some of the inspired writers themselves warrant us in using the spiritual as well as literal application of Scripture; for both really exist. The good and eminent Fathers of the early Christian church, such as Chrysostom, Augustine, and especially Origen, were peculiarly characterized by their spiritualizations of the literal meaning. Origen certainly overdid it, but that is no argument against the right use of such a valuable liberty. Beyond their authority, is that of the solemnly approving witness of our own intuitions, when we recognize, by our spiritual instincts, the appropriateness and comfort of such a mode of reaching the soul, and of illustrating its immaterial realities

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by the truths and common symbols of outward visible objects. Of what use to us is it to read that our Lord, when incarnate, opened the eyes of the blind, unless we learn from it that Christ in us is now equally able and willing to cure our spiritual blindness? How do we relinquish the 128 chief value of the efficacy ascribed to the importunity of the historic Zaccheus and Syro-Phoenician woman, unless it teach us that Christ in our own day loves to listen to the tacit affection for Himself implied by our own wrestling and undiscouraged persistent prayers. Yes, the Wilburites are evidently right in their spiritualizations (if not carried too far), by the approval of the Evangelists and Apostles, and early Fathers, and not merely by the practice of the Founders of Quakerism, but by the consent of our own souls in our better moments.

In connexion with the subject of religious weight, which has been alluded to, may be mentioned a practice of very foremost importance,—the frequent habit, with the “old school” of Friends, of private retirement for prayer alone in silence before the Lord. This one thing is the secret of the excellence of the Early Friends, —THEIR FREQUENT, REVERENT, SILENT, PROSTRATIONS OF SOUL BEFORE THE Lord.

Vain, and worse than vain, will be any nineteenth century restorations of Quakerism, if we do not also cultivate and maintain a practical respect for this most inestimable habit. Frequent were the collective as well as private silences in prayer amongst some of those of a bygone generation; and it will be our especial interest to know that Evangelical Quakerism retains, with other things, a hearty genuine esteem for this precious privilege and duty.

Some weeks ago I heard a suggestive remark from a liberal Friend, “We have several who speak now as ministers in our meeting, and what they say is very good, but it is different from the old school of ministry amongst us. We had a visit the other day from a 129 Friend of the old class, and it was very acceptable.”

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The “old school” had its serious deficiencies, but it also had its valuable and intrinsic excellences, and it is for us to guard that, whilst we avoid the former, we also endeavour to retain the latter. And whatever may be said respecting some of the deficiencies of the Wilburite ministry, there is also a considerable and good degree with it of this ancient solemnity.

And even with reference to another feature of their arrangements,—that of giving insufficient encouragement to the early developments of religious life and effort in their younger members, may we, whilst guarding against this real evil, yet by no means ever attain to a condition of the Society, where the elder and most experienced members shall cease to be those whose opinions and authority shall have that superior degree of respect and attention to which they are entitled. For if the political experience of all nations shows the disastrous consequences of entrusting their administration to the chief direction of the impulsive feelings of early manhood, still more does the universal concurrence of the Christian church, in every age, enforce the essential need of a reverential esteem for those chiefly in whom, by the chastening instruction of the whole successive stages of human life, discretion has taken the place of impulse, humility that of confidence, and sympathetic liberality that of a contracted limitation. But age is not intrinsically venerable, for, unless thus qualified, its youthful errors will only have become intensified and settled by habit.

And here again we must remember that “what K 130 God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. Old and young should ever be associated, even in church-government and action; and although the former should have the chief authority and paramount respect, the younger voices should have consideration also, remembering that not the least amongst the patriarchs, prophets, kings, and apostles, were the more youthful and the earlier called—Joseph, Samuel, David, and John.

When we thus look at the brighter as well as shady side of the Wilburite Friends, we must acknowledge that we should do far better with them than without them, if they would

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only consent to differ in the non-essentials of the Society whilst agreeing heartily in the fundamentals.

And if our American brethren would relinquish their general plan in this and other cases, it would greatly aid matters. I mean the custom of requiring an acknowledgment of past error from those who are re-united to the communion of the Society. If a member simply wishes to continue with the Society, that shows his attachment, if his present and recent conduct be in accordance. Of course, there ought to be a direct recantation of former conduct, if any real breach of morality or fundamental doctrine be involved; but it is different in cases of mere opinion, or slight variations of discipline. In these it only adds irritation.

Therefore it is to be earnestly hoped that both Wilburite and Evangelical Friends in America will some day see the propriety of either gradually or more decidedly renewing that unity which has been too long divided, and of doing so on the principle of the 131 old motto, "Let bygones be bygones," and without demanding on either side, "Well, you must admit that you were wrong and we were right." No such thing; we are all liable to mistakes; no doubt we have all had a share in the causes of division, and, therefore, the sooner the better that we can say, "Let the past suffice."

If the Wilburite Friends will not unite with their Evangelical brethren on any terms, then the latter must try to profit by the example of the former, so far as it has the brighter traits, and then, at any rate, it may induce, at a later period, a union for which the present may not be quite prepared. But, for the sake of the influence of the grand fundamental truths of Quakerism, the sooner all can unite heartily and completely, it will be, emphatically, so much the better.

WEST-TOWN SCHOOL.

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West-Town School is the Ackworth of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; the chief boarding-school belonging to the Society in those parts, except the higher institution of Haverford College.

It contained, when I visited it, only 62 boys and 76 girls. This is a very small number of children, when we consider the large number of Friends in the State and its neighbouring districts. But it is also to be borne in mind, that comparatively a small proportion of Friends' children in America are ever sent to any boarding-school.

West-town is twenty-five miles from Philadelphia. K2 132 Our route to it was down the broad Market Street, and over the Schuylkill Bridge, to the terminus of the Westchester Railway. By this line we passed through a picturesque wooded country to within two miles of West-town. On the way, the house was pointed out to me in which Benjamin West, the eminent painter, was born. It is very near the railway—a small neat farm-house, with a high, curved roof. Near it is the manufacturing village of Glenriddle, with its amphitheatre of white cottages, built along the steep sides of a basin in a deep wooded valley. The country around is forested with hickory, tulip, chestnut, and ash trees, and has abundance of “pokeweed.”

West-town School is on its own freehold estate of six hundred acres. It was founded twenty years after the opening of Ackworth School. It consists of one large oblong building without wings. It is about two hundred feet long, one hundred and fifty broad, and sixty in height, and is of four stories besides the basement. The rooms are generally low, and not large enough for the purpose, The boys' bedrooms, in particular, are very low. They occupy the whole of the topmost part of the building, and open into one another by wide arches. On the summit of the building is a gallery, from which is a not very extensive view over the wooded undulations around.

The boys and girls are entirely separated, both during their studies and at other times, and do not take their meals in the same room. The boys are taught Latin and Greek, but

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no modern languages. The girls are not taught either of these languages. A good plain education is what is aimed at.

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The Institution is chiefly under the control of Wilburite Friends, and this tinges the style and spirit of its arrangements. For instance, in the school library I observed that some of the modern biographies of Friends were, as a class, excluded. It contained the lives of Cardinal Amboise and Dr. Arnold, but not of William Allen, though there was a biography of one Ethan Allen. There was the life of Caroline, but not of Elizabeth Fry; of De Guzman, but not of Joseph John Gurney; and I found that it also included the lives of Caxton, Channing, Ximenes and Zwingle, but did not see that of Stephen Grellet.

Amongst the arrangements for the comfort and health of the pupils were some new bath-rooms, twenty of which are for the boys, and each contains a hot and shower bath. The girls have fourteen similar ones. There are nurseries conveniently separated from the other parts of the institution. These were the gift of a private individual.

The house is surrounded by lawns thickly planted with trees, forming a fine park. The trees almost bury the building from view all around, except just in front, where there is a splendid avenue, forming a broad opening with lofty trees on each side, affording a pretty vista down a sloping undulation of meadow.

Amongst the trees were some handsome magnolias with aromatic pink cones; also, the deciduous cypress tree, so abundant by the Lower Mississippi. It has very light foliage and resembles a larch.

Close behind the school are the farm buildings and a large washhouse, where the laundry operations of the institution are carried on, by some coloured people, under the superintendence of an aged woman 134 Friend. The linen is shut up inside a large hollow box-wheel, which is made to revolve by connexion with a steam-engine. When washed it is put, whilst wet, into a flattened globe of wire-work which is whirled rapidly around, also by

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connexion with the engine. The violence of the centrifugal force drives the water out of the linen, and thus rinses it more rapidly and thoroughly than could be done by hand.

In the school there is a good museum, containing a large collection of stuffed birds, which are not arranged in separate cases, but merely in one or two large inclosures of glass. They are perched about on shrubs and branches of trees, all of which have green artificial leaves. This has a neat and interesting appearance.

Each pupil at West-town is charged 90 dollars (£18) per annum, for board and education. A monthly statement of the studies and conduct of each is sent to the parents. Their progress in each study is characterized in these reports as being in one of four descriptions of lessons,—very good, good, indifferent, missed. Reading lessons are specified as having been either “very well read, well, indifferently, or badly.” Writing, as being “very carefully written, carefully, indifferently, carelessly.” Conduct is classified under six qualities—“very satisfactory, satisfactory, generally satisfactory, not quite satisfactory, rather unsatisfactory, unsatisfactory.”

About three quarters of a mile from the school is a pond, in the woods on the estate, where the boys often go to bathe and learn to swim. A pleasant walk leads thither, through meadows and groves, and across a mill-stream which winds through the school property. 135 In the woods around this pond there are many interesting plants and flowers, and some fine pieces of fern, especially a *Trichomanes*, closely resembling the “true maiden-hair” of Britain. Amongst other plants we found one popularly termed “Indian turnip.” It has a leafless stem (in autumn) about ten inches high, capped with a spike of juicy crimson berries. Its root, which is like a large white globular radish, is, perhaps, the most acrid thing in the vegetable creation. My companion once took a mouthful of it inadvertently, and had subsequently to hold his tongue in running water for the greater part of the day. The taste is acutely biting, and remains for hours or even days in the mouth. We tasted it very slightly and cautiously, and even then could not get rid of it for a considerable time. In the woods, we also found many richly coloured autumnal fungi, and numerous purplish red

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flowers of the tall “iron weed.” This is a syngenesious plant, somewhat resembling a dark Michaelmas daisy, and is one of the most widely characteristic flowers of North America. Amongst the birds flying around was the American “robin.” It is considerably larger than the English redbreast, and its colour is much brighter.

It is not the plan at West-town, or, I believe, at the other American educational institutions of our Society, to have, as in English Friends' schools, an annual general meeting, where not only the parents of the children, but also any Friends from far or near, who are inclined, may come and witness a public examination of the pupils, and receive and express a personal interest in the prosperity of the institution. The general meetings of the public schools of the Society 136 in England, especially those of Ackworth School, are of great importance in various ways. Hundreds of Friends from various parts of the nation gather thither. The interest of the elder and younger members is aroused or sustained, and the social pleasures and indirect religious and moral effects of the re-unions which then take place are often of as much value to the attenders as to the pupils and officers of the institution. But American Friends are generally so closely engaged with their business transactions that it would be probably considered too much of a holiday thus to meet, or at any rate for more than a few hours. Those in England sometimes last three days, and the time is by no means misapplied.

In America, there is a nationally characteristic whirl, and unremitting absorption of time and energy in business, to which, happily, the British and other continental nations (unless the Dutch may be exceptions) have not yet attained. An Englishman likes occasional relaxation. An American seldom indulges in such a lawful and healthful custom, and this is partly the reason why the lives of our transatlantic brethren are generally shorter, and their aspects more careworn, than those of most Englishmen.

THE HICKSITES.

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It is very painful to trace the entrance of strife and disunion into any religious community, but especially into one which had been so long and so cordially united as the Society of Friends. But now that more 137 than thirty years have elapsed since the final division of the Society in America, we can see that, painful as was this separation, it has resulted in mutual benefit to each of the two sections. For the Orthodox Friends have been, or at least a large proportion of them, in a healthier condition and more scriptural clearness of doctrine ever since; and although in some parts of the Eastern States they have not been harmonious in communion, yet the gain to the western Friends has been of great importance, for they were stirred up to a vigilant attention to the need of scriptural education, and of a practical Christianity, in a degree to which they had been previously more indifferent. And English Friends have derived similar indirect benefits from the Hicksite controversies, although happily it has not, in their case, been at the expense of a schism in the Society.

The Hicksites themselves are gainers, for although their doctrines remain pretty much the same, yet they have continued to the present day in great harmony amongst themselves; and error, with good nature, is far better than the same error with strife in addition. Mutual love and good-will are more essential portions of Christianity than even orthodox and merely literally scriptural doctrines, without such love. Says the poet—

“The heart may be right, though the creed may be wrong.”

The Hicksite schism may be compared to the bursting in of a cold and violent tempest upon a previously calm but stagnant and unhealthy atmosphere. The Society of Friends in America had previously been in a condition of general pecuniary 138 prosperity, arising from the effects of the Revolution of 1776; and, although undisturbed by mutual dissensions, yet error, formality, and worldly ease were silently altering their Quakerism into a merely fossilized imitation of that of earlier days.

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The conduct which was manifest during the schism, on both sides, showed that the Society in America was deeply diseased, and that it resembled some placid lake, in which deposits of mud and decayed vegetation have accumulated to such an extent, that the first strong agitation of its waters produces a condition altogether turbid and unsightly.

The chief means of thus arousing the American Friends to a compulsory experience of their condition was Elias Hicks, a Friend, born at Hampstead, on Long Island, in 1748. He never received much education, but had great natural shrewdness and ability. He became convinced of the importance of religion whilst quite a youth, and was officially acknowledged by the Society as a minister at the age of twenty-seven. He appears to have always been sincerely conscientious, and he practised the duty of self-denial, which he so frequently preached to others. But it is evident that his views of Christian truth were of a very imperfect character; for they were especially distinguished by a high estimate of the importance of a rigid peculiarity of dress, and by a zeal in which fervour often supplanted charity, as well as by a dim appreciation of the scriptural declarations respecting the incarnation of our Saviour and of His sacrifice on Calvary. He mentions, in his published sermons, that one of the first things which he felt his conscience to be requiring of him was, the relinquishment of such minute superfluities of dress as unnecessary buttons on his coat; and a strict precision in dress was one of the standing topics of his preaching. It is recorded of him, that during one of his visits to New York meeting he found, on entering the ministers' gallery, that a cushion had just been laid down on the entire length of the seat, as an improvement on the previously bare hard wood. He looked at it with surprise, and sat down. Presently he rose and turned over the end of it nearest to him, and reseated himself on the bare bench. In the meeting for discipline, which followed the one for worship, he administered a rebuke on the subject of luxurious effeminacy, and on spending money in self-indulgence, instead of appropriating it to a better purpose.

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On another occasion, in his early life, during the Revolution, some soldiers near his house broke down a fence and opened a shorter way to a neighbouring town. But Elias would not avail himself of the convenience, lest he should be deriving even the slightest benefit from the war; for his abhorrence of all military tendencies was thorough and sincere. So deep also were his objections to the payment of ministers in any way for preaching the Gospel, that when he was himself travelling on ministerial visits to his Friends in other States, he would not accept the customary defrayment of the necessary expenses, but paid them out of his own pocket.

However mistaken he may have been, it is evident that he was both sincere and consistent, and it is admitted by his opponents that his moral conduct was marked by integrity. He was very cautious, and not always so candid, in expressing his real opinions, as might have been expected. Probably, his peculiar views were gradually developed by the persevering study of certain theological works, as well as by the original tendency of his mind; but, at any rate, he was very careful to introduce them publicly only by little and little.

Suspicion respecting his orthodoxy was first aroused about the year 1810, in consequence of the boldly distinct manner in which he preached the non-necessity of our Saviour's sufferings as an atonement for mankind. The novelty of his doctrines and his personal qualities drew general attention to his sermons, and large audiences gathered to bear him where he was likely to preach. He followed up his attacks on the atonement by similar disparagements of Bible Societies, and of educational and philanthropic movements in general; and is said to have expressed his opinion that the value of all the labours of Sir Isaac Newton was less than that of the services of a milkmaid on a farm, and that the chief result of science was infidelity. In 1817 he began to preach against over-estimating the Bible, comparing this to the idolatrous veneration of the brazen serpent by the Israelites, and recommending, instead, an increased perusal of the biographies of George Fox, and the Early Friends. He taught that each man has within him a superior and clearer Divine

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Revelation than any outward one; but he and his followers have, in this respect, widely differed from the Founders of Quakerism, who asserted the duty of subordinating human reason to the impulses of the Holy Spirit; whereas, the Hicksite doctrine places reason as the 141 standard and controller of spiritual direction, so as to be undistinguishable from the Spirit itself.

The agitation which Elias Hicks' preaching aroused became increasingly general through New York and Pennsylvania, but it took many years to come to a crisis, and its originator was amongst the less active and most cool of all those who were immediately concerned in the actual separation. He retained his physical vigour to the end of a long life, and is said to have been so agile in extreme age, that on one occasion, when returning at evening after a hard day's work on his farm, he leaped over a ditch which very few young men could cross. Although severe in his criticisms on what he did not approve of, he was more particular with himself than with others. Thus, although a stanch foe to tobacco, he regularly kept it in his house for the use of visitors. He continued hale and consistent to the last. When upwards of eighty years of age he travelled extensively on ministerial visits, and whilst at home was still a very early riser. He was seen returning from his field on a load of hay before five o'clock in the morning, and this when fourscore;

His death was almost a sudden one; whilst writing a letter he was seized with paralysis, and presently became speechless. He was lifted into a bed by his attendants, one of whom brought a warm stuffed cotton coverlet to place upon him, as the weather was cold; but, dying as he was, he motioned to them by signs his disapprobation, on account of the cotton being the produce of slave labour. Afterwards, being asked if all was well with him, he nodded assent, and presently breathed his last. We cannot but admire, 142 notwithstanding his great errors, the continued consistency and self-denial of such a man.

The first open rupture between the Hicksite and Orthodox Friends took place in Philadelphia in 1827. As far back as 1822, Elias Hicks had paid a ministerial visit to Green Street monthly meeting, which then formed a constituent part of Philadelphia quarterly

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meeting. He was favourably received by those to whom his visit extended, but some Friends in the other meetings of that city were not satisfied with his doctrines, which had been previously preached at New York and Long Island, and, on his arrival in Philadelphia, ten of the elders of that city signed a protest against him. But the monthly meeting of Green Street were satisfied with his ministry, and gave him their official approval. One of their own elders, who then assented to this certificate, on a subsequent occasion united with some members of the other meetings of the city in issuing a protest against Elias Hicks. For this inconsistent conduct he was discontinued by his monthly meeting from his position of elder. This was a perfectly constitutional act, and no other body had a right to interfere in the matter.

Each local or monthly meeting in the Society of Friends forms an independent body, so far as the appointment and continuance of its own ministers and elders are concerned. This is a fundamental principle of the Society's discipline, both in Britain and America. But, especially in Philadelphia, there had grown, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, an increasing disposition on the part of the elders to consider themselves as a virtually irresponsible body, and as possessing executive disciplinary powers, separate from or co-ordinate with the authority of the main body of members in the meetings by which they were appointed. This also was, and is, an unconstitutional principle in the Society, which has always clearly laid down the rule, that there is to be no disciplinary authority, in either ministers or elders, separate from their individual capacity as a portion of the main body of the Society.

This principle was intrenched upon with especial impropriety in the case of the elders; for, from the commencement of the Society, it had been customary for the ministers to hold periodical select meetings of their own body for mutual edification and for consultation respecting their religious duties only. One of the earliest ministerial meetings of the kind, mentioned in the Society's records as held at Philadelphia, was in the year 1701. It was continued every three months. In 1706, it was proposed that it would be for the better edification and satisfaction of such meetings, if the elders also were invited to sit with

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the ministers, and form a regular part of their gatherings. This suggestion was proposed to the yearly meeting that year, but was not acceded to. It was again proposed in 1709, and again rejected. In 1712, another attempt was similarly unsuccessful; but in 1714, the yearly meeting gave its sanction to the plan, and, from that period, these periodical select meetings of ministers and elders continued to be held, but only for mutual conference and benefit in connexion with their religious duties.

The appointment of ministers in the Society of Friends has always been by the general voice and selection of 144 the members, and with reference only to the religious and ministerial qualifications of those thus recognized. But in the selection of elders there is far less evidence of their religious qualifications or defects; and it has too frequently happened that undue importance in selection has been given to general acuteness of perception, outward appearance of orthodoxy in dress and minute peculiarities, and even to pecuniary success. From these and other causes, the American elders gradually assumed a sort of tacit priority over the ministers who had at first invited them to unite with themselves in their assemblies; and this assumption became more and more manifest, to the detriment both of the ministry in particular, and of the Society in general. Although the Hicksite schism gave this system a violent shake, it has not quite disappeared in that country even yet.

In the case of the inconsistent and dissentient elder at Green Street, he was not immediately discontinued by the monthly meeting from his eldership, but was, in the first place, merely brought under the consideration of that body, with a view to their admonition. On being visited officially by the overseers of the meeting, he refused to recognize their right to do this, and appealed to the quarterly assembly of ministers and elders, who chiefly belonged to the other meetings distinct from the Green Street body, and who had, in no case, any right of executive or interference with either that or any other of the monthly meetings of the city.

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When Green Street Friends found that their elder had thus unconstitutionally appealed to a body who had no voice at all in the matter, then (and not till 145 then) they exercised their right of discontinuing him from his eldership in their monthly meeting. Here, constitutionally, was an end to the matter. But this displeased the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, who declared that Green Street Friends had, "in a summary way, taken the business out of their hands." Why, it had never been in their hands, and they were not competent constitutionally to have received it under any circumstances. However, they assumed differently; and, accordingly, laid a complaint against Green Street before the general assembly, or quarterly meeting, of all the particular ones in the city. If the quarterly meeting had not been under the undue influence of a small but powerful party of its attenders, it would not have entertained such a charge. But it did entertain it; but, owing to the large majority of its members being favourable to Green Street, it could come to no unanimous decision, but deferred the matter from quarter to quarter, and from year to year.

In 1826, the Philadelphia quarterly meeting appointed (but with much dissent) a committee to visit its particular constituent monthly meetings. No specific object of this committee was named, but it was understood to be for giving general good counsel, and otherwise aiding the various members. This committee was appointed under circumstances of partiality and party-pressure, and was almost exclusively composed of Friends whose views towards the sympathizers with Elias Hicks were unfavourable. It not only performed its appointment of visiting the monthly meetings, but assumed the strange course of recommending that Green Street monthly meeting L 146 should be dissolved as such, and united as a subordinate body to the more orthodox "Northern District" monthly meeting in the city.

Now, each local meeting is independent of its quarterly meeting, except in cases of doctrine, and by mutual consent, for general connexions of assistance and religious advantage. Green Street now determined to exercise its own individual right of allying itself with what quarterly meeting it chose, and therefore transferred itself to that of Abington,

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a district near Philadelphia, with the full consent of the latter body. Subsequently to this transfer of itself, the Philadelphia quarterly meeting assented to the recommendation of its previously appointed committee, and transferred Green Street to the Northern monthly meeting, as a subordinate constituent of the latter.

Meanwhile Abington quarterly meeting had welcomed and retained Green Street as one of its own constituents. Here was a dead-lock in the discipline of two of the larger bodies of Pennsylvania,—the quarterly meetings of Philadelphia and Abington. Of course, this state of things claimed the immediate attention of the approaching yearly meeting in 1827. That large assembly, at its commencement, was divided on the question of the appointment of its clerk. The Orthodox section had nominated the clerk of the preceding years; but he was no longer acceptable to the majority of the meeting. Two-thirds were for a change, and one-third for continuing the old one. Seeing that they could not agree, the Orthodox clerk declared himself the officially appointed one. Under the circumstances, it was proposed that the meeting should adjourn indefinitely; but the 147 Orthodox would not agree to this, and proceeded to carry on the regular business of the yearly meeting themselves.

The large majority were of Hicksite sympathies, but desired to be peaceable and patient. They therefore determined to sit as silent spectators, and watch what the Orthodox would really do in their assumed capacity of the yearly meeting, and especially in the disputed case of Green Street monthly meeting. The conclusion come to by the minority was, to hand back this dispute to the management of the same quarterly meeting which had already treated it so unconstitutionally, and from which it had, by its own free act, removed itself to a more congenial body.

On hearing this, the Hicksites saw there was no more to hope for, as to any favourable alteration of the Orthodox policy. They therefore adjourned to a large conference of their own sympathizers, to decide as to their future action. The result of their decision was to withdraw from a body where a minority of less than one-third assumed the preponderance and attempted to sway the whole.

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From that time, the Hicksites have held annually their separate yearly meetings in Philadelphia, but retain the name of "Friends" and are, indeed, as to numbers, the legitimate representatives of the Society in that State; but their doctrines are still extreme.

The Hicksite agitation had commenced in New York long before it reached Philadelphia, but it came to a crisis in the latter city sooner than in the former. There was, however, this difference between the two:—in Philadelphia the Hicksites appear to have been the aggrieved party, as to discourtesy and unconstitutional L 2 148 proceedings; but in New York it seems to have been otherwise, and there the Orthodox, although, as in the former case, in a minority, were treated harshly and overborne by their opponents. They had been justify dissatisfied for years with Elias Hicks' boldly unscriptural doctrines. But there is also reason to believe that in one thing he had the advantage—in his clear, consistent, and sternly anti-slavery views. He was severe on all those whom he judged to be either directly or indirectly upholding slavery, or abstaining from opposition to it; and the American Friends were then less generally decided in favour of entire emancipation than they are now. It is probable that there was opposition manifested against Elias Hicks by individual Friends whose inclinations were in favour of slavery, or, at least, whose arguments were decidedly tinctured by commercial or other interests. One of this class in New York is reported to have gone to another Friend, who kept a free-produce store in that city, and to have protested by saying, "So, Charles, thee persists in selling goods not produced by slaves. What! does thee want to take away all the custom from the Southern people, and starve the poor slaves to death?" This is a fair specimen of the sort of logic which is constantly heard in America from those who are favourable to slavery.

Various circumstances combined to make the difficulties of the New York Friends more complex. Amongst others, a party of Ranters took up Elias Hicks' views at Salem, New Bedford, and other places in Massachusetts. One of their leaders was Micah Ruggles, another was James Scott, the son of 149 an eminent Quaker minister named Job Scott. These and their adherents were styled "New Lights," because they taught that every one

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has a light within him which is his only and all-sufficient guide; that church discipline is an infringement upon personal liberty; and that marriage is an unnecessary form. One of their number set forth their views in a work entitled "The Magnet." This was said to have had Elias Hicks' approbation, and the Orthodox Friends attributed the whole disturbance mainly to his opinions. The "New Lights" carried their eccentricities so far as to come to meeting with swords, for which they professed a spiritual command. Their proceedings were now intolerable, and Friends had to resort to legal means of stopping their conduct. Magistrates and constables soon accomplished for these extravagant persons what the milder protests of Friends had been unable to effect.

Another embarrassment was created about this time by a posthumous publication by Job Scott, who had been regarded as a great authority by all classes of Friends. It was found to contain sentiments decidedly Hicksite.

Several English ministers also came over to America during these conflicts, and it seems more than doubtful whether they did not rather add to the difficulties than lessen them. They were all very excellent Friends themselves, but it so happened that nearly all, except William Forster of Norwich, who pursued a conciliatory policy towards each division, had a full ordinary share of human frailty, and joined in various degrees with those actuated by party-spirit. Amongst these was the worthy Thomas Shillitoe. Several 150 Friends in America spoke to me of his good life and intentions, and great constitutional irritability. An Orthodox Friend mentioned to me his having been present at an agitated meeting during the Hicksite controversy, when Thomas Shillitoe, who was morbidly nervous, became alarmed at the fear of an accident from a noise in a gallery above, or from some other fearful feeling, and rushed out of the meeting by a side-door, but, just in the act of leaving, called back to the Orthodox who remained, "Stand firm, Friends, stand firm." It is probable that some of these worthy English Friends took a distorted view of things, from confining themselves too exclusively to association with those only whose opinions were accordant with their own previous views, and tinged, in addition, with much personal and party feeling. I was informed that through some of these visitors a more rigid policy was in some

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instances adopted against the Hicksites, in the way of disowning more freely than would otherwise have been the case.

A circumstance which tended to bring matters in New York to a crisis, occurred in 1826. This was the prospect of a marriage between the daughter of a prominent Orthodox minister of that city to a young man who was a member of the Hicksite meeting at Green Street, Philadelphia. Although the latter meeting did not formally separate until 1827, yet matters were so nearly decided in 1826, that the Orthodox Friends in New York endeavoured to oppose the reception, by their own meeting, of the intended bridegroom as a real member of the Society. They were, however, overruled by the large majority of Hicksites in their city, and the wedding took place accordingly. But a sharp dispute of two hours' duration preceded the consent of the meeting.

The New York Yearly Meeting of 1827 was a very disorderly occasion. The proceedings were commenced by the Hicksites, who made a violent personal attack on the honour of the clerk and assistant-clerk. Friends were rising and speaking in great disorder, some calling to others to sit down, and others forcing their opinions. One said to a minister, "Come, Henry, thee has spoken seventeen times already." "I will speak as often as I please," was the rejoinder. The Hicksites were especially violent and personal in their attacks on this occasion. A tempest of thunder, lightning and rain, without, added to the excitement going on within the walls of the meeting. At the end of the day, a valuable elderly Friend remarked,—“The scene has been awful—it has been dreadful; if this is to be the result of our deliberations, we had better never meet again. Such language—such exhibitions of feeling as have been witnessed this afternoon—can compare with nothing but the awful conflict of the elements with which they were attended.” The whole of the yearly meeting was similarly distinguished, but no secession took place.

Next year things were worse still; for, at the yearly meeting of 1828, speakers were pulled by their coats and forcibly held down in their seats; and, on some occasions, when Orthodox ministers were preaching, a number of Hicksites would rise and leave the

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meetings with much noise and disturbance. The Hicksites had, at various times, used physical force and personal violence, and the Orthodox could no longer endure it. Accordingly, in 1828, they withdrew from the large majority with whom they had previously been associated, and thus effected the second and finally decisive separation of the Society of Friends in America into the Orthodox and Hicksite bodies.

Various disputes arose, both in New York and Pennsylvania, about the property previously belonging to the united body. In most cases it was adjudged by the courts of law that the Hicksite doctrines were more in accordance with those of the Early Friends than those of the Orthodox. But a similar preponderance of public opinion was expressed as to the greater accordance of the latter with the plain sense of the Holy Scriptures, and with the ordinary acceptance of pure and sound Christianity.

Since the secession the Hicksites have continued or reorganized their body into six provinces, or yearly meetings, respectively, those of Philadelphia, New York, Genessee (held in alternate years at Farmington, New York, and Pickering, in Upper Canada), Ohio (held alternately at Salem and Mount Pleasant), Indiana (at Waynesville and Richmond), and Baltimore. The first three are held in the spring the others in the autumn. The Hicksite quarterly meeting of Philadelphia includes fourteen constituent meetings in that city and its vicinity. The number of meetings in the Orthodox quarterly meeting of Philadelphia is twelve.

At Race Street has recently been erected by the Hicksites a spacious and very neat meeting-house, at an expense altogether of 100,000 dollars (£20,000). A considerable portion of this sum was contributed by 153 their younger members. On the premises is a large day school for the education of their children. Four hundred and fifty scholars receive an excellent education there, and it has a high reputation even amongst the Orthodox Friends. One of the Professors at Haverford College informed me that those of their students who came from the large Hicksite school were peculiarly well prepared for prosecuting higher studies. The scholars all attend the meeting held at Race Street in the

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middle of each week. On first days they attend separately, as members of their respective families. In connexion with this meeting is a large and well-selected lending library of general literature for the use of the attenders.

Generally in the United States, at any rate in the cities, the Hicksites appear to have larger and better meeting-houses than the Orthodox. They have not paid so much attention, except at Philadelphia, to the establishment of schools or institutions like Earlham and Haverford. But they have some boarding-schools, as those of Sharon and London Grove, Pa., and Eldridge's Hill and Chesterfield, New Jersey. They have in Philadelphia a weekly periodical called the "Friends' Intelligencer."

There is an interesting account in one of its recent numbers of the Hicksite yearly meeting at Philadelphia in 1860, which, in some respects, compares favourably with the Orthodox one.

"The attendance was remarkably large, and, throughout the sittings, the meeting was marked by a prevalence of love and condescension. During the week there were exhortations addressed to the different classes of Society, especially to the young, counselling 154 them to watchfulness and diligent attention to the several testimonies introduced by the queries. To the maintenance of religious meetings they were affectionately invited; at the same time they were admonished that worship was not confined to these, but consists in every act of obedience to the Inward Voice. Temperance in entertainments, moderation in dress, and other expenditures, was urged upon them, and the deep responsibilities which their privileges involve, presented to their notice in a forcible manner.

"The interest in education appears to increase, and an inquiry into the exact state of schools in each constituent meeting enjoined to be made the ensuing year, in order that neighbourhood schools may be such as were designed by Friends, when, in the early settlement of this country, they placed a schoolhouse wherever they built a meeting-

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house. Believing that the most lasting impressions are made in childhood, they were advised to give particular attention to the education of their *little* children, and not to consider their culture in later years as of more importance than their early instruction.

“The answers to the sixth query give evidence that an increasing number of the members consider the produce of slave labour as fraudulently obtained; the Society, however, was reminded that this acknowledgment will avail nothing, if Friends remain content with the mere recognition of shortcoming in this respect. The inestimable importance of discouraging the spirit of war, in the maintenance of the testimony against slavery, was strongly advocated, and it was urged that, in the present condition of the country, it 155 is peculiarly essential to remain steadfast to the principle of peace.”

Reference was made to the purifying power of affliction, and the simile was introduced that different ores require different degrees of heat to purify them from dross. “The Lord loveth whom He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.”

The Hicksites pay great attention to the duties of morality, and their ministry is largely composed of exhortations to the practice of these duties; but there is a general omission of the subjects of the sufferings of Christ for men, and of the thorough depravity of the human heart, and the personality of Satan. It is rather by its omissions of some essential truths, than by its positive statements, that Hicksite doctrine is unsound; although there are some directly erroneous assertions respecting the Scriptures and the Atonement. The Hicksites now profess that they are not different in their sentiments from the Early Friends, and that they are also substantially in union with the views of the Orthodox Friends of the present day.

Their discipline is less strict than that of the other American Friends, and they often bear long with offenders, carrying forbearance even to an extreme. They have been quite an example to some of their Orthodox brethren in their mutual courtesy and the harmony of their meetings. At the same time, this has probably been partly owing to being too lax in

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discipline. Their elder members are extremely particular in retaining the “peculiar” dress, but are not censorious on others who differ from them on these and similar matters. Most of their younger 156 members have wholly relinquished the peculiarities of dress and speech.

Although the principle of inward guidance by a Divine Spirit is a most precious and indispensable one, yet it is essential that it be held in connexion with the authority of Holy Scripture, and especially with the revelation of Christ's deity, humanity, and mediation. In proportion to the excellence of a thing rightly used, is the mischief of its abuse. And so this holy and invaluable doctrine of the Inner Light of Divine counsel is one of the deadliest errors that can be conceived when separated from its right concomitants, as it is by the Hicksite doctrine. It is easy to understand that if any man chooses to set up the inward voices in his own heart as being infallible, and not dependent upon the checks and tests of Holy Scripture, then there is no protection against the inroads of fanaticism and infidelity. I was credibly informed in America, that some of the worst atheism in that country has emanated from, and had for its boldest advocates, persons who once were Friends, or held their views.

Hicksism, as seen in many or most of its professors, is in itself very distinct from infidelity, and possesses much that is both Christian and Friendly; but one of its special dangers lies in having broken down the walls of Bible authority and evangelical doctrine, which can alone place an effective barrier and clear distinction between spiritual liberty and sceptical license.

The influence of Socinian and Universalist tendencies is the very bane of several religious denominations in America, especially in New England.

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They have tinged large portions of religious communities in that country, whose recognized doctrines. are evangelical, and especially the Congregationalists. There is,

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perhaps, reason to fear that even some of the Orthodox Friends in the Eastern States, or at least in New England, have been a little tintured with Socinian ideas. The three large denominations of Methodists, Baptists, and Episcopalians bear an emphatic testimony to the scriptural authority and evangelical nature of Christianity. In this the Methodists are especially faithful. They are the largest and most active religious denomination in the United States.

The chief seat of Socinian influence is at Boston and its vicinity. The Harvard University at Cambridge, about three miles from Boston, is wholly under this influence. That institution is a favourite one with young Friends (Orthodox as well as Hicksite) who wish a more extended course, and under presumed greater intellectual advantages than they can obtain in their own Society, especially because the faculty of Harvard includes some of the foremost names in American science and literature, as Agassiz, and the poet Longfellow.

The effects of Socinian tendencies, especially as witnessed in New England, appear to be a high degree of intellectual and aesthetic refinement, much liberality of judgment, practical moral worth, and a strong reliance on the capacity and dignity of human nature. But, with all this, there is a general accompaniment of spiritual coldness, and a striking absence of emotional fervour, as well as of a sense of contrition before God. A very intelligent and agreeable person, 158 a graduate of Harvard, acknowledged to me this tendency of Unitarianism to produce coldness and absence of fervour, though himself an attached adherent to that religious system. In the contemplation of Socinian effects, whether in Hicksism or in Unitarianism, we are again reminded of the vast importance of that precept—"What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." Truths designed to be of the highest value, when held in union with those to which they are originally joined, become doubly mischievous when disassociated. The spirit and the letter; the Bible and the Inward Guidance; faith and effort; must ever be thus connected, and cannot with impunity be separated.

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On the one hand, how often do we see persons who profess a most scriptural creed, and a faith in salvation by Christ alone, yet giving scarcely any practical evidence that they are at all of more religious or moral lives, than some of the avowedly indifferent and profligate. The reason is, because they have not completed their Christianity by a practical, prayerful recognition and reception of the Holy Spirit, who alone is able to open the Scriptures to our understandings, and to give us a heartfelt sense of our sin, and a fervid love for Christ and ability to obey Him.

On the other hand, we may also see Christians who profess an emphatic recognition of the need of the Holy Spirit's help in all things, and who make strenuous efforts to follow His guidance, yet display glaring imperfections for want of completing their spiritual resources by receiving the authoritative standard of the ordinary interpretation of the plain scope of the Bible, and thus fail to perceive the Deity of Christ whilst in human form; for it was this His Deity which imparts such mighty authority of example to even the most ordinary acts and words of Jesus, and such infinitely attractive depth of love and self-denial to the manifestation of His sympathy with men, by coming down for awhile into their own condition and sufferings, but without yielding to the sins of human nature, whilst undergoing all its trials. If Christ in the flesh was not also God thus manifest, what is He to us more than an ordinary good man; or how can He appeal mightily to men's affections and emotions of sympathy?

And another consequence of not recognizing the Deity of Jesus is, that we have otherwise no proof that humanity has ever been, or can be, admitted into the presence of the perfect, immaculate holiness of the Almighty God. But if Jesus was perfect God, as well as perfect manhood, then we have proof of the real reception of humanity into the Divine immediate presence—we behold a real and accomplished mediation. A perfection and complete holiness is required of us, but it can only be a perfect repentance, a holiness of heartfelt wish and yearning for God instead of for sin;—this repentance being expressed and

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renewed, Christ will supplement us with the actual perfection of His Being, to satisfy wholly our past deficiencies, and, by degrees, “our future ones also.

FRIENDLY PHRASEOLOGY IN AMERICA.

The American Friends, in the use of the peculiar speech of the Society, seldom adopt the pronoun “thou,” but, almost universally, “thee.” But more than a few of them, especially in the Eastern States, have assumed the usual mode of ordinary address, that of the pronoun “you,” and are similarly non-peculiar in using the current names of the days of the week and months of the year. This departure from long-existing uniformity in minutes has (as in the similar case of dress) been a frequent occasion of unpleasantness in the Society in America, as in England to a less degree, through the expression of socially criticising disparagements, or of official ecclesiastical action.

There is much to admire in the simplicity and pleasant old associations of the long-standing Quaker mode of speech; and it is to be wished that it may continue to be retained by Friends amongst themselves, or at least by those who prefer it. It originated partly in the feeling that a church should form a sort of family union, something closer than the connexion between fellow-members and others not similarly associated with them. This it is desirable to continue. There is a pleasantness in it, as in the French *tu, te, toi*, of brothers and sisters, parents and children. But this friendly association is lost, or much weakened, if applied indiscriminately to those who are wholly strangers, and unconnected by denominational relationship.

Universal charity and Christian philanthropy are not lessened, but increased, by a close denominational attachment. Sectarianism is not a bad thing, if it does not involve interference with, or judgment of, others. The more sects in the Christian church the better, provided their chief effect is to produce closer and closer associations of religious party. There is a good and desirable party-spirit and clanship, which, whilst it intensifies the union of some in particular, does not hinder, but rather promotes, the good of others in

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general. The more a man is attached to his own kindred, the better citizen he is to those not thus related to him.

Similarly the use of a more familiar phraseology by the members of the Society of Friends amongst themselves will be more binding inasmuch as it is not extended to others less associated with it.

Therefore we may well wish that the “thee and thou” of Quakerism may not (as some predict) die out. But this should not be regarded as an essential—as a matter for criticism—but one of entire personal liberty and choice. Some Friends have believed it to be a clear duty for them; but others have been as clearly liberated from such claims. Every man is, in these matters, responsible to God alone.

As to the *truthfulness* of “thou” or “you,” respectively, they are both alike, to all intents and purposes, now-a-days. It may be, that in some distant antiquity most persons used the singular pronouns, as, for instance, the Greeks and Romans; and that eventually this address did actually become changed to a plural form through circumstances of flattery, first applied to monarchs only. But what is this to us of to-day? “You” is now by universal acceptation quite as singular as “thou.”

And as to antiquity, why if we are to disclaim the use of every word, phrase, or allusion, which was formerly introduced or modified, on grounds not wholly defensible, we shall, indeed, have an arduous task of examination, and a still more arduous task of practical peculiarity, in maintaining the disuse of all such expressions when proved to be of doubtful derivation. To be perfectly consistent, we should have to carry about a huge derivative dictionary under one arm, and a similarly compendious archaeological cyclopaedia under the other, and give a world of time and pains to the study of both.

If such dubiously originated expressions were at first wrong, the responsibility of their adoption rests on their introducers, who understood them in their first, literal, and derivative signification and association. But subsequent generations, centuries later,

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neither retain the one nor the other, but take them simply in the sense impressed on them by the lapse of time and the association of existing circumstances.

These remarks apply also to the ordinary names of the days of the week and the months of the year. Whoever thinks of Wodin in connexion with Wednesday, or of Tuisco with Tuesday? And what is it to us if December be originally the tenth or twelfth month, so long as it is now universally understood as the latter? And even the straitest of the good Friends in Philadelphia talk complacently about the planets “Jupiter” and “Venus,” whilst they would, some of them at least, severely criticise any Friend of “station” who should date his letters “Saturday,” or “May;”—but where is the difference? To say that the planets have no duplicate names would be merely an argument of “expediency.”

All this criticism and trouble will be spared, and more time given to fundamentals of infinitely higher importance, especially to Christian charity and preparation 163 for eternity, if such minutiae are left to their proper scriptural place,—individual responsibility to God alone. No church authority whatever has any business to interfere with them, even by criticism, any more than the British Queen or the United States President has a right to interfere with the domestic arrangement of furniture, or the position of books on private library shelves. These are trifles equally below the dignity as below the right of such interference.

It is true that, in these peculiarities of speech, most of the Early Friends were united;—and what is that to us? We may respect, and even venerate them (as it is to be hoped we do), but we need not imitate these their non-essential practices in minutiae, any more than we are universally bound to retain the material of George Fox's leathern dress, or the liberal dimensions of that of stout William Penn. All these things are trifles—not trifling, perhaps, in their private individual requirement—but contemptibly trifling, as to any claim to public uniformity.

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Some truly friendly Friends of Philadelphia remarked to me—“We take little interest in the discipline of the Society here; we have not done so for years; there is so much importance attached to temporal trifles of dress, speech, and church ‘order,’ that if we were not to keep aloof we should be prevented from giving attention to the awful claims and realities of a future existence, and to the precious fundamental truths of Christianity. We really have not time for it, if we would do our duty to our Lord.”

The objection that the disuse of the peculiarities of dress and speech by Friends will involve an alteration M 2 164 in the appearance of the Society, is simply an archaeological one,—just as fond antiquarians would object to the removal of the “Old Mill” at Newport, Rhode Island, or of Temple Bar, London. Of course, Friends will have changed in some respects, but it may be a great change for the better.

When railroads were first projected in England, many people predicted all kinds of doleful consequences—“The noble breed of English horses will become extinct; our streets will be paced by starving palefaced coach drivers and guards; carriers, too, will be driven to the workhouse; whole trains will be buried by tunnels falling in; the cattle will be perpetually terrified by passing engines,”—and so on, to an absurd category of fancied results. But the number of English horses is now fivefold of what it was; their drivers, whether by carriage, omnibus, or cab, are neither pale nor starving; and the increased demand for cross-country traffic has much increased, instead of decreased, the number of carriers.

Similarly it is likely to be with Quakerism in its future course. Less attention to minute traditional peculiarities; more earnest heed to present, scripturally-binding, universal duties of preparation for the realities of eternity; less criticism of one another's dress and phraseology; but far more vital union in “striving together with one mind for the faith of the Gospel.”

BURLINGTON.

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Burlington is classic ground in the history of American Quakerism. It was a settlement of Friends 165 several years before Philadelphia was founded, and it had regularly organized monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings before any such were held in that city. The first yearly meeting in New Jersey was held at Burlington, in 1681 (one had been held at Newport, Rhode Island, twenty years previously, in 1661, which was the first of the kind in America). The first regular yearly meeting at Philadelphia was in 1685. One continued to be held from that date alternately at Philadelphia and Burlington, until 1761, when it was entirely settled at the former city, where it has ever since continued to be held, and of this assembly Burlington forms a constituent. Amongst other well-known Quaker names associated with Burlington are those of John Woolman, George Dillwyn, and Stephen Grellet. I saw on two doorplates in the principal street, the names of Woolman and Franklin.

Like many other places, the Quaker interest of Burlington is a thing of the past rather than of the present, but it still has an influential and agreeable body of Friends resident there. Amongst these are William J. Allinson, Eliza P. Gurney (the widow of Joseph John Gurney), and Rebecca Grellet (the widow of Stephen Grellet). Wm. J. Allinson is the author of several works, well known to Friends in America and Great Britain, and has been actively connected with his poetic friend, John G. Whittier, in conducting anti-slavery newspapers and associations.

G. W. Doane, one of the principal poets of America, lived many years at Burlington, which was the scene of his Episcopal labours as successor to Bishop Ravenscroft, whose virtues he has commemorated in 166 those lines beginning—"The good old man is gone." Both bishops are interred in the neat cemetery of the town. They presided over the New Jersey diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which corresponds in America to the Episcopal Church of England, but with the distinction that whereas the latter is under special State patronage, its American representative enjoys no such distinguishing favour, as the Government of the United States recognizes a full equality

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of position for all religious denominations. Every church in America must rely entirely on the voluntary efforts of its own members for its support; and there is no country in the world where public religious efforts and organizations are more extensively undertaken or generally supported, than in the United States. Pastorates, foreign and home missions, Bible and Tract Societies, Sabbath schools and religious libraries, are all carried on in that country by the various denominations with wonderful energy and liberality, and over vast geographical extent.

Burlington is a very neat town, and not only are its streets well avenued, but it has so many trees in and around it, as to be quite buried from sight by foliage, except one or two of its white steeples, when viewed from the deck of a steam-boat at a short distance below its landing stage on the banks of the Delaware. Immediately opposite, on the Pennsylvania side of the river, is the town of Bristol, to and from which there is a steam ferry every quarter of an hour. Burlington is the ecclesiastical metropolis of New Jersey, being not only the residence of a bishop, but also the seat of Burlington Episcopal College, and of two other large educational institutions. It is about 167 ten miles from Trenton, the State capital, and twenty from Philadelphia. The New York and Philadelphia railway passes through it, and the trains run down the middle of a long street, ringing a warning bell all the way through it, till out of the town. Besides this connexion by rail there are steamers which go up and down the Delaware several times a day between Philadelphia, Burlington, and Trenton.

Although this river is not so picturesque as the Schuylkill, Potomac, Patapsco, Hudson, and other American streams which flow between romantic mountain scenery, yet it is far from being uninteresting. At Burlington it is nearly a quarter of a mile broad, and its banks are covered on each side with miles of groves, villas, and gardens. The country all around is beautifully green and well cultivated, and sprinkled with many small towns, whose white spires rise here and there above the long lines of avenues and woods. Amongst the houses are many comfortable homesteads of the last century,—the residences of prosperous Philadelphia merchants; others are quite new, and are built in the latest city

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style, with plate-glass bow-windows, and pillared porticos. Many have soft green lawns in front, slanting down to terraced walks by the river's side.

The evening that I returned to the city from Burlington was a very fine one, and the long yellow lines of a fine sunset were streaming across the meadows, between the autumnal foliage and through the numerous weeping willows and cedars along the banks on to the wide windings of the river, and on the large white steam-boats passing rapidly in all directions.

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The Delaware has as many historic associations as most American streams, extending from the days of the peaceful Penn and his Indian treaty, and of the old Swedish and Quaker fathers of the Colony, to the sterner period of the revolutionary battles of Princeton, Trenton, and Germantown, and the still more vigorous times of the modern telegraphs, and the steam traffic which is annually rendering this river one of the most important channels in the world for every kind of commerce, especially the inexhaustible supplies of timber, iron, and coal from the Alleghany mountains, in whose eastern slope it has its source.

A DAY AMONGST OLD RECORDS AT BURLINGTON.

Owing to the very early settlement of Friends at Burlington, and its having been a principal seat of American Quakerism from the first, peculiar value attaches to the official records of its meeting, which have been carefully preserved throughout its existence; and it was very interesting to me to have an opportunity of examining these, and making extracts from them. Some of them are so vividly suggestive, both of the excellences and defects of Early Quakerism and "the good old times," that they scarcely need any comment or introduction, and will probably have a double interest of novelty and intrinsic value to English Friends, who may now peruse them in these "Sketches."

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Commencing Minute of the First Book of Records of Burlington Monthly Meeting.

“Since, by the good Providence of God, many Friends with their families have transported themselves into this province of West New Jersey, the said Friends in those upper parts have found it needful, according to our practice in the place we came from, to settle monthly meetings for the well ordering the affairs of the church; it was agreed that accordingly it should be done, and accordingly it was done, the 15th of the 5th month, 1678.”

[I have modernized the orthography in the above, and in some of the following extracts.]

Next follow the proceedings of the successive monthly meetings for discipline at Burlington; all are regularly numbered in the book, as well as duly dated, and subjoined is a copy of the entire records of each of the first ten of these monthly assemblies, *verbatim et literatim*.

Burlington Monthly Meeting Minutes.

I.—“At ye monthly meeting at Burlington the 18th day of ye 6 th moth 1678. It was agreed that a collection be made once a month for ye relief of ye poor and such other necessary uses as may accur; the persons appointed to receive it are John Woolstone and Will: Peache to be collected the first day before ye monthly meeting.”

II.—“At ye monthly meeting in Burlington the 5 th day of ye 7th moth 1678. Friends took into consideration ye paling in of the burying ground. Thomas Leeds proposed his intentions of taking 170 Margaret Colier to be his wife desireing ye approbation of said meeting therein.”

III.—“At ye monthly meeting at Burlington the 3 d day of ye 8 th moth 1678. Tho: Leeds proposed his intention ye second time of taking Margeret Collier to be his wife and ye meeting gave their consent.”

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IV.—“At ye monthly meeting in Burlington ye 6 th of ye 9 th mo. 1678. Friends there assembled did give order that all births of friends' children should be recorded in a book and also all mariages thatt freinds have Unity wth and such as are permitted to take one another amongst us should likewise be recorded in a book and the buryings of all friends and their children and servants and such as friends have ye disposing of that they also be recorded in a book as a memoriall to generations to come. Freinds also stak't or mark't out ye burying ground and gave order for ye fencing of itt.”

V.—“At ye monthly meeting in burlington ye 3 d of ye 10 th mo. 1678. Henery Reynolls and Prudence Cleyton proposed their intentions of mariage to friends Desiring their approbation.”

VI.—“At ye mont: meeting of Friends in Burlington ye 2 d of ye 11 th mo: 1678. Henry Renols and Prudence Cleyton proposed their intentions ye 2 nd time which ye said meeting pmitted.”

VII.—“Att ye monthly meeting of Freinds in Burlington ye 2 d of ye 12 th mo. 1678. But no busines was proposed.”

VIII.—“At our monthly meeting of Freinds in 171 Burlington ye 7 th of ye 1 th month 1678/9. But nothing materiall was pposed to be recorded.”

IX.—“At the monthly meeting of Freinds in Burlington y e 3 d of ye 2 d mo. 1679. Robert Zean and Allice Alday pposed ye intentions of mariage desiring ye approbation of said meeting.”

X.—“At ye monthly meeting in Burlington ye 3 d of ye 3 d mo. 1679. Where no business was presented.”

[In these records we see the real simplicity of the Early Friends, and a great contrast to the complexity and formality which gradually crept into later times, until they have become

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so irksome, in many cases, as to be no longer endurable, and to have necessitated much alteration. The other successive records of Burlington monthly meeting present many repetitions of the above simple nature, with variations according to circumstances, as, for instance, the following.]

XIII.—“At ye monthly meeting in Burlington ye 7 th of ye 6th mo. 1679. James Brown Weaver of Upland alias Markes hook upon ye River Dallaware and Honour Cleyton of Burlington did ppose their intentions of marriage ye secound time where ye meeting permitted them to pass.” “It was proposed to ye meeting's consideration for severall reasons whether they might not see itt meett to alter ye monthly meeting to another day appointed for that service only and consent was given to be sett down in the book that itt might be spoken to ye next meeting.”

XIV.—“At ye monthly meeting in Burlington ye 4 th of ye 7 th mo. 1679. Where ye consideration of ye alteration of ye monthly meeting was refer'd till ye 172 next monthly meeting. It was also desired yt Friends would consider ye matter as touching ye selling of rum unto Indians be lawfull att all for friends pffessing Truth to be concerned in itt.”

XXI.—“At ye monthly meeting at John Woolstone's house in Burlington ye 1 of ye 2 d moth 1680. At which meeting was some conference concearning giving forth a testimony against Jonathan Eldridge and Martha Wagstaff but nothing concluded.”

XXII.—“At a monthly meeting at John Woolstone's house in Burlington ye 1 st of ye 5 th mo. 1680. Where it was ordered yt ye collection should be again revived, And after harvist to fence in ye burying place aforementioned.”

XXXI.—“At a monthly meeting att Jno Woolston's house in Burlington ye 2 nd of ye 3 d mo, 1680. It is agreed yt ye meeting at Rancocas be held at ye house of The Harding both first days and fourth days also, and to begin on both days att ye 11th hour. It is likewise ordered yt ye meeting at Shakamaxon be held at ye house of Thomas Fearman and to

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begin at ye 11th hour on every first day. It was unanimously agreed yt a generall meeting be yearly held in Burlington ye 1st of which is to be on ye 28th of ye 6th mo. 1681”

XXXIV.—“At a monthly meeting at Burlington ye 1st of ye 6th mo. 1681. The business concearning Jona: Eldridge is referd till next meeting, Robt Stacey and Wm Brightwen to speak with Daniell Wills to enquire his reasons why he would not answer ye meeting when sent for and to give ye meeting an 173 account.” [Daniel appears to have been “disowned” at the next monthly meeting.]

[The general or yearly meeting, first held in Burlington in 1681, “in ye house of Tho. Gardiner,” instituted various regular meetings subordinate to itself, and, amongst others, a meeting for discipline for the women Friends to transact their own matters in. The yearly meeting of 1682 issued a general address or epistle to its constituent meetings, as follows: —]

“Friends—To you who may be concerned this is written for the Truth's sake by way of advice from the general meeting that male and female both old and young who make mention of the name of the Lord may all take heed that they be not found in nor wearing of superfluity of apparel nor immoderate and unseemly taking of tobacco, also selling of needless things whereby any may take occasion of offence justly but that we may be found to be kept within the bounds of moderation and within the limits of the Spirit of Truth and may be known to be governed by the Truth in all concerns. So shall we be to the glory of God and the comfort of one another which is the desire of “Your Friends and Brethren.”

CCXXI.—“At a monthly meeting at Burlington ye 1 st of ye 1st mo. 169 6/7 Whereas some difference appeared between Christopher Wetherill and Richard French concearning a peice of meadow in dispencc between them Jno Brown ordered to speak to Richd to be here at the next moly meeting.”

DCCIII.—“At a monthly meeting at Burlington ye 2 d of 3 d mo. 1737. The Friends appointed to 174 attend the quarterly meeting are as followeth, Caleb Raper, Robt Smith,

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Joshua Raper, John Buthon, James Lippincott, Joseph Burr, Thos Busby, Richd Gibbs, John Buffin, which friends are desired to acquaint the quarterly meeting with the state of our meeting which is that Friends in the general are in love and unity one with another and are diligent in attending of meetings and the discipline of the church is kept to in a good degree. As to the state of the ministry those that appear in public testimony are well received their testimony being sound and edifying and diligent in attending meetings both first days and other meeting days and are in love and unity one with another.”—“The women freind acquainted this meeting that the widdow Stork still continued her request for sum money to supply her necessities for which the meeting appoints Dan¹ Smith and Thos Scattergood to enquire into her sircomstances and advise her for the best they can to get her living and to let her have of that money that is in bank of the monthly meeting stock as introst money.”

DCCVII. (5th of 7th mo., 1737.)—“The correcting and revising of ye monthly meeting minuits is still refarrd further and those friends that are appointed for that servis are to see that work of Thos Scatter-good in transcribing the monthly meeting book that he may be satisfied for his labour.”

[There are many examples in these records of the care and forbearance of early Friends in dealing with delinquent members, and, even in cases of gross impropriety, they did not usually disown or cast off the offender, if he really appeared sorry for what he had done. Their clemency was sometimes carried too far, and their charity, perhaps, occasionally extended to weakness; but it was a failing far superior to the rigorous system of prompt disownment which, in later years, was adopted, and is still retained by some of the American meetings. The Hicksites compare favourably with many of the Orthodox bodies in this respect, as I have had opportunity of witnessing. The improvement and reclaiming of the offender was made the prime object of the ancient discipline of Friends in cases of delinquency.

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Another still more important part of discipline is the means of preventing delinquency, and promoting the religious and moral improvement of the Society. This also is exemplified by the old records of Burlington.

There was one custom current in America formerly more than amongst English Friends. This was the requirement of a written acknowledgment of error from delinquents, accompanied by expressions of repentance. It was customary to read these at the monthly meetings and record them on its minutes. Some of them were proper enough, but a few are unsuitable for any registry or transcription, and many are both quaint in style and peculiar in nature.]

Acknowledgment of Disaffection.

“Friends—Whereas I for want of watchfullness suffered myself to be drawn aside at ye time of ye late seperation from friends occasioned by George Keith. Now these may signifie that I am hartly sorry for the same and do hope for the time to come I 176 shall be more carefull and do desire that this may satisfie the meeting; subscribed by me

“ Richd Fenimore.”

A Printer's Acknowledgment.

“As concearning my almanack lately published and by me disproved and do say that although what is therein be not unsutiabale for an almanack barely considered yet I do beleive that there are some pticulars in it that are two light and airy for one that is a Christian indeed and I hope for time to come to write more serious and also I intend publickly to signify as much in my next almanack. I do write this much from one who am your friend whilst I am my own. “Daniel Leeds.”

“Burlington, ye 8th of ye 12th mo., 1687.

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Confession of Intemperance.

“Whereas I, W. H., for want of keeping to the guidance of God's good Spirit inwardly, have at several times been overtaken in drink for which I have had many days of trouble and sorrow not only on my own account but also that I have dishonoured the Truth of which I have and do make profession of which said action I do utterly condemn and detest and hope for time to come to be more circumspect and careful. W. H.”

Acknowledgment of Bearing Arms.

“Insomuch that we whose names are underneath written are accused for taking up arms for to fight and being required to give our answer these are 177 therefore to certifie the truth thereof to this meeting which is as followeth, viz.—The occasion of our meeting together at that time was to report that we heard from ye Indians that there was an army of Frenchmen at Coexcink which is but called a mile from some of our houses but considering the unlikelihood of it we did believe that there was no such army there but hearing of some Spanish Indians that were run away from a vessel and likewise hearing that they had robbed several houses in severall places we did conclude that if ye Indians saw anybody it might be them because that ye Indians said when they saw them they lay down and when ye Indians went away from them they arose again and when ye Indians looked back they layed them down again. Upon this condition we concluded for to go see if we could find them and also we thought it necessary for those that had guns for to take them not with a design for to hurt much less to kill man woman or child but we thought if we could meet with those runaways that ye sight of ye guns might fear them so that we phaps might take them with ye less danger to ourselves and so we went some with guns and some without and as we were going we met two of our neighbours which had been at Indian Town for to hear and see if they could ye truth of ye matter and they understood by ye Indians discourse that it was two of John Haine's sons which ye Indians saw and they were coming to tel us and so wee turned back againe and went home, this is

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a true relation of ye whole matter. Joseph Indecott, Wm Petty, Junr , Richd Eayre, Jacob Lamb.”N

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Really, the good Friends of Burlington must have been in a condition of “primitive simplicity,” sure enough, or they would hardly have seriously ordered such a “relation” as the above to be enrolled amongst the grave matters of their records.

It is still the universal custom of Friends, on the removal of any of their members from one locality to another, to send an official certificate of their membership, and to recommend the new comers to the Christian care and kindness of those amongst whom their lot is to be cast. This is now done in a brief and very uniform document, but, in the early days of Quakerism, there was much greater variety of expression in the wording of such documents, and details were inserted which would not be considered necessary now; as, for instance, whether the removing parties were free (if unmarried) from all previous engagements which might be likely to interfere with the propriety of any matrimonial proceedings amongst those to whom they were about to remove.

In one respect these ancient documents are superior to our own,—in the deeply religious Christian interest manifested in individual members by the various meetings in their collective capacity.

Certificate from Durham, England.

“From our monthly meeting at Raby in the county of Durham the 24th day of the 4th month, 1718. Joseph Allanson the bearer hereof belonging to our monthly meeting having acquainted us with his inclination to remove out of our country into Pennsylvania and desiring a certificate concerning his life and conversation as also his clearness in relation 179 to marriage. These therefore may certify Friends where Providence may order his abode, that the friend Joseph Allanson all along from his infancy belonged to our aforesaid monthly meeting and has been in unity with Friends living soberly and truth-like so far

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as ever it came to our cognizance and has never to our knowledge been concerned with any woman in relation to marriage. The salutation of our dear and tender love to you in the blessed Truth. Sent from your friends whose names are underwrit. Wm Kay, Will: Pickering, Jno Walton, Thos Dodshon, James Trotter, George Coats, George Dixon, Danl Dodsworth, Geo Walker, Thos Richmond, H. Grainger, Ralph Dixon, Jacob Allason, John Dodghon, Geo Wrightson, Caleb Bowran, Joseph Tayler," (and nine others).

Certificate from the Bermuda Islands.

"These are for ye satisfaction of all Friends in Pennsylvania, New Jarsie, or elsewhere. These are to certify you that our friend Mary Smith of this Island Barmoodas who is now intended to remove from hence she is a maiden well reputed among friends an entertainer of strangers and travelling friends (ministers) in the day of her prosperity, the daughter of an antient friend and as concerning marriage free from all men in this island so far as we know or ever heard of. As is witnessed by friends of our meeting whose names are underwritten." (Signed by fifteen Friends.) "Barmoodas ye 11 day of ye 5 month 1686."

Certificate from Woodberry Creek.

"To Friends of ye monthly meeting at Burlington. N 2 180 We the subscribers hereof being near neighbours to Mary Hagg who sometime belonged to our meeting of Woodberry Creek. These are to certifie you that she behaved very well ye time she remained with us. Given under hands this thirtyeth day of ye first month ano: dom: 1732."

Certificate from Bedfordshire.

"To the monthly meeting for Pensylvania. Freinds, This is to satesfy you that John Day is clear from debt and he and his wiffe has lived soberly as becoms ye freinds of Truth. And so has their brother Harry since he has been convinced of the Truth. Nayther is he ingaged to any womankind as we know on. This from Hunton in Bedfordshaire ye 11th of ye 3 d mo 1682, Wm Barber, Robt Cooks, Rich Barber, James Barber," and seven others.

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London Friends endorsed this certificate below as follows:—"That this is a trew kopyy of ye satificats subscribed by yo forsayd persons witness our hands this 18th 3rd mo 1682, London, Benj Bangs, John Bangs, John Goodson, Thomas Hilton, John Dolman, Eliz Bangs widd."

Certificate from Dorsetshire.

"From our monthly meeting held at Sherborne in Dorsetshire to our Friends in America these with salutation &c. Dear Friends and Brethren, the bearer William Masters whose parents were Friends belonging to this monthly meeting and educated him according to our principles, but as too many have done before, he took a wife of another principle and not in unity with us but of another Society, being 181 married by a priest, but she was a sober orderly woman inclining to Friends strongly before she died. Besides this wrong step too he miscarried in his business not being able to pay his just debts but have condemned his outgoings in both respects as fully as can be done by words, and we hope is sincere in what he has writ on the account: We therefore certifie you on his behalf as near the Truth as we can that in other respects he have behaved himself orderly and well and we charitably hope, as he continues to do so, the love of Friends will increase towards him and his unity with them will be strengthened. We conclude your Friends and Brethren. Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting the 10th of 1st month 1750. John Clothier, Josiah Seymer, Robert Ring, William Rawis, junr ."

One of my principal objects, in inserting these extracts from the old records of primitive Quakerism, is to show the freedom and variety of detail adopted by them in their discipline, and especially their patient forbearance with their erring members. It is evident that in those days they were not bound down by accumulated precedents of a formal and stereotyped discipline, but acted just according to the varying requirements of their various conditions and circumstances. And such action is (however homely and rustic may be its modes of expression) far more favourable to harmony and edification than the formal prescriptions and more rigorous discipline of later days, when, under the

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restricting directions of printed authoritative “Rules of Discipline,” and legally precise ideas of the requirements of ecclesiastical “order,” our 182 Society has reached a degree of formalism which it has recently cost English Friends much effort to release themselves from, and which a large proportion of our American brethren are still under the influence of, to an extent which the events of the past quarter of a century have shown to be very unfavourable to mutual love or progress in vital Christianity.

Another characteristic of early Quakerism manifested by these records, is their absence of a precisely defined creed, as a requirement from those whom they received into membership. They judged of the sincerity of one another's religion, not so much by verbal profession of any creed, as by the deep spiritual instincts of their souls.

“They walked by faith, and not by sight, By love, and not by law; The presence of the wrong or right They rather felt than saw.”

They called this solemn intuitional principle by the simple name of “the Truth,” feeling that it was that voice of God within them which does, in greater or less degree, make itself manifest to every man in his better moments, and which, like the sunshine which is its outward type, needs no verbal evidence or logical argument of proof; for it is self-evident, self-manifesting, intuitive, the universal, unchangeable and everlasting Truth, which protests in the heart of every man against falsehood, dishonesty, cruelty, and degrading vice.

It is a mighty and indispensable power; but experience has shown, and especially in our Society, that we can only be faithful to this voice of divinely implanted 183 Truth, and receive its counsels with tenderness and reverence, as we also are aided by the supplementary light of Holy Scripture, and the humbling, love-producing revelation of the cross and sympathizing humanity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who was, in His double but united manifestation, at the same time, perfect man and perfect God, King,

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Creator, Father, Teacher, uncompromising Holiness and infinitely sympathizing Pardon, all in One.

We may conclude these extracts from the Burlington records with a beautiful and instructive document, recommending and accrediting a beloved minister of the Gospel, who was about to remove to America from the scene of his previous duties.

Certificate from Buckinghamshire.

“From our monthly meeting at Biddlesdon, in the county of Bucks, in Old England, the 19th day of the 2nd month, in the year 1680. To our Friends and Brethren in New Jersey, in America, greeting. Whereas our dear and well-beloved friend in the Lord, Samuel Jennings, of Biddlesdon, did at our monthly meeting lay his intention of transporting himself into New Jersey, and desired a certificate from our meeting, as a testimony of our knowledge of him; This is therefore to certify you, and all persons whom it doth or may concern in those parts of the world, that are related unto the Truth of our God, that, upon enquiry, as well as by our own knowledge, we find that this our dear friend, Samuel Jennings, is a man in all respects clear, both as in things relating to this world, as also faithful in life and conversation to the” 184 blessed Truth of our God, having been an adornment unto the Gospel of Christ Jesus during his abode with us, and a fervent labourer in the work and service of the Lord, being instrumental in the hand of God of comfort and refreshment unto many in general, and unto us in a more particular manner, by reason of that unity and fellowship we have had together in these our monthly meetings, as well as others wherein the presence and power of the Lord hath attended us, to our encouragement and perseverance in His holy work and service. And though the Lord is pleased to remove this our dear friend from amongst us, to our particular sorrow, yet we are contented and satisfied, if it may redound to your joy, because of the universal love of God that is shed abroad in our hearts, desiring Zion's welfare and Jerusalem's prosperity from one end of the earth unto the other. And more is in our hearts. We could testify concerning our dear brother of that blessed unity we have had together, but forbear,

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rather desiring you may have a sense and feeling of the same yourselves, as we have had, greatly to the abounding of our joy in the Lord. To whom we commit both you and him, and remain, in behalf of this our meeting, "Your Friends and Brethren."

MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS FROM THE OLD RECORDS OF VARIOUS AMERICAN MEETINGS OF FRIENDS.

In addition to the extracts which I copied personally from the original records of Burlington, it may be interesting to subjoin some others of a miscellaneous character, but all tending to show the liberty and absence of formalism in Primitive Quakerism, and its forbearing, brotherly love. They also prove that human nature was just the same in their day as in our own, and that, like all other good men, in all ages, the Early Friends had their faults, mistakes, and weaknesses. These extracts are from printed copies of the original manuscripts, and the orthography is modernised.

Discipline to be Instituted.

A.D. 1676.—Thirdhaven monthly meeting, Maryland. "At a man's meeting, at John Pitt's, it is agreed that John Taylor do keep Friends' books and write the concerns of Friends in their men's meeting; this order to be entered in all the monthly meeting books, day of month, and account of all things Friends were concerned in; the Friends' names that did go to exhort such as do walk disorderly; the answers of such as were spoken to, and also the time set down; also such as declare their intentions of marriage; if any man or woman hunt after one another, and then leave one another and go to others."

Acknowledgment of Quarrelling.

1684.—At Bucks quarterly meeting, twenty miles north of Philadelphia. "At a quarterly meeting held at William Biles's house, after the conclusion of the meeting, L. B. brought in his paper of condemnation for quarrelling and fighting with some of his servants; and at his

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request it was read and accepted, and he advised to read it according,—as he said it had been 186 on his mind both in the meeting and (meeting-house) court.”

Order in Meetings for Discipline.

1686.—At Abington monthly meeting, west of Philadelphia. “Some discourse hath been at this meeting touching such as hold discourses either private or public in meetings of business, having no relation to the business on hands, and run in and out to the annoyance of the meeting. It is ordered that such may be spoken to as a warning, that Friends may behave themselves decently in their duty towards God and man. It is also agreed that the men and women meet distinctly apart from one another from this time.”

Adjourned Quarterly Meeting.

1687.—At Falls monthly meeting, near Trenton, New Jersey. “Inasmuch as the next quarterly meeting and Philadelphia fair fall both on one day, it is agreed to propose the deferring of it for one week, and it be signified to Neshamony Friends for their concurrence.”

Mutual Construction of a Meeting-house.

1689.—At Darby monthly meeting, south of Philadelphia. “Ordered, that all belonging to this meeting shall come, every one, a day, to work at the meeting-house (to be constructed of wood); and that four come of a day until the work be done.”

Selection of Attenders of Meetings for Discipline.

1691.—At Middletown monthly meeting, near Bristol, Pa. “It is ordered that Friends of the monthly meeting for time to come do always inspect 187 and take care who there be that stay (after meetings for worship) and attend the meeting (for discipline); to the intent that

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none that are of an airy spirit may be suffered to stay there, but that they may be spoke to, if any such there be, by some Friends to withdraw.”

Contributions for a Roof.

1698.—At Thirdhaven monthly meeting, in Maryland. “This meeting desires that John Stacy may be agreed to cover this meeting-house; and John Pemberton has promised three hundred (30d.) thirtypenny nails, and one thousand received, and four thousand tenpenny (ones); and Thomas Edmundson has promised to give timber to cover it.” “John Stacy having covered and ceiled our great meeting-house, there is due unto him 2,500 pounds of tobacco; which is to be paid as follows (by the neighbouring meetings):—Choptank, 500 lbs; Thirdhaven, 1,000 lbs.; Bayside, 500 lbs.; Tuckahoe, 500 lbs.”

Quietness in Meeting.

1699.—At Middletown monthly meeting, near Bristol, Pa. “The meeting having under consideration the indecent sitting and settling of our meetings, doth order that public Friends do sit in the galleries, and the elder Friends with them, or below the galleries; and that our women Friends take one side of the house and the men the other; and that all sit with their faces towards the galleries; and that the meeting be kept below, and a fire made above for such as are weak, through sickness, or age, or otherwise, to warm at, and come down again modestly, and keep the meeting soberly.”

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Wolves.

1693.—At Radnor monthly meeting, near Philadelphia. “It is ordered by this meeting and consent of the townships of Haverford and Radnor, in pursuance of a law in that case made, that the inhabitants of the two townships should pay one shilling in the hundred towards the taking of wolves.”

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Treble Acknowledgment.

1722.—At New Garden monthly meeting, Pa. “W. B. appeared and delivered a paper condemning his forepast actions, which was accepted; and the said W. B. is ordered to be present at the reading of the said paper in two public meetings—the one at New Garden, the other at Nottingham.”

Charity before Censure.

1724.—At Philadelphia yearly meeting. “Advised, that Friends, in meetings for business, watch over their own spirits, that no indecent warmth get in, whereby the understanding may be hurried and hindered from a regular judgment on the affair before the meeting; so that it may be seen by all that the restoring spirit of meekness and Christian love abounds, before church censure comes, and that a Gospel spirit is the spring and motive to all our performances, as well in discipline as worship.”

Form of Disownment.

1739.—At Concord monthly meeting, Pa. “R. T. acknowledges that he hath joined himself to another Society, and thinks that he shall not come 189 to our meetings any more. Therefore this meeting doth esteem the said R. to be no member of our Society.”

Acknowledgment of Assault.

1751.—At Wilmington monthly meeting Delaware. “Friends,—Whereas I contended with my neighbour, W. S., for what I apprehended to be my right, by endeavouring to turn a certain stream of water into its natural course, till it arose to a personal difference, in which dispute I gave way to warmth of temper so far as to put my friend W. into the pond; for which action of mine, being contrary to the good order of Friends, I am sorry, and desire, through Divine assistance, to live in unity with him for the future. From your friend, J. W.”

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Exhortation to Right Discipline.

1758.—At Philadelphia yearly meeting: “Dear Friends, in a deep sense of the suffering of Truth in divers branches of its testimony,—by the too great neglect of the discipline and advices of this meeting, which, if received and attended to in true love and charity, would preserve from slighting and laying waste that precious testimony given us to bear; and for which our forefathers and elders suffered so much, and some of them even sealed with their blood,—we fervently exhort Friends to arise and rebuild the waste places, each cheerfully doing their proper part of the work, remembering that the service is the Lord's.”

Religious Family Visits.

1709.—At Falls monthly meeting. “It having been proposed that there is a necessity for some Friends 190 to be appointed in each quarter of this meeting, to visit every particular family of Friends, and inquire into their state in relation to the Truth; and this meeting, having weightily considered the matter, do agree that it be absolutely necessary, and that it will be of service to the Truth.”

Religious Family Visits.

1747.—At Philadelphia yearly meeting. “This meeting recommends it to the several quarterly and monthly meetings within the verge of this meeting, to revive and continue the practice of appointing solid weighty Friends and elders, with some of the ministers, to visit the particular families within their respective meetings; the good effect of which wholesome and serviceable part of our ancient practice and discipline hath been often attended with the Divine blessing, to the great satisfaction of those concerned therein; and hath been a means of preventing many growing inconveniences and customs among us, which it may be difficult guarding against in a more public manner.”

[This excellent practice might, with the best possible results, be systematically or periodically revived in the Society of Friends, both in Britain and America. Friends in

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Indiana have, on several occasions, adopted the principle in deputing some of their members to go and visit the families of their associated brethren in the remote parts of Iowa and Kansas, and with mutually beneficial effect. Every Christian Church has full scriptural authority to act in such cases according to its serious judgment and reason. Such systematic visitations need not be at all dependent on, or 191 interfering with other engagements which private individual ministers or others may feel required as a duty. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, "Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the Word of the Lord, and see how they do." Vast would be the increase to the spiritual prosperity of Christendom, if there was a more general interest taken by each church, as a disciplinary and sympathetic body, to depute, from time to time, some of its members to visit individually all its constituents, and with the religious aim of seeing "how they do."]

Visits to Neighbouring Meetings.

"The frequent attendance of our Friends from neighbouring meetings has a strong tendency to cement and strengthen. If concerned Friends would cast off the lethargy which so much prevails, and not allow themselves to rust out, their hands would no longer hang down; their lights would be placed on a candlestick, and not under a bushel; while others, seeing their humility and zeal for the cause of righteousness corresponding with their good works, would be greatly strengthened and encouraged. If we were thus faithful, we should often feel constrained to go and sit with our Friends in the neighbouring meetings, as our fathers did formerly, where, peradventure, we might be favoured to experience together an anointing with the oil of gladness. Thus we should find the interest of the young people, and some of riper years, would be greatly increased to the enlargement of our meetings; and the growth and 192 extension of the testimonies we profess to maintain, would be the golden fruits."

Relief of Poor Friends.

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1683.—At Falls monthly meeting. “William Biles hath this day acquainted the meeting that T. A., of Neshamony, hath made him acquainted that he is in want, as to his outward concerns; and he, with some others, had took his condition into their consideration, and have bought him a cow and calf—the price is five pounds—and do desire this meeting's assistance towards the payment of said cow and calf; to which this meeting doth consent, and doth appoint the Friends subscribed to take care to raise the money Friends are willing to contribute towards the said five pounds.—For Neshamony: John Otter, Robert Hall. For the Falls: John Brookes, Phineas Pemberton.”

Same Case Continued.

1687.—At Falls monthly meeting: “T. A. saith that both he and his family are so weak that they are not able to thresh a little corn, nor hath gotten any hay for his cattle, and therefore desires some assistance from Friends; whereupon the meeting requested Phoebe Blackshaw [probably a near neighbour to T. A.] to acquaint him if any man could be had to assist him they would take care to see him satisfied.”

Similar Case.

1699.—At Concord monthly meeting: “J. P. being in necessity of a cow, having lost one, and being in necessity of milk for his children, this meeting have 193 lent him £5 for one year to buy one. Also it is ordered that Robert Pyle shall take a bond of him in the meeting's behalf.”

Similar Case.

1701.—At Falls monthly meeting: “Information being given to this meeting that W. P. is very poor and in necessity, this meeting orders Joseph Kirkbride, Samuel Dark, and Peter Worrall to get a good pair of leather breeches, and a good warm coat and waistcoat, one

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pair of stockings and shoes for the said W. P., and make a report of the charge to the next meeting.”

Similar Case.

1703.—At Falls monthly meeting: “A committee was appointed to relieve a poor Friend who had broken his leg. They reported that they had agreed to pay the doctor £18, which was approved and ordered to be done.”

Similar Case.

1714.—At Abington monthly meeting: “Germantown meeting reported having lent a woman Friend three shillings, she not being willing to accept it as a gift.”

Similar Case.

1719.—At Falls monthly meeting: “A. P.'s condition is such that he is reduced to poverty and doth stand in need of some assistance, particularly a cow; therefore this meeting doth appoint John Dawson to procure one.” “He bought one of John Bye, and the price was three pounds and ten shillings, which this meeting orders to be paid. O”

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Same Case.

1721.—At Falls monthly meeting: “The cow, formerly lent to A. P. by this meeting, is referred to Buckingham monthly meeting for further order and disposal as they think most convenient.” (“The cow was loaned to A. P. for two years, when she was to be returned. But by a division of Falls monthly meeting he, A. P., fell to the lot of Buckingham monthly meeting, and the right of the cow was transferred by the foregoing minute. She was afterwards loaned to him for another year by a minute of the latter meeting. Tradition says

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he did not provide well for her, and she was taken from him, fed, and slaughtered, and the beef given to such persons as had none.”)

Similar Case.

1756.—Sadsbury monthly meeting, Pa.: “Thomas Bulla and Isaac Whitelock are appointed to go to the back inhabitants and distribute our collections among the distressed poor which are driven from their habitations by the Indians.”

Similar Case.

1759.—At Wilmington monthly meeting, Delaware: “Our preparative meeting have agreed with Alexander Foreman to keep N. M. (a poor Friend) one year with sufficient meat, drink, washing, and lodging, shaving, and leading him to meetings, for fifteen pounds ten shillings, provided said N. continues in usual health as heretofore.” [Probably meaning that, if taken ill, his care-taker was to have increased remuneration.]

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Acknowledgment of Haste.

1740.—At New Garden monthly meeting: “Whereas I was too forward and hasty in making suit to a young woman after the death of my wife, having made some proceedings in that way in less than four months, which I am now sensible was wrong. As witness my hand, R. H.”

Marriage Declined.

1757.—At Wilmington monthly meeting: “The Friends appointed to inquire the reasons why J. H. and R. R. did not appear (to be married) at our last meeting, report that they have altered their minds, and have discharged each other from under hand.”

Similar Case.

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1769.—At Concord monthly meeting: “C. D. and A. D. (widow) having proposed marriage she declined proceeding, and a committee was appointed to inspect into the cause of her disreputable conduct, who reported that she renders no sufficient reasons, wherefore until she makes suitable satisfaction, this meeting cannot have full unity with her.”

Breach of Duty.

1792.—At Concord monthly meeting: “Concord preparative meeting complains of J. P. S. for breach of his marriage covenants in refusing to live with his wife as a faithful husband ought to do.”

Remarkable Case of Forbearance towards an intemperate Minister, and with final good result.

1742.—“A. B. was allowed liberty to sit with the O 2 196 ministers and elders in their meetings.” He subsequently obtained certificates for ministerial service as follows:—1751. “To visit some meetings of Friends in Maryland.”—1752. “To visit Friends on Long Island, and some parts of the Jerseys.”—1756. “To visit Friends at Maiden Creek.”—1756. “To visit the families of Friends in New York, and some on Long Island.”—1757. To visit the yearly meeting of Maryland.—1758. Ditto.—1759. To visit some meetings in Maryland.

1762.—Without being accused on the records, A. B. brings the following paper to the monthly meeting: “Whereas, I have for many years made profession of the Truth, but for want of due attention to the dictates thereof have unguardedly given way to drinking strong drink to excess, whereby I have brought great reproach upon our holy profession, and grief to my friends, for which I am heartily sorry, and give this testimony against that evil, sincerely desiring that I may more and more experience a dwelling in that holy fear which is sufficient to preserve all. And it is my earnest breathing that I may be reconciled to the Lord, His church, and people, and witness our former unity to be restored; and that

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I may be enabled, through a circumspect and humble walking for the future, to effectually remove the reproach which my conduct hath occasioned. A. B.”

1770.—A. B. is again “recommended in the station of a minister as heretofore.” After this date he obtained official certificates from his meeting to pay ministerial visits—In 1771, To the Indians and some Friends in West New Jersey.—1771. To Friends 197 in Maryland.—1772. To the yearly meeting at West River.

But in 1773 his monthly meeting state, in the 7th month, that “Our preparative meeting complains of A. B. for taking strong drink to excess.”—Friends were then appointed to inquire into his conduct. At the monthly meeting in 9th month, “His conduct has been reproachful in several respects;—in taking too much strong drink several times, and still appearing in public ministry both at home and abroad.”

The monthly meeting, in 4th month, “Thinks there is rather encouragement for further labour.”

Next month they record that A. B. “appears to be under a considerable weight of suffering on account of his transgressions; yet they consider him far short of that state of mind in which it would be proper for him to offer anything to this meeting by way of satisfaction.”

1774.—2nd month, “He desired his case should still be continued.”

1774.—month, “This meeting taking into consideration the situation of A. B.'s standing upon record as a minister, concludes that he ought not to have the privilege of sitting in our meetings of ministers and elders.”

1774.—6th month, “He appeared here and offered some lines by way of acknowledgment. Best to leave it under consideration.”

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1774.—7th month, “Another paper being produced somewhat different, and some straitness appearing, it is continued another month.”

1774.—8th month, “A. B. attended this meeting with a paper condemning his misconduct, which was 198 read, and after some alteration is received.”—“Whereas I have made profession of the Truth, but for want of keeping on my watch have erred by several times taking too much strong drink, also appearing in public as a minister soon after; for which reproachful conduct I am heartily sorry, and hereby take the shame to myself, and desire Friends to pass by my offences and continue me under their care, hoping through Divine help to be more careful in future. A. B.”

In 1788, fourteen years after this acknowledgment, A. B. was for the *third* time recognized as a minister of the Gospel, as appears by this record of his quarterly meeting:—1788. “The recommendation of our Friend, A. B., to the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders as a minister approved by us being again considered, and women's meeting concurring therewith, it is concluded to recommend him accordingly.”

After this he received official certificates to travel as a minister—In 1788, To Maryland.—1789. To New York and New England.—1790. To Friends in Chester and Lancaster counties in Pennsylvania.—1790. To Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.—1791. To parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

As proofs that Friends in various provinces of America judged his ministry to be still edifying and given with Divine aid and influence, we find that in addition to the above five certificates of permission to travel as a minister, he also received twelve returning certificates of approval from the different communities of Friends amongst whom he came, viz., from the following:—1788. The quarterly meeting at Baltimore. 199 —1788. The monthly meeting at Indian Springs.—1789. The yearly meeting of Long Island.—1789. The yearly meeting of Rhode Island.—1789. The quarterly meeting at New Bedford.—1789. The quarterly meeting at Oblong.—1789. The monthly meeting at Saratoga.—1790. The

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quarterly meeting of Salem.—1791. The yearly meeting of Virginia.—1791.—The quarterly meeting at Center, in North Carolina.—1791. The quarterly meeting near Little River, North Carolina.—1791. The quarterly meeting of New Garden, North Carolina.

Truly, the original copyist of the above may well add—“We have given this remarkable case by way of encouragement, both to the humble transgressor and to those whose province it may be to labour for his recovery.”

The above extracts give a fair idea of the general nature of the old records of the American meetings. There are a few instances of a very flagrant nature occasionally met with, of which no example has been here transcribed; but these are of rare occurrence in the original documents, most of which relate to things connected with mutual assistance and edification.

NEW YORK.

There are comparatively few Orthodox Friends in New York, either in the City or State, but a large body of Hicksites in each. The Orthodox Yearly Meeting of New York contains fifteen quarterly meetings. These are widely scattered over the large 200 extent not only of that State but also of Upper Canada, Michigan, and a portion of Vermont.

The Hicksites have two yearly meetings in these districts, those of New York and Genessee.

The Orthodox in New York are a harmonious body, being undisturbed by Wilburism, owing to the complete secession of the small number of those whose sympathies were in that direction. In this respect it is better off than the large body in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

There is one quarterly meeting in Michigan, held at Adrian, in Lenawee county.

In Canada West there are three quarterly meetings, Pelham (near Niagara), Yonge Street (near Toronto), and West Lake (embracing Kingston and its neighbourhood). The

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two latter form "the Half Year's Meeting of Canada;" but all three, together with that of Michigan, belong to New York Yearly Meeting. There is some likelihood that the Friends of Michigan will form a new yearly meeting which will embrace the northern part of Indiana. There are probably about four thousand Friends in Canada West(including Hicksites), but no meeting in the Lower Province. The number of Canadian Friends has been very much over-estimated in some recent calculations.

New York was the principal scene of the protracted and violent struggles which resulted in the Hicksite and Orthodox schism in the Society of Friends. Each body has a large and good meeting-house in New York City, and each includes many wealthy and influential members. But the city is no exception to the general rule, that Quakerism flourishes better in rural districts and provincial towns than in large 201 seaboard cities. Yet there is a fair proportion of its members who take a lively individual interest in their Society, as well as in the particular and general advancement of religion. The New York yearly meeting (Orthodox) of 1860 was the largest known there for thirty years; and the meeting-house, which holds about fifteen hundred, was then quite full, for the first time since its erection. This was partly owing to the splendid season (very different in America from what it was in Great Britain), and partly to a general interest excited through the various quarterly meetings by a proposal to modernize some of the details of their disciplinary rules, which was carried into effect.

The Friendly associations of New York are of a very recent date. The little town of Flushing, ten miles distant on Long Island, has more historic interest in connexion with our Society than the whole City and State of New York together. And it was only as recently as 1794, that the yearly meeting was removed to New York City, having been previously held at Flushing, where it was established in 1692.

FLUSHING.

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Flushing is a neat town, of several thousand inhabitants, and surrounded by fine estates and villas. It is on Long Island Sound, which is at that part about three miles broad; and from the green and wooded undulations around the town are fine views of the New York, Connecticut, and Long Island 202 shores, and of many picturesque bays and inlets, branching from the Sound, which, near New York City, narrows into a rapid and rocky channel of about half-a-mile in width. It is a daily highway of fleets of coasting vessels, and for magnificent steam-boats, which connect New York with the New England railways at Stonington, Newport, and Fall River.

Long Island is more than a hundred miles in length. It forks, at its eastern end, into two narrow arms, separated by a deep bay. Its shores are noted for abundance of delicious oysters and clams. The latter form a characteristic dish of New England and New York, and are served up generally in the form of clam soup, or “clam-bake.” Flushing is near some of the best oyster and clam beds. The neighbourhood is beautifully green and well cultivated. There are trains and steam-boats several times daily to and from New York.

The Society of Friends had a footing at Flushing before any other denomination, and this town is an example of the prosperous and respectable condition of those places in America which were originally of Friendly settlement. The three principal families of these founders of Flushing are still there, or in its neighbourhood. These are the Lawrences, Parsonses, and Bownes. The former have taken an important part in the political and civil government of New York—several of them having been members of Congress and mayors of the city. Many members of their family reside at Bayside, three miles from Flushing, and their estates form a contiguous property of several miles in extent. On one of them is their old original 203 homestead. They have at Bayside their family burial-ground. The Parsonses, of Flushing, have a similar one at that place.

As an instance of the zeal for “simplicity” which distinguished some of the old Flushing Friends, it is recorded that when a widowed wife planted a small walnut-tree on the grave

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of a recently deceased husband, to mark the spot, some officious Friend went and pulled it up as a “testimony” against such an innovating practice.

Some of the best estates and houses around Flushing are in the hands of Friends. Their old meeting-house, erected in 1695, is still standing, but is now in possession of the Hicksites. The Orthodox have one close by.

Near this is the old Bowne House, around which a host of Quaker associations cluster. It was erected in 1661, by John Bowne, a Friend. Five descendants of the same name have held it in turn since his day, and it is still inhabited by one of the family. George Fox, and a number of the early worthies, lodged in this house, which contains many interesting relics of the past; as a very ancient clock and table, many old manuscripts and books, and, amongst the latter, a Bible dated 1622. In Bowne Avenue, close by, is the venerable survivor of the two Fox oaks, under which some of the early meetings of the Friends were held, and where George Fox is traditioned to have preached when he visited Flushing in 1672. The remaining oak is supposed to be about four hundred years old. Its ancient companion fell, from sheer decay, in 1841. This event called forth the following lines from Samuel B. Parsons, of that town:—

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THE FLUSHING OAK.

The ancient oak lies prostrate now, Its limbs embrace the sod, Where, in the Spirit's strength and might, Our pious fathers trod; Where, underneath its spreading arms, And by its shadows broad, Clad in simplicity and truth, They met to worship God.

No stately pillars round them rose, No dome was reared on high; The oaks their only columns were, Their roof the arching sky; No organ's deep-toned notes arose, Or vocal songs were heard; Their music was the passing wind, Or song of forest bird.

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And as His Spirit reached their hearts, By man's lips speaking now, A holy fire was in their eye, Pure thought upon their brow; And, while, in silence deep and still, Their souls all glowing were With heartfelt peace and joy and love, They felt that God was there.

Those pure and simple-minded men Have now all passed away, And of the scenes in which they moved, These only relics lay: And soon the last surviving oak, In its majestic pride, Will gather up its failing limbs And wither at its side.

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Then guard with care its last remains, Now that its race is run; No sacrilegious hand should touch The forest's forests noblest one. And when the question may be asked, Why that old trunk is there? 'Tis but the place in olden time God's holiest altars were.

It was at the hospitable residence of the Parsons family that Joseph John Gurney was laid up with indisposition for several months, whilst on his visit to America, and during that time many were the baskets of delicacies kindly sent over for the invalid from the sympathizing female members of the Lawrence family at Bayside.

The late Samuel Parsons was a sort of patriarch, both amongst the people of Flushing and with the members of his Society on Long Island and New York. When there, my attention was called to the many avenues of locust and other trees. These were first planted by him, and in many such ways he contributed to ornament and benefit his neighbourhood. But it was chiefly as a religious character that his usefulness was felt.

“And all the people loved him, and they came To him for counsel; and they sent for him When death's dark shadows gathered o'er their heads, For well they knew that with the Holy One He held communion; and in silent awe They listened to his fervent, loving prayers.

And sometimes, in a twilight hour like this, He'd gather us around him, kneel in prayer, And pour out for us such beseeching words That all the room seemed full of angels' wings, 206

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And to our youthful hearts a Presence seemed Hovering around, as visible to sense As the Shekinah which the Hebrew saw.”

The first John Bowne arrived at Flushing about the year 1650, and there married and settled. But in 1663, the persecuting Dutch Governor Stuyvesant, of New York, transported him to Holland “for the welfare of the community, and to crush, as far as it is possible, that abominable sect who treat with contempt both the political magistrates and the ministers of God's holy word.” But the authorities at Amsterdam, more wise in their generation, and more consistently, as the fellow-citizens of the liberal and tolerant statesmen Orange and De Witt, wrote back to Stuyvesant a letter of rebuke, in which, amongst other expressions, they state—“Although it is our desire that similar and other sectarians may not be found there, yet, as the contrary seems to be the fact, we doubt very much whether rigorous proceedings against them ought not to be discontinued, unless, indeed, you intend to check and destroy your population, which, in the youth of your existence, ought rather to be encouraged by all possible means. This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of our magistrates in this city; and the consequence has been that people have flocked from every land to this asylum. Tread thus in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed.”

After two years' exile John Bowne returned to Flushing, and became a prominent and useful Friend there. One day he was going towards New York, when a black bear rushed out of the woods upon him. In defence he thrust a stout stick, which he had with 207 him, Down the animal's throat with such energy as to kill him on the spot. After John Bowne's death, in 1695, the yearly meeting, in bearing witness to his worth, recorded “he did abundance of good, and died beloved by all sorts of people.”

Another member of the Bowne family was once attacked in the night by some burglars, who with blackened faces broke into his house, came up into his chamber and demanded his money. He refused to give it up; on which they tied his hands to the bed-post, and applied a lighted candle to his fingers. But he would not yield, and they left him in

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possession of his money. At the same time he recognized them through their disguise as being neighbours, but never prosecuted them, from a feeling of the duty of Christian forgiveness. It was what probably few of his friends would have done, as many would have felt it a duty to society in general to bring such miscreants to a deserved punishment for the protection of others.

It was another member of the same family whose name was confounded with that of the eminent Friends' preacher, Samuel Bownas, who visited Flushing in 1702, before the period of persecution of American Friends had ended. The sheriff came to arrest him as a ringleader of disorderly gatherings, and laid his hand upon him at a meeting for worship, saying, "You are my prisoner." "By what authority?" "By this warrant,"—showing an order to arrest Samuel Bowne. "That is not my name, but the name of this Friend here." "Oh no! we know him very well. It is you that we want. But what is your name then?" "That is a question that requires consideration 208 whether proper to answer or not." However, the sheriff eventually arrested him, and put him in prison, where he continued about a year.

This violent interference of the authorities was said to have been instigated by George Keith, who attained great notoriety in the early days of Quakerism. He had been for many years an intimate companion of George Fox and William Penn, and often travelled as a preacher in the Society. He received the appointment of Surveyor General of New Jersey, through the influence of Friends who were at that period the proprietors and governors of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. After awhile he became dissatisfied with the doctrines of the Society, which he declared were of a Socinian nature. He probably met in America with some ministers who dwelt unduly on one side of Christian doctrine, and who might really have been unawares decidedly tinged with Socinianism. The Friends and George Keith had various disputations, and he ultimately left their communion. This was usually spoken of by them as his "apostacy," and led to much bitterness on both sides. When subsequently he returned to America from England as an ordained clergyman of the Established Church, and endeavoured to draw the Friends of Flushing from their opinions, they would not hear him, and he was obliged to give up the attempt. Afterwards he came

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again to their meeting with two Justices and an order from Lord Cornbury to prevent his being interrupted. "But, notwithstanding the two Justices that came along with me to signify my Lord Cornbury's mind by his letter to them, which was read to them in their meeting by Mr. Talbot, they used the like interruption 209 as formerly, and took no notice of my Lord Cornbury's letter, more than if it had been from any private person." No, indeed, it was of small use for "my Lord" to "signify his mind" to the humble yet resolutely-determined Christians, who bore, under the Divine blessing, their principles triumphantly over all the persecutions of kings in the Old World, and of their deputies in the New, until they had attained to a growth and independence, when further opposition was out of the question.

The political constitution of Great Britain, and of the United States more especially, is under no small obligation to the persevering fidelity of the Early Friends in their indomitable assertion of the universal "rights of man," and particularly of the right which every man has by nature to the most free, most untrammelled liberty of religious thought, speech, and mode of worship, provided these do not actively interfere with the safety and rights of civil society. It was a hard and protracted contest though; but it is long since over, and securely won, and both American Governors and British Sovereigns have long since ceased to have any power whatever, of hindering Friends or others from their inalienable right (paramount to all other claim) of freedom of conscience and worship. And this result is largely owing, under God, to the virtue of the Early Friends, and to the manner in which they wearied out all opposition, however violent and continued.

It is very striking to observe the intensity of bitterness which prevailed in New England and parts of America against the Friends who first settled there. They were willing to grant to others what they asked P 210 for themselves, and proved their readiness whenever they had opportunity, as during their sway in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and elsewhere. But the Puritans, until Roger Williams showed a better way, and for which he too suffered, were very eager for liberty so long as it was only for themselves; when others wanted to dissent from them, then they were worse than their more courtly persecutors in Britain.

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Besides the hangings, and pillories, and cutting-off of ears by the Puritans of Boston, there were similar enactments and penalties denounced against Friends in Connecticut, especially under the celebrated "Blue Laws," which declared that "No Quaker or Dissenter from the established worship of the dominion shall be allowed to give a vote for the election of magistrates or any officer. No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or heretic. If any person turns Quaker he shall be banished, and not suffered to return upon the pain of death." The same "Laws" enacted, amongst other matters, that "No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting. No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair or shave on the Sabbath day. Whoever wears clothes trimmed with gold or bone-lace above two shillings by the yard, shall be presented by the grand jurors, and the selectman shall tax the offenders at three hundred pounds estate. A debtor in prison swearing he has no estate shall be let out, and sold to make satisfaction. No one shall read Common Prayer, keep Christmas or Saint days, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet, and jew's-harp."

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Such sour and sanctimonious orthodoxy as this was, probably, not at all more favourable to real religion than the wild licence of the Cavaliers; and if such absurd enactments had continued, New England would never have emerged from a state of political infancy.

Flushing was noted for being a settlement of Friends from its commencement. A clergyman writes, in 1704, of "Newtown and Flushing, famous for being stocked with Quakers, whither I intend to go upon their meeting days, on purpose to preach lectures against their errors." Another clergyman in a report, the same year 1704, to the Missionary Society for Propagating the Gospel, says: "Flushing is another town in the same county; most of the inhabitants thereof are Quakers, who rove through the country from one village to another, talk blasphemy, corrupt the youth, and do much mischief."

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But with a more enlightened age has come a better mutual understanding. All the various denominations, and they are well represented at Flushing, are on excellent terms one with another, and each would be more likely to eulogize than blame another for influential position there. The Friends are now a small minority in this neighbourhood, of which they were once the chief inhabitants; but those that remain are of good influence and respectability.

FRIENDS IN NEW ENGLAND.

New England Yearly Meeting is the oldest of all the provincial organizations of Friends on the P 2 212 American continent. It ranks third in numerical and general importance, coming next to those of Indiana and Philadelphia. It was established in 1661, but there were some Friends in these colonies as early as 1655. The yearly meeting is held at Newport, on Rhode Island. It embraces eight quarterly meetings—those of Rhode Island, Salem (north-eastern Massachusetts), Sandwich (the new Bedford district), Falmouth (in Maine), Smithfield (central and western Massachusetts), Vassalborough (in Maine), Dover (New Hampshire), and Fairfield (Maine).

Its principal particular meetings are those of Lynn, Providence, Newport, Salem, Worcester, New Bedford, and Vassalborough.

It is a singular thing, that although New England is the very home of Unitarianism, yet there have scarcely been any Hicksites amongst the Friends of that district. It was the scene of the first direct Wilburite schism. About four hundred seceded on this account throughout the yearly meeting, but their ranks are now reduced to about half that number, and their meetings are very small indeed; so that the Orthodox Friends of New England are, like those of Indiana, a compact, numerous, and united body. As in Philadelphia, many of them are wealthy, owing to their active and successful engagements in the whale fisheries of New Bedford, and the manufactures or merchandise of Providence, Worcester, and Lynn. The Maine Friends are chiefly engaged in agriculture.

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Friends seem never to have flourished in Boston, from the first; and no meeting is held there now, although there are a few members in or around the city, but these attend the meeting at Lynn. There is a meeting-house belonging to the Society in Boston, but it is scarcely ever made use of as such.

At Lynn is one of the largest gatherings of Friends in New England. It is nine miles from Boston, and is pleasantly situated on a bay which forms a part of the larger Bay of Massachusetts. From the middle of Lynn a singular peninsula, called Nahant, projects about three miles into the ocean. It is joined to the mainland by a very narrow ridge of sand, just affording room for a long and level road of about a mile and a half in length, like a causeway through the water. At the extremity of this, the peninsula divides into three portions of considerable area, and containing many gardens and villas. One of the latter is the usual residence of the poet Longfellow, and his neat barouche and two gray horses may be seen almost daily passing rapidly over the long narrow causeway to Lynn. On Nahant is a monster hotel, which used to be a summer resort of the fashionable Bostonians, but it is at present shut up, and looks the picture of desolation.

Lynn is probably the seat of the largest manufacture of shoes in the world. Wherever the eye turns the word "shoes" is almost sure to meet it, and customers come here from all parts of the Union with orders for these essentials to a good understanding. Lynn has a fine smooth stretch of beach, and at the north end of it is the Squamscot Bog, noted for its cranberries. It is a capital spot for the botanist or naturalist, and in it are, amongst other objects of interest, numerous spotted green frogs and slender water-snakes.

Close to the beach at Lynn are many large and handsome villas, each surrounded by gardens and lawns of deep grass slanting down to the shore and having at the bottom a raised terrace pathway which lines the sands. One of these villas was the residence of W. H. Prescott, the eminent historian, and here his widow still resides. Close by, in a similarly elegant residence, lives the father-in-law of Longfellow. On the Lynn Sands are many sea-

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shells, dead lobsters, and a number of round marine shells much resembling a helix, or land-snail.

The Friends' Meeting at Lynn is very pleasantly situated amongst the thickly-planted avened streets of the town, but retired a little on its own ground. Lynn Friends appear very sociable, and are active in the Sabbath-school movement, in which both younger and elder members take a deep and practical interest. They have also social reading meetings weekly or fortnightly, in the evenings, at the house of a valued Friend, who established a gathering of the kind some years ago, and found it work very beneficially. Friends anti and their neighbours were at liberty to come in on such evenings and listen to the reading of selections from interesting religious biographies and other works of a similar nature. Some of the young Friends expressed a wish to have a livelier selection, or a discussion after each reading. This plan has been found to answer very well at similar readings in Friends' social circles in England and America, but it failed at Lynn; for the young Friends set up an independent reading of their own, but did not succeed in maintaining its interest or the number of its attenders. On this, the Friend who had previously entertained reading parties renewed them on the 215 former basis, but with the clear understanding that all attenders were welcome to be present, but that the selection should not be disputed, or be followed by any discussion. On this footing they have continued since with interest to all parties, and the number of attenders has kept up and steadily increased.

Such social reading meetings, held at private houses, are an institution of great religious and moral value, and have been gradually creeping into general favour with Friends in many parts of England and America during the last twenty years. The management of the one at Lynn is rather exceptional, and though so successful there, would be just as likely to fail in some other places.

Usually, the objects aimed at in such gatherings are, to combine the promotion of social acquaintance with interesting reading of a decidedly religious tendency. It is better that they should be of a moderate size as to numbers, than so large as to partake of the

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character of a public meeting or lecture. At Richmond, in Indiana, there are at least two of these reading parties held once a week, and the circle is in each case almost entirely composed of Friends whose houses are very near together. The readings are of a varied and interesting nature, and give great satisfaction to the attenders.

It is of importance for each Christian community to cultivate the social element, as well as that which may be styled more directly ecclesiastical or denominational. This union of the social element with the latter, as fostering binding influences, was divinely instituted as a vital part of the constitution of the Jewish nation, and had its operation in the great 216 re-unions three times a year at the Feasts of the Passover, of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles, when the influences of collective travel in large bands, the meeting of old acquaintances, union in Jerusalem and on the route thither, and in various other ways, must have powerfully tended to foster and deepen that national sympathy and unity which have so eminently tended to the preservation of the peculiar Jewish nation.

And the more peculiar and numerically weaker any denomination is, the more it has need of the binding and conservative influences of such re-unions. It was a doubly far-seeing policy of the Early Friends to establish the periodic gatherings of their members in annual, quarterly, and monthly meetings. For there can be little doubt but that the Society of Friends owes much of its existence and interest of fellowship to the social element in these, its gatherings. And probably the influences of the monthly and quarterly meeting parties, dinner-tables, and union in travel, have often been little less cheering, or even edifying, than some of the regular disciplinary and religious proceedings on such occasions.

And now that railways have so shortened the times of travelling and tarriance at these gatherings, it becomes doubly necessary for the Society to foster and maintain its individuality and union by such extensions of the social element as are afforded by these reading meetings and similar re-unions. They are claiming increased attention, especially amongst English Friends.

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At Amesbury, about twenty-five miles from Lynn, on the borders of New Hampshire, resides John G. 217 Whittier, the Quaker Poet of America. He is unmarried, and not engaged in any occupation but that of literature. His residence is a neat house amongst the avenues and gardens which are so specially characteristic of the pleasant New England towns, even more than of any other part of America. Amesbury is justly proud of him, and I was informed that on reaching it—"Anybody will tell you directly where Mr. Whittier lives." The avenue in which his house is situated is called Quaker Street, and in it is also a neat public library and reading-room, in the establishment of which he has taken great interest, designed for the especial improvement of the numerous operatives in the large Salisbury Mills, which are the feature of the town, and are amongst the woollen manufactories of the United States, being a scale similar to the vast establishments of the at Lowell and Lawrence, in the vicinity. The great facility of water-power at Amesbury, from a fall of sixty feet of a powerful stream, with a distance of about a furlong or less. This stream is the Powow, alluded to by Whittier in several of his poems. The country around is picturesque, and rises away gradually inland, towards the hills and mountains of New Hampshire. About four miles eastward is the long beach of Salisbury. Nearer is the Merrimac, and within sight of Amesbury is Newbuport, a place almost equal in historic interest to any other spot on the American continent, from the simple fact that it holds the tomb and dust of Whitfield. Whittier was born at Haverhill, about ten miles from Amesbury, and has spent most of his life amidst the quiet scenes of the Merrimac valley.

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"Stream of my fathers! sweetly still
The sunset rays thy valley fill;
Poured slant-wise down
the long defile
Wave, wood, and spire beneath them smile.
I see the winding Powow fold
The green hill in its belt of gold,
And following down its wavy line
Its sparkling waters blend
with thine.

Centuries ago that harbour bar,
Stretching its length of foam afar,
And Salisbury's beach
of shining sand,
And yonder island's wave-smoothed strand,
Saw the adventurer's tiny

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sail Flit stooping from the eastern gale, As o'er these woods and waters broke The cheer
from Britain's hearts of oak, As brightly on the voyager's eye, Weary of boundless sea and
sky, Breaking the dull continuous wood The Merrimack rolled down his flood, Mingling that
clear pellucid brook Which channels vast Agiochook When spring-time's sun and shower
unlock The frozen fountains of the rock, And more abundant waters given From that pure
lake, 'The smile of Heaven,' Tributes from vale and mountain-side— With ocean's dark
eternal tide.

Home of my fathers! I have stood Where Hudson rolled his lordly flood: Seen sunrise
rest, and sunset fade Along his frowning Palisade; Looked down the Apalachian peak On
Juniata's silver streak; Have seen along his valley gleam The Mohawk's softly winding
stream! The level light of sunset shine

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Through broad Potomac's hem of pine; And autumn's rainbow-tinted banner Hang lightly
o'er the Susquehanna; Yet, wheresoe'er his step might be, Thy wandering child looked
back to thee!"

Harriet Beecher Stowe lives about eighteen miles from Amesbury, and is, together with her
brother Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn, one of Whittier's particular friends. More of his
associates live not far off, as Charles Sumner and others, at Boston.

The influence of the writings, both of Whittier and Stowe, would have been far more
general and powerful in America, if they had yielded to the tacit popular tolerance of
slavery. However the north may be agitated against slavery-extension and southern
supremacy, yet it is a plain fact, that strongly abolitionist literature is not generally
palatable in either section of the States. John G. Whittier has never pandered in the
slightest to this popular tendency, but the most arousing and impassioned of his poems
are those which he has penned

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“For Freedom, in the name of Him Who came to raise earth's drooping poor; To break the chain from every limb, The bolt from every prison-door.”

And he has not only written but suffered for freedom, having been “burnt out” by a pro-slavery mob in Philadelphia, and stoned by another mob at Concord, in New Hampshire. On the latter occasion he was in company with George Thompson, of England, and, amid the outrages of the populace, a young lady, the 220 niece of an eminent American statesman, called to him, sympathizingly, “Oh, I will die with you, Mr. Whittier.” The latter, in full possession of his sound common sense, even in extremest peril, answered pleasantly, “And whatever good will that do us?”

The late excellent Wm. Henry Channing was one of Whittier's friends, and remarked to him once, that he was surprised that the American Friends did not more generally appreciate the biography and writings of the apostolic John Woolman, judging by the few copies he had observed in their libraries. Whittier has the highest estimate of Woolman, and has expressed it in some of his poems.

For energy and taste combines, he is unsurpassed by any American poet, and it is almost impossible to read some of his lines without being carried away with the resistless force of the feelings they convey. As an instance, a gentleman, whom I met in travelling, mentioned to me a student at Harvard University, who was a native of the South, and very fond of choosing for the subject of his College themes and declamations the merits of the “patriarchal institution.” He was especially opposed to the abolitionists. But one day, at the urgent request and challenge of his fellow-students, he consented to recite, in his usual style, the stirring poem by Whittier—“Massachusetts to Virginia.” So fully were his own feelings drawn away by those of the author, that from that time he became a warm partizan of Northern sentiments, and when he left college became a minister in Michigan, and married a lady who fully participated in his views. She was soon taken from him by death, but in her illness it was one of her greatest alleviations of pain 221 to hear her husband read at her bedside from the writings of the author whom they both so highly

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admired. And, after her decease, he took a journey to Massachusetts to visit the poet, and convey to him, personally, his thanks for the consolations of his writings to his late beloved partner during her last days of weakness and decline. The narrator told me he was himself then returning to the west from a town amongst the mountains and valleys of New England, and that his enjoyment of them had been enhanced by the pleasant associations thrown around them by the poems of Whittier.

After visiting Amesbury, Lynn, and Boston, I went to Providence and Newport, in Rhode Island. A train for New York leaves Boston every afternoon, in connexion with the Connecticut steam-boats. It passes through Providence, and enables the Boston merchants, after transacting their day's business, to be in New York, two hundred and fifty miles distant, by eight o'clock the next morning, after a pleasant ride by rail and a comfortable night's rest on one of the splendid steamers which pass rapidly up and down the smooth waters of Long Island Sound.

Providence is about forty miles from Boston, and the country between, though not bold, is very varied and picturesque. It contains many ponds and winding meres bordered by rich green grass. There are many low rocky hills and croppings-out of granitic strata with thick woods above. Amongst the meadows is an abundant indigenous flora of bushy pink valerian, red sumach, white yarrow, and bright golden rod, and in the pools many deep blue spikes of a plant resembling a potamogeton. The railway passes by a 222 viaduct above the pretty town of Canton, which is well-wooded and with many orchards, spires, and a dark winding-stream passing under arches of willow, elm, and ash. Occasionally is seen a rural cemetery almost buried in foliage, from out of which appear its neat white monuments.

In this part of New England we often pass through cuttings in light-coloured horizontal strata of sand and pebbles, and amongst these ancient marine or drift deposits are many patches of swamp, abounding in wild flowers and eatable berries. The railway stations of New England are more English-looking than any other in America, except a few in

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Canada. On entering Rhode Island State we immediately find ourselves amongst a lively manufacturing population, with large mills and factories all around. At Pawtucket, four miles from Providence, are the first cotton mills erected in America.

Providence has a large railway station, and is an important place both for shipping and manufactures, especially those of cotton, tools, and jewellery. It is at the narrow upper end of Narragansett Bay, and is a peculiarly respectable city, with many elegant mansions and gardens in the suburbs and on the hill which rises behind it. In the centre of the city is a circular basin of water (not used by ships), about a furlong in diameter, and walled with masonry. Around it is a neat promenade walk.

Providence was founded by Roger Williams in 1635, when driven from Massachusetts by the less liberal Puritans. When he landed there on a rock in the neighbourhood, which has since been historic ground, he was hailed by the Indians with the words, 223 “What cheer?” and received in a friendly manner. These words have become proverbial in America, and even in distant San Francisco, one of the largest hotels is named “The What-Cheer House.”

In the neighbourhood of the city are many large educational institutions, the principal of which is Brown University, one of the oldest in America. It consists of several piles of oblong and rather dingy buildings. Its trustees must be, according to the terms of its foundation, members of various denominations, but it is required that its Principal shall be a Baptist. It has a high reputation as a college.

Near it is the Yearly Meeting Boarding School for the children of Friends in New England. This is a very fine establishment, larger than that at West-town, near Philadelphia, and receives much attention from its supporters. It was founded by the venerable Moses Brown in 1818, and contains 120 boys and 110 girls. The charges are from 80 dollars to 200 dollars per annum (£16 to £40). The modern languages are taught here as well as the ancient, and in this respect it differs from most other Friends' schools in America.

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The course of studies is a very liberal one, and there is a good museum, laboratory, and library. In the latter are several rare specimens of early Quaker literature, as George Fox's "Battledore," and the "Snake in the Grass." The pupils of this Institution are not all Friends, or limited to natives of New England. Two of them are Portuguese, from Mozambique, in Africa. Those who are not Friends appear to become more attached to the Society's customs and principles than many of the birthright members.

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The school has an endowment of 100,000 dollars (£20,000). The course of study extends over four years.

The former pupils of this Institution have formed an "Alumni Association." They hold an annual gathering at Newport on the occasion of the yearly meeting, and take the opportunity of renewing old friendships, reviving past memories, and manifesting a practical interest in the success of their Alma Mater.

Near the school is the residence of Dr. S. Boyd Tobey, the Clerk of New England Yearly Meeting, and also that of Dr. Wayland, the President of Brown University, and one of the most eminent of American theologians.

From Providence I went to Newport, passing down Narragansett Bay. It is on Rhode Island proper, and is the most fashionable watering-place in America, having eclipsed Saratoga. It has several fine beaches on the Atlantic side, and possesses many historic associations. Bishop Berkeley resided here for a time. He was an Irish prelate of excellent life, and was said to possess "Every virtue under heaven." Here also lived and died Commodore Perry, of naval celebrity. At Newport are two very strong forts guarding the entrance to Narragansett Bay'Fort Adams and Fort Wolcott.

At one period Rhode Island proper was under the peaceful government of Friends"“The governor and all the magistrates were Quakers, and the most beautiful system of government that the world has ever seen was carried into effect. When war raged around,

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and fire and fagot and the tomahawk were doing 225 their work, Rhode Island, sustained by the principles of equity and justice, remained uninjured. A still more striking instance occurred in the settlement of Carolina. That great philosopher, John Locke, skilled in the learning of the world, who had written extensively on government, on toleration, and the rights of man, from his superior wisdom was solicited to form a constitution for the new Colony. The work was accomplished—it was the pride of its day. It was wise in the learning of books, and in examples drawn from history. All its nice adjustments were of no avail, and the Carolinas found no settlement until a Quaker, John Archdale, of Buckinghamshire, was called to administer the government upon the Quaker principle.”

And the provinces of Pennsylvania and New Jersey enjoyed, whilst under the sway of Friends, a degree of happiness and prosperity, which was a golden age compared to the early struggles and bloodshed of the older Colonies, which were instituted and governed on principles more warlike, less “Utopian.”

There are not so many Friends at Newport as at Providence, but the yearly meeting has been held there since 1661, so that it has a respectable and superior claim to precedence in this respect.

It contains one of the few genuine antiquities of America,—this is a round tower of rude masonry, about thirty-five feet high and twenty in diameter, and arched at the base. It is popularly called “The Old Mill,” and is the scene of one of Longfellow's poems. Some ascribe to it a Scandinavian origin.

When at Boston I went to see the “Common.” This is really no common at all, but a well-planted park. In one part of it is a small winding sheet of Q 226 water. This is probably the precise locality where the four Friends were hanged, about the year 1660, for persisting in preaching in the Colony. John Burnyeat says they were executed on Boston Common, in a swampy place, and from the configuration of the ground, the present pond was, in all probability, the scene of the event. It is a dark blot on the early history of the Puritan

colony. But Massachusetts, which was formerly so intolerant and bigoted, is now not surpassed in its liberal sentiments by any other State of the Union.

AMERICAN FRIENDS AND SLAVERY.

The Society of Friends in America have combined a firm protest against slavery with a general prudence in the expression of that protest. In the first place, they have all relinquished holding slaves, and those that held them manumitted them. And if any Friend should now hold slaves he would be disowned from membership in the Society. Having thus practically and boldly asserted the sacredness of the principle of freedom, the Society there has not felt itself called upon to unite in violent language against slaveholders, or even in enticing away slaves from their masters. Against the latter practice a protest has been issued by the yearly meeting of North Carolina. But although Friends thus avoid exciting slaves to run away, yet when these have taken the initiative and chosen to leave their masters and are in distress on their route, they have found in the Society their readiest befrienders.

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And Friends have been amongst the most active conductors of “the underground railway.” This is the term given to the system of secret co-operation by which slaves are aided along their fugitive route from south of the Ohio river to Canada. The plan is this:—A runaway negro comes to a town or house, where there are Friends or persons known to be of strong anti-slavery views. These will either drive him on by night, some six or ten miles, to the next “station,”—that is, the house of some other person of similar freedom of sentiment,—or they will at least lodge or otherwise aid him in his concealment and progress. Formerly the “underground railroad” was of very limited width, and almost exclusively conducted by Friends; but of late years a great change has come over the Northern States, and multitudes who were formerly indifferent, or actually favourable to slavery, now take a pleasure in aiding runaway slaves. The “railroad” now extends across the whole length and breadth of Ohio and Indiana, and over parts of Illinois and Iowa.

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That is to say, there are persons in almost every place throughout these States, who will willingly aid the fugitives, although they are liable to a penalty of one thousand dollars in each case if detected.

The reason why there has been such a change in the North is, the growing insolence and unreasonableness of the Southern States. Not content with their original privileges, and with the concessions which from time to time they have extorted from the North in the way of “compromises,” they have pushed their claims and attempts beyond all toleration. They have succeeded in passing laws through Congress, Q2 228 which compel the North to take active means for arresting the fugitive slaves under heavy penalties. Further, they treat with insolence and violence Northerners, who venture whilst travelling in the South to express a decided opinion against slavery, or even a mild one. Lately they have hanged or brutally treated persons in the South, especially in Texas, on the most frivolous pretences, such as for having anti-slavery newspapers in their possession. They have grossly insulted Northern senators, especially Charles Sumner, who, whilst sitting at his desk in the Capitol, was set upon from behind by several Southern senators and so brutally and cowardly beaten, whilst held down in his seat, that his life was in danger for a long time afterwards, and it was four years before he could resume his place in the Senate. It is dangerous for any man to open his mouth against slavery in the South, however temperately he may speak. Especially to an Englishman, the feeling in the South is most disagreeable. He feels “tongue-tied,”—and as if breathing the atmosphere of a lime-kiln, as to his usual freedom of utterance.

The Southerners make it their boast that Northerners are afraid to come amongst them. I remember riding in an omnibus in a Free State, and there was an insolent pro-slavery advocate, who looked round at some of the passengers who had expressed their approval of Lincoln, the Republican candidate for President, and said, “Ah, you are the nigger party. You are John Brown's party. Why don't you come down South? You are afraid to come down there,” and so on. This is merely a type of the general conduct of the South.

No continental despotism can compare with that which under the vaunt of liberty is exercised by the Southern public over white “free” men, who travel, or at any rate who reside in their States.

In nearly all the Southern States there are codes of laws against white men worthy of the days of Draco, laws which decree heavy fines and long years of imprisonment for the slightest acts of “tampering” with slaves. Under this head of “tampering” is included a kind word or almost a sympathetic look at a slave.

The South always has to yield when it ventures beyond insult into actual resistance to the North. Thus in Kansas they tried to force slavery by war and murder, on which the North said, “Oh, if you fight, we can fight too,” and immediately repressed the Southern power there by their superior strength. The present increased insults to the North are owing to the felt conviction that the Northern supremacy, both in politics and wealth, and in public opinion, is now irrevocably and permanently established, as witnessed in the expression of the national voice by its votes this autumn.

The overthrow of the Southern supremacy is not a defeat but a rout. But the North does not wish to use its power unreasonably. It says, “You may retain your slaves in your present States, but we will not allow you to extend them to the Territories. You shall not introduce slavery into Kansas, or New Mexico, or Arizona, or Utah, or Nebraska.”

The Southern insults have thus at length aroused the North to put forth or rather to make manifest its calm but irresistible strength. And for one anti-slavery 230 man that there was in the North twenty years ago there are now a hundred. Even in Philadelphia, about twenty years ago, the great body of the citizens were so decidedly pro-slavery, that they burnt the hall in which the abolition party held their meetings. Further, they ransacked and destroyed the office of the one abolition newspaper then published in that city; and the editor of that paper, John G. Whittier, saw his own office thus outraged and sacked, and, to use his own

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words, in narrating the circumstances to me, "I had to flee in disguise, to escape a coat of tar and feathers."

But how is the scene changed in twenty years! This autumn I saw a sight not to be easily forgotten—the streets of the same Philadelphia crowded with miles of torchlight bearers, marching in comparatively interminable procession, with music, lights, and banners, to proclaim that Philadelphia had spoken out, as with the voice of one man, for "Liberty and Lincoln."

What would be the fate now-a-days of the men who should destroy an anti-slavery hall, or ransack an anti-slavery office, or attempt to tar and feather an anti-slavery editor in Philadelphia? The tables are turned with a vengeance, since 1840. And yet this revulsion of popular Northern feeling is not owing mainly to any anti-slavery efforts, but almost entirely to the indignation aroused by the insults of the South.

The men who forced the Fugitive Slave Law, and cowardly abused Sumner, and have this autumn been hanging poor German mapsellers in Texas, as "abolitionist emissaries," and who showed their "Virginian chivalry" by insulting the Prince of Wales at Richmond, (the only southern spot he visited, and the only spot in all North America where he was treated otherwise than with mutually honourable welcome,)—it is these Southern men who have done a hundred-fold more against their own cause than all the anti-slavery meetings, subscriptions, tracts, books, orations, or societies, that were ever instituted or heard of. The most effective "ultra-abolitionists" in America are the populace, and senators, and editors of the Carolinas, Virginia, Mississippi, Texas, and Arkansas. Massachusetts has done nothing to arouse the North compared with the intemperate claims and insults of these Southern States.

The Friends in America, though always decidedly anti-slavery in action and example, have not as a body taken a part amongst the extreme advocates of abolitionism; but have, on the contrary, rather discouraged their members from such association, partly because they

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perceived that over-zeal and violent words were likely to promote the interests of the pro-slavery party, instead of injuring them, and partly because some of the leaders of the ultra-antislavery advocates have been and still are of sceptical religious opinions. And there can be little doubt, but that, by this judicious and yet thoroughly practical policy, the American Friends have accomplished more for freedom than if their zeal had got the better of their prudence.

There is another subject which is often mixed up with the slavery question, but which is in reality quite distinct from it,—that of the habits of, and association with, the coloured race. It is not usual in the North for the free blacks to travel in the same carriage, or be admitted to a social equality with the 232 whites; and the Americans are often blamed by Englishmen for being too exclusive in this way. But it is generally noticed, that whenever an Englishman travels in America amongst the blacks, he acknowledges, with others, that although there are well-behaved and respectable exceptions, yet as a class, generally, their habits are unpleasant to white persons. Their manners, and language, and personal customs are very different from those of the few superior specimens of the race who come over to Britain occasionally as lecturers, or anti-slavery agents. These, too, are generally of as much white blood as black, and are not to be taken as by any means a sample of the generality of the negro population in America.

So that, although the American Friends are truly zealous for the liberty and improvement of the negroes, they do not generally feel it necessary to depart from the ordinary customs of white society in respect to non-intimacy with the coloured race. And until that race becomes more pleasant ill in its general habits than it is as yet, there is not much probability that the relative social position of coloured people and the whites will be much altered.

In this country we should be careful how we let in a tinge of judgment respecting the social reserve which the American Friends so generally feel needful in this respect, for it is pretty certain that if we were in their place our policy would not be very different; and, after all,

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they are unceasing in their efforts for the social as well as moral, intellectual, and religious amelioration of the negroes, and they have had to bear the real brunt and personal conflict of the anti-slavery struggle, in a degree to which we are necessarily strangers.

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FRIENDS' SABBATH SCHOOLS IN AMERICA.

The origin and establishment of Sabbath schools amongst Friends in the West has been already alluded to, as having been chiefly rendered successful by the persevering efforts of some of the members of Richmond meeting. It was interesting to me to have an opportunity of witnessing their operation there, and elsewhere in the West, and to see the earnestness with which the elder and younger Friends enter into this very important part of the Society's maintenance.

There is a great distinction between the aspect of the "First-day School Association" amongst Friends in America, compared with those in England. In the latter case, the movement is simply to engage young Friends to give their time and labour on the Sabbath, to instruct the children of the poor of other denominations. Scarcely any of their pupils are members of their own Society, and it is not necessary that it should be so, for there is a far more general attention given to the religious and secular education of members by Friends in England than in America. There are only about eight public boarding-schools in America for the children of the eighty thousand "Orthodox" Friends in east and west, and scarcely any private boarding-schools in addition; whereas, amongst the seventeen thousand Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, there are at least fourteen public boarding-schools, and eight or ten additional private ones. Besides which, more than a few Friends in Great Britain have private tutors or governesses to teach their own families at home,—a practice scarcely ever heard of amongst American Friends.

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So that in the Friends' "First-day Schools" in Great Britain it is only the teachers that are Friends, the pupils being almost universally members of other denominations, whilst in

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America both teachers and pupils are members of the same Society. In some of their schools there is a small proportion from other denominations, including Hicksites.

I will briefly describe a morning spent at Richmond First-day School, the principal one amongst Friends in America. The school there, as in most other places, is held in the large meeting-house, and commences on first-day morning, two hours before meeting time, viz., at 9 o'clock, and terminates about 10.45. Both divisions of the house are occupied by the various classes, of which there are seventeen. The total number of scholars was that morning about 130. Elijah Coffin is the superintendent, and Isaac Evans the assistant superintendent.

The eldest class of pupils consisted of nearly twenty elderly women Friends, sometimes pleasantly alluded to as the "spectacled class." They included female ministers and elders, and were seated in the gallery at the head of the meeting-house. Their teacher was an elderly man Friend, a minister. The class was that morning reading the sixth chapter of Revelations. Their reading was slow, and the remarks made by either pupils or teacher were very deliberate.

In another part of the meeting was a class of young men, conducted by an intelligent Friend, who had a Greek Testament beside him for reference.

At the opposite side of the room was another class, of ten more youths. Their teacher was discussing an 235 historic question, and was turning over the pages of a thick "Adam Clark's Commentary," to elucidate his subject.

At the lower end of the meeting, the clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting (who is also a manager of the State Bank) was teaching his class of fifteen young women. The subject was the Resurrection and a future state, and the aspect of the question then under consideration was the reason why our Saviour was termed in Scripture "the first begotten from the dead," and the "first fruits" of immortality, seeing that there are several preceding instances of resurrection recorded in the Bible. It seemed to be at length explained that in

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those previous cases of resurrection, as of the child at Zarephath, Lazarus, and Jairus's daughter, the dead had not risen again immortal, and that by their subsequent death they were clearly distinguished from a resurrection like our Lord's, who rose "now, *no more* to return to corruption." Parallel references of Scripture were freely made use of in this and other classes.

In a corner of the house was a small class of six middle-aged or elderly men Friends, who were holding a conversation on the subject of the "transfiguration," and on the nature of the "tabernacles," then mentioned by Peter. There was no particular teacher to this class, it being one for mutual instruction.

In the adjoining, division of the meeting-house (a very large one) were several classes of girls of various ages.

Another class of younger girls was being taught by the wife of the Friend who conducts the young women's class in the adjoining division, and her class, 236 like her husband's was also examining the subject of the resurrection, on which they had collected various texts of Scripture the preceding week, to be committed to memory and now repeated.

At the far end of the room was an "infant class" of very young boys and girls, taught by a kind and cheerful female teacher, by the aid of pictures, as they were too young to read. On showing them a picture of Noah's ark, one child asked if any fishes were taken into it. The reply was, "Yes, perhaps some to eat." These little ones were very eager to answer their questions, which they did simultaneously.

Across the room was another small class of four rather older boys, evincing similar interest in an account of Jonah and "the whale."

In most of the classes a chapter was first read, verse by verse, all around. The questions and illustrations followed this reading, and with the aid of comparing parallel passages. Several books were in use as helps for the younger classes, especially "the Mother's

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Catechism,” and “Questions on Luke and John,” both compiled by Elijah Coffin. Some use was also made of Biblical Cyclopaedias and Dictionaries.

Amongst the visitors that morning was a young Methodist minister, and all an elder member of the same church from a distance. They appeared much interested in the school, and subsequently addressed the children on their satisfaction at the purely scriptural mode of instruction, and especially at the general use of parallel references.

About four-fifths of the pupils at this school are members of the Friends' Society, but their dresses, 237 especially of the younger girls, were by no means so uniform as those of their elders and teachers.

All the classes gather together at the upper end of the meeting, about ten minutes before the termination of the school-time, to recite the verses learnt during the week. The superintendent, who has been walking about from class to class during the school-hours, now calls upon individual pupils to repeat passages which he has reason to know they are prepared with. It is also usual, at the end of school, to ask any visitors who may be present whether they wish to address the children. If so, an opportunity is given.

The whole morning was a pleasant, cheerful, and very interesting one.

I had several opportunities of witnessing first-day schools in smaller meetings than Richmond. In some of these a Friend and his wife occasionally unite in teaching one class. Amongst the books used, one was particularly recommended to me, and on examining it, I found it to be an American reprint, under another title, of the very valuable English work, entitled Nicholls' “ Help to the Reading of the Bible.” It is published in London by the “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,” and is almost the best aid of the kind to the teacher, pupil, or private student, for exciting an interest in the Holy Scriptures. Its American title is “The Mine Explored.”

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There are now established first-day schools in nearly all the particular meetings belonging to the Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings, as well as in Iowa and Kansas. In these districts there are very few "Wilbur Friends." In Ohio, where the Wilburites are more numerous, there has been a slower readiness 238 to adopt first-day schools; and in Pennsylvania, where the same section of the Society is most numerous and influential, there has been general opposition to them.

But, very recently, a few young Friends in Philadelphia, who belong to the "Evangelical" section, have opened a first-day school, under considerable discouragement. One of them had many years ago felt it his duty to become a teacher in Sabbath schools. He could not do it at that time in the Society, and so used to go to a Baptist School and teach. He almost felt inclined to leave Friends altogether, but could not quite resolve to do so. Now that way has opened he has taken to the teaching of a class of young Friends. But this incipient movement is discouraged by the majority of Friends in Philadelphia, for the old reason that (as they allege) to teach children by scriptural instruction is "interfering with the province of the Holy Spirit," or at any rate, that this is the case when young Friends take upon themselves to teach children without a sort of irresistible impulse from the Divine Spirit. This view is another illustration of that spurious Quakerism introduced in the eighteenth century, and not sanctioned by Holy Scripture, nor even by George Fox, whose authority is so often appealed to by Wilburite Friends. One would suppose that the evident excellent results of the adoption of the Sabbath-school system in the Western Yearly Meeting and in Great Britain would have dispelled the delusion which these good Friends of Philadelphia labour under, but it seems they are not to be so readily convinced. However, we shall see what a few years may do. Time works wonders. Even in Great Britain there was formerly amongst 239 Friends a considerable tinge of this same prejudice against systematic religious instruction, but it has been dispelled by the spread of scriptural truth, like the mists of morning before the sunshine of the day.

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As a proof of the urgent need there was for the breaking up of the old system of eighteenth century Quakerism, which had attained such extensive influence in America, it was thought needful by Indiana Friends, after the Hicksite secession in 1827, to institute an inquiry into the real state of their yearly meeting respecting scriptural information, and the result of this inquiry was most unsatisfactory. It was found (as I was credibly informed) that in one district of Indiana there were two hundred and fifty families of Friends without a single copy of the Holy Scriptures! And yet these Friends had all the while been considered in a “consistent” condition, and in as respectable a style of Quakerism as their brethren in general.

It is surely a great mistake to think we can honour the Holy Spirit whilst neglecting the diligent perusal of those sacred Scriptures which were given forth by Himself as a means which He deemed essential “for our learning,” and “able to make us wise unto salvation,” when opened to our understanding by their Divine Author.

One other point of difference may be mentioned respecting the Friends' First-day Schools of America, compared with those of England; the former are only held in summer and not in winter, on account of the extreme cold.

Before I left Richmond, the annual report of the first-day school of that place was drawn up, and was 240 nearly as follows:—“We have had a four months' school, which commenced on the first of 4th month (April) with 46 scholars in eleven classes. New scholars coming in, soon necessitated an increase in the number of classes, which are at present seventeen. There are in the school at present 177 scholars, (77 males, 100 females,) and 17 teachers, (7 males, 10 females.) The average attendance for the seventeen weeks has been 113, namely, 51 males, 62 females. The first class is of nineteen elderly women Friends, mostly between fifty and sixty years of age. They have nearly gone through the New Testament in class, taking five years at it. The second class is of twelve young men, between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five years, and are going through Genesis. The third class is of seventeen young women, who are going through the

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'Harmony of the Gospels.' The sixth class is of boys from eleven to fifteen years of age, who have nearly gone through the 'Harmony of the Gospels.' The thirteenth class is of six elderly men Friends, who read the Bible together rather than with a teacher. The sixteenth class is of nineteen little boys and girls, who cannot read or write, and are generally about four years of age. In winter time there is a Scripture class of elder pupils and teachers, held on first-day afternoons, either in the meeting-house or at a Friend's residence. About twenty are usually present. There is a prospect of a Church History class, to be held on first-day afternoons."

The general state of secular education amongst American Friends is necessarily influenced by the political circumstances of their country. It is a 241 universal law in the United States, that every citizen shall be taxed for a public education fund, whether he chooses to send his children to the common schools thus supported, or not. Every child in the United States has thus a right to enter, gratuitously, at the public State schools, and, if it does not enter, its parents still have to contribute according to their ability. I was informed that the average tax of each individual in America, for the State schools, is about fifteen dollars (£3) per annum. But, of course, some poor persons pay scarcely anything at all, and the wealthy a great deal more than this average.

It has been found by the experience of Friends in America that their children have not been so satisfactorily educated at the common State schools, as at schools specially supported by their own Society. This is owing to the moral and religious influences of assimilation, which must necessarily be brought to bear upon children of a denomination holding many peculiar views, by ordinary school contact with a large majority of children belonging to denominations of widely-different sentiments on some points.

Quakerism and Catholicism are each especially peculiar in many of their views, when compared with other religious Christian sects. And it has been found by the Catholics that the very same powerful influences of assimilation have been unavoidably acting upon their children at the common schools. Sensible of this, the Catholics of the United States

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have very reasonably demanded that their proper share of school taxation should be allowed to be appropriated towards schools entirely in their own hands. This request is a fair and rational one, but it has not been granted by the nation. Still less influential would be any such demand made by the smaller denomination of Friends, and they are, therefore, under the necessity of either sending their children to the undesirably assimilating influences of the common schools, or else of paying double educational expenses for separate schools entirely in the hands and influence of their own Society. In many places, however, they make an effort of the kind, and have day-schools attached to the meeting-houses, and under the charge of the monthly meetings, who appoint Friends as teachers, where practicable. But the extra expense, even of these day-schools, causes more than half of the western Friends to send their children to the State schools instead.

REVIEW.

With the many interesting features of the Society of Friends in America it is to be regretted that divisions also should have had so prominent a place. Yet we have seen that they are of such a nature that, at any rate, many of them need offer no virtual obstacle to reunion. This especially refers to the distinction between the Evangelical and Wilburite Friends.

But the differences of Hicksism are of a more fundamental nature, and it can neither be expected, nor even hoped, that the other section of the Society should be united to it, until it adopts the doctrines of the perfect Deity of Christ and of the necessity of the Atonement, both of which it denies, or only in part acknowledges.

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Whilst we thus plead for the motto, "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty," let us also remember its remaining portion—"in all things charity;" and, with regard to the Hicksites, I have often thought that some of them resemble the son in the parable, who, when told to work in his father's vineyard, replied, "I will not; but afterward he repented and went." For although these may verbally deny the Deity of Christ, yet, if they reverently

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seek to follow the Divine Spirit of Himself in their hearts, and to do, through His assistance, those works of love in which Christ delights, then they give the truest and deepest acknowledgment of His Deity.

And on the other hand, it is very possible for some of us, who may profess with our lips a most unexceptionably scriptural creed, to be like the other son, who said, "I go, Sir, and went not." For what is the worth of our creed, or orthodoxy, or profession of allegiance to Christ as God, if we do not practically recognize His intensely personal, vital, energizing Omnipresence? If we do not practically recognize this important attribute of His Deity, our verbal recognition of it is but an empty sound, and a self-deluding vanity.

The Early Friends studiously avoided the requirement of any creed at all. Beyond a few well-defined and simple principles, an elaborate creed is a characteristic of a fading ecclesiastical vitality, wherever it appears.

The basis of true Quakerism is the instinctive recognition, in ourselves and in others, of the Divine living Presence; instinctive—for, like the sunshine, it is better manifested by feeling than by any verbal R 2 244 logic. And our best evidence of Christianity and of the need of Christ's Incarnation and Atonement is simply this—that we feel in the presentment of these facts a livelier action, and a deeper excitement and response of our intuitional spiritual sympathies. The historic and literary evidences of Christianity are trifles to this surer and eternal basis. And in this age, when some of the most learned of various denominations are at times ready to fear that the apparent discrepancies of some of the revelations of science with those of Scripture may shake the stability of the latter, the true Friend feels that he has an evidence of a deeper and more convincing nature—the perfect harmony and endorsement of Scripture by the most solemn, most powerful inward Truth in his best moments,—that Truth which raises its voice most powerfully in the presence of the most mighty external influences,—the presence of the greatest peril, of the tenderest love, and of the nearest prospect of death. As our eyes rest more on the heavens by night than

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by day, so the voices of intuitional Truth and of scriptural evidence are mightier in the presence of the grandest than of the commonest influences.

And now, leaving points of difference, and looking at the brighter ones of union, what high privileges has the Society of Friends in the past and in the present! What other Christian denomination affords to its members a wider field of individual opinion, whilst preserving a reverence for the letter of the Scripture, and for the spirit of its Author? What other possesses a more untrammelled denominational liberty of speech and action, consistently with love and subordination to a general union? What other 245 possesses a ministry over which the body of the church has such control, and which is, at the same time, so freely independent of any coercing power from that body? Where else can we find a denomination which, at any rate in Great Britain, gives to every child of every individual member a good boarding-school education? Where else is the money element in church matters so disconnected with church services, so free from compulsory pressure on any, and yet so readily available when necessary? And although Friends neither depend for amusement on balls, theatres, or horse-races, where is there a community of greater general happiness and more resources for recreation? What other denomination surpasses them in the combination of the social with the religious element? What other has a mode of worship which affords greater scope for the perfect utterance of the most private individual wants before the Lord, whilst, at the same time, there is full opportunity for the edification of the assembly in general? What other gives higher influence or greater freedom to woman, whilst, at the same time, increasing rather than decreasing her true and most attractive womanhood? Where else do we see a real equality and democracy of church-membership, without leading to dissolution, and whilst preserving so much mutual respect and harmony? What other has done more, in proportion to its numbers, for its poor, its solitary, or its delinquent members? And what denomination has done more, in proportion, for universal humanity?

But why do we ask these questions? Is it because we think for one moment that Friends are intrinsically superior to other men? Certainly not; for the experience 246 of the Society

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shows some mournful and humiliating instances, that we have no exemption from the frailties of our common race. Is it because we believe we have privileges not possessed by others, and wish to boast of them in comfortable complacency? Honestly, it is not.

But it does seem to be evident that the reason why so small a Society has been able to do so much, and hold on so long, amid so many assaults and difficulties, has been, that it has more practically recognized the Divine Headship in the Church, both individually and collectively, than any other denomination. It has refused to recognize the title of "Head of the Church" as belonging either to a monarch, to a bishop, to a minister, or any man whatsoever, and however gifted with wealth, or talent, or influence. Christ alone, the head of our assemblies—Christ alone, the head of our individual spirits.

Other denominations have acknowledged Christ's headship in words, but they have practically substituted the authority of something subordinate and insufficient, as a pope, or a king, or a patriarch, or an archbishop, or a presbytery, or a conference of ministers.

But the Society of Friends, in its lowest and highest assemblies, has always admitted the absence of any human head, and the presidentship of the spiritually manifested presence of Christ only. All the members are on an equal footing as to their rights and authority, and although they appoint a clerk, he is merely as a recording secretary to the voices of the whole. And all profess to hold themselves subordinate to the doubly manifested and 247 symphonious voice of God, by His written Scriptures, and His invisible, energizing Spirit.

And it is most instructive to observe that, in almost every case where the harmony of Friends has been interrupted, it has been through interference with this Divine Headship in the Church on the part of over-active, though well-intentioned elders and others, especially in America. Over-active officialism was greatly the cause of the extent and permanence of Hicksism, and over-active officialism has done much mischief in the case of the Wilbur difficulties in Philadelphia and elsewhere, and also by imposing outward tests

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and accompaniments of “consistent” membership not universally binding by the voice of the Divine Head.

It is a curious thing that in republican America there has been less of this religious equality of the members of the Society of Friends than in England, and this is precisely the reason why the Society has been more disturbed on that side the Atlantic than on this by divisions, because they have suffered some of their members to infringe on the sole prerogatives of the one and only Head of the Church.

It has been common in England, of late, to speak of the “decline” of the Society of Friends—just as, a few years ago, there were pamphlets and books written about the “*Décadence d'Angleterre*,” but, if others are deceived, let us not deceive ourselves. The Society has no intention of “declining.” It is now evidently “looking up” instead of declining. It is true that it was declining till about ten years ago, for the very reason that it was allowing some of its members to infringe most unintentionally and well 248 meaningly on its Divine Headship, and especially by imposing minute and formal outward regulations in place, or as a test, of His own Spiritual and Scriptural Voice; but it has perceived the danger and acted accordingly. “The beginning of the end” was seen, and in its stead has been substituted the beginning of a new career of vigorous denominational existence.

The Society has again begun an ascendant influence, which will probably continue to increase and prosper, till “time shall be no more.” And the secret of this favourable alteration has been, not in any resumption or relinquishment of any particular rules or practices, but merely in the increased clearness of our acknowledgment that Christ, alone and really, is our Head.

And whilst He is our Head, it will necessarily follow that we shall continue to be peculiar in many ways, though no longer necessarily so in obsolete minutiae of dress or speech. A body of true Christians, of whatever denomination, must, if obedient to their Master, ever

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be “a peculiar people” by being “zealous of good works,” so long as any majority of their fellow-men are otherwise minded.

May this real test and truly authorized peculiarity of discipleship increasingly characterize the Friends, and others too, both in Europe and America,—a peculiarity of degree in being “zealous of good works,” the good works which can alone be wrought by the power of the Spirit of Christ working within us.

And may the Society learn, by its own and other experience, the paramount importance of the precept—“What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder;”—and more and more be united in all its 249 extent by the union of each of its communities, in receiving the symphonious voice of God, by His Spirit and His Scriptures. Each of these, to be rightly interpreted, must harmonize with the other. And the history of all Christian churches has shown, that even from these Divine Voices may arise the greatest errors when disunited by men.

The Truth is a whole, a unity, a harmony, a symphony. It resembles the colours of the spectrum which compose the bright, powerful, and pure sunlight, only as they are perfectly combined into one ray.

The first besetment of Friends was to tend towards a too exclusive regard to the Spiritual Voice; and eventually this dividing of the Truth led to a division of the Society,—to Socinian error and schism.

Now, again, there is evident need to look out for besetment of a tendency to a too exclusive regard to the Written Voice; and, unless this snare is guarded against, it will lead to lifelessness, and a mere cold intellectual ghost of Christianity.

May we be preserved from either extreme, in the safe middle-way, in the guidance of “the Two Witnesses.”

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And to do this we must remember that it is of no use to have all the educational and advanced appliances of our age, together with a diligent and accurate study of the Holy Scriptures,—all this will be useless, and of deeper mischief than entire ignorance, unless we have conjoined with them the Spiritual Voice, which not only interprets their meaning, but energizes and constrains us to their obedience.

How are we to hear this Spiritual Voice? Not by 250 listening only, but by the chief appointed means, of *prayer* for it. Prayer is the daily essential means of obtaining daily spiritual light and power. This the Early Friends were eminently sensible of, and they gave much and frequent time to earnest individual devotion. This practice is our Chief essential to guard us from religious extremes, to maintain us in spiritual tenderness of perception and fidelity of obedience. Frequent individual devotion,—true prayer before the Lord. If it be at all heartfelt, it *will* be true, and of Divine prompting.

Satan can never prompt us to any prayer at all,—to any heartfelt prayer. “Every good gift is from Above.” Prayer is the best of gifts, and an earnest of better gifts to come, and therefore, when we breathe one aspiration of heartfelt sincere prayer, it is a certain sign that God is prompting us, and has not wholly forsaken us. He has appointed prayer to be the only and indispensable condition of obtaining each successive donation of the spiritual Presence and aid of Himself.

The Scriptures tell us that the most availing prayer is that which is accompanied by *fasting*. Fasting is abstinence. And to pray earnestly and frequently, and so as to draw down much Divine blessing on ourselves and others, will necessarily involve a fasting or abstinence from some things, or from some engagements, which are very dear to us.

God required sacrifices of outward objects from the Israelites,—best and most precious of their flocks, and of their harvests, some of their purest gold, and of their choicest treasures of every kind. And some kind of sacrifice He requires of all. For love implies 251 sacrifice. We love, generally, not those only who have done much for us, but those

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also for whom we have done much ourselves. So the more we give up for God, the more we love Him. Therefore, to pray most availingly, there must be such perseverance, and frequency and copiousness of prayer, as will involve necessarily the abstinence from some of our business, or some of our social or intellectual pleasures. At any rate there must be voluntary abstinence from *something* which is as palatable food to our personal interests and inclinations. For prayer which involves no sacrifice, no effort, brings no reward.

The better and more precious a thing is, the more we must labour to attain it. Therefore, a frequent and essential bestowment of the Spiritual Presence, Power, and Voice of God, will only follow earnest personal devotion,—and just in proportion as that devotion may be described as “prayer with fasting.”

Without the real and spiritual Presence of God, even the revelations of Scripture truth are as chords of a rich-toned instrument, which need some living and skilful hand to awaken them from silence. The Holy Spirit, who comes in answer and proportionably to the degree of prayer, is this Hand. But the chords from which He ever draws the most thrilling vibrations are those of His own inspired narrations which record the manhood, sympathies, atoning death and triumphant resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth,—“God manifest in the flesh.”

These “Sketches” may now be concluded with an earnest wish that, both in the Society of Friends, and every other portion of the Christian church, there may be an annually extending growth of mutual 252 harmony,—harmony in variety,—in a vividly clear appreciation of the tender and touching sympathies of Christ's human life of suffering,—in a sense of our unalterable vacuity of merit or of strength, and finally, in the permanently increasing, reverential, holy love, which necessarily and previously involves the prayer—answering and preserving dwelling of Himself in us,—in us through Time, and throughout the more thrillingly perceptive life of an ever progressive Eternity.

APPENDIX.

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I.—SILENT MEETINGS.

In the preceding "Sketches" I have alluded to the privilege of collective silent worship, as affording to each worshipper free opportunity for religious meditation, and for the expression of his own private devotions before the Lord. But it has been objected, "If you wish to worship in silence, what is the good of your coming together at all? Why not stay at home and worship by yourselves individually?" To this we may reply, that it is true that there is not an absolutely indispensable necessity for public worship, under all circumstances of life; but it certainly is the *general* duty of men not to forsake a public acknowledgment of allegiance to God.

But further, there is a great benefit in silent collective worship, where any considerable proportion of those present are engaged secretly in real devotion. This benefit arises from the powerful aid and influence of "the sympathy of numbers," and from the fact that the Holy Spirit is, in His wisdom, pleased to grant certain superior manifestations of His influence to collective worship, even though held in total silence, more than would be bestowed upon the same worshippers if in separate devotion. This may be styled "mysticism," or "magnetism," or any other *ism*, by those who are strangers to it. But there have been thousands, at any rate in the Society of Friends, who have known, by their own certain experience, that this religious sympathy of numbers in worship, even when altogether in silence, is a real and mighty power. It is the fulfilment of Christ's word, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them."

May nothing, however intrinsically good, be permitted by Friends to innovate upon this privilege of spiritual communion with a Personal God through the inestimable mode of silent collective worship.

II.—THE HICKSITE FRIENDS.

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It has been my wish to show that the chief errors of Hicksism consist in depreciating, or insufficiently estimating, the authority and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures and the perfect Deity of Christ.

It appears to be a popular mistake amongst some Friends to consider that the characteristic error of Hicksism consists in giving prominence to the doctrine of the inward manifestation of Christ to every man. But this doctrine is the soul of Quakerism; and inasmuch as the Hicksites have held this, they have counteracted some of the influences of their errors. This doctrine is in danger amongst modern Friends not of being over, but under estimated; "Christ in you, the hope of glory."

III.—THE DIVINE NATURE.

There is another doctrine in which the Wilburite Friends (and perhaps some amongst the Hicksites 255 also) appear to hold more scriptural views than some portion of the Evangelical Friends—that respecting what is often styled "the Trinity." This term is unscriptural, and has probably done more mischief in the churches than many other similar ones. Friends have never, as a body, accepted it in their writings or phraseology. But in recent times there has been a growing tendency *virtually* to accept the ideas commonly conveyed by this term.

The infinite nature of the Deity is a subject which our finite minds can never comprehend, except in a very small and dim degree. "Canst thou, by searching, find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven, what canst thou do? Deeper than hell, what canst thou know?" And Friends generally have been specially careful to confine themselves to the precise words of the Bible in speaking of the Divine Being. Some others have been less careful.

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It is probable that as much mischief, if not more, has accrued to the church, in all ages, from unscripturally *defined* expositions of the Divine nature in a “Trinitarian” sense, than in a “Unitarian” one.

If there be one truth which stands out pre-eminently in the Bible, it is that “the Lord our God is *one* Lord.” And it may be said, that no man can be a true Christian without being a Unitarian, in that sense of the word which signifies a believer in the scriptural declaration of “one Lord.”

A common error in the churches has been to set forth the Deity as three “persons.” Where is this distinct “personality” declared in Scripture?

It is an intuition of the human soul to love *one* Being best. The deepest love, whether devotional or conjugal, cannot be equally extended to two or more objects. “No man can serve two masters.” No man can love more than one Being with all his heart, and mind, and strength. Hence the declaration of the unity of God immediately precedes, in the Bible, the command to love Him with an entire affection. “The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart,” &c.

Instead of the too common idea of virtually three Gods, the Bible sets forth three *manifestations* of one God. This word “manifestations” seems to suit the mystery better than any other expression whatever, and it is the very one used in Scripture, “God was manifest in the flesh.” [???][???]####[???]##.] This view of three manifestations of one Divine Being really meets the wants of our spiritual intuitional cravings.

In the manifestation of God as the Father we have those powers of majesty, infinity, and terror, which are essential to induce in us reverence and humility, and to give us a sense of our nothingness compared to the Infinite Being of Him who created the ocean, the earth, and the heavens.

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The manifestation of the same one God, as the Son, “flesh of our flesh,” partaking of all our troubles, temptations, and circumstances, yet without sin, and at the same time really God, is needed by us to touch and grasp our human sympathies, affections, and interests, and to set us a plain and authoritative example of the best possible way of combining temporal duties with eternal claims. Further, the same manifestation of Deity “in the flesh” proclaims, in the 257 atonement on Calvary, the contemporaneous existence of God's infinite and punishing hatred of sin with His infinite love.

The manifestation of the same one God, as the Holy Spirit, given in different measure, at His own will, to every man in the world, meets our universal craving for private individual notice from our heavenly Father. It furnishes a real power against sin, and a sympathising help, under the ever-varying circumstances of each day, to each particular person in the world.

The manifestations of God as the Father and as the Son are general ones to “the whole family in heaven and earth;” but a closer link is needed by each member of that family, and it is given alone in the manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

This manifestation of God through His Spirit meets that craving of human nature so often expressed in vague ideas of a “guardian angel.” It reveals to each individual a special fatherly attention of God and a particular providential hand outstretched to each, according, in this life at least, to the amount of his prayerful effort at co-operation and obedience;—a manifestation which will not leave him at death, but through which it may be emphatically said, “This God is our God for ever and ever;” for Christ specially declared of this manifestation of Himself that the object of His bestowment would be “that He may abide with you for ever.”

So that, on this awful subject also, the experience of the churches teaches the need of obedience to the command, “What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.” S

IV.—FRIENDS' LITERATURE.

The life of Stephen Grellet has been mentioned in the preceding "Sketches" as one of peculiar interest and instruction. This suggests the recommendation of a more general attention, especially by young Friends, to the too-much-neglected literature of the Society.

Some of its early writers might now exclaim, if on earth, "Save us from our friends;" for many have been prevented from reading their works through the undue claims set up for them, by their admirers, as authoritative standards, or as being almost perfect. This has disgusted many who might otherwise have been induced to study them, to eventual pleasure and great benefit.

Let the principle be clearly understood that they had their decided defects as well as excellences, and that, in reading them, or speaking of them, we are to use the ordinary and necessary liberty of free selection and rejection.

Some of them are written in a quaint and unattractive style, but this is soon got over by a persevering reader.

There are seven works which appear to stand out pre-eminently in Friends' literature, as possessing special interest, unctiousness, and depth,—the Journals or Auto-biographies of George Fox, John Woolman, Thomas Shillitoe, Joseph John Gurney, and Stephen Grellet; Sewell's History of the Friends, and Barclay's Apology. These specially possess a truthfulness, both to the Divine and human nature, which commends itself to the soul of the reader more than probably most other works of a religious character.

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Barclay's Apology appears to be, notwithstanding its defects, the best and most powerful exposition extant of Friends' interpretation of Scriptural Christianity. It is to be hoped that the Society, both in Britain and America, will be more active in its official capacity (or, if not, then in a more private one) in issuing and circulating convenient editions of this

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valuable work, and without attempting its “expurgation” or revision. To “expurgate” even the defects of some useful works is sometimes a step towards spoiling them.

The auto-biographies of Thomas Shillitoe and Stephen Grellet most interestingly and peculiarly illustrate the continuing reality of the old Friends' doctrine of the immediate, perceptible, and practical guidance of the Holy Spirit, even in every-day life, and which is still extended where such guidance is perseveringly prayed for, looked for, and obeyed.

V.—FRIENDS' VIEWS ON JUSTIFICATION AND SANCTIFICATION.

One of the principal points of difference between the old and new “schools” of Quakerism, both in America and England, consists in their respective estimate of justification and sanctification.

The Evangelical Friends, in their writing and expressions, have generally advocated the prevalent opinions held by most Christian bodies, similarly styled “Evangelical,” that justification precedes sanctification and is distinct from it, both in nature S 2 260 and in time, and also that a sufficient essential for salvation is “simple” faith in Christ.

But this “faith” is too often understood to be only the first glimpse of appreciation, whether intellectual or otherwise, of the utility of Christ's death on Calvary. And it is evident that very many may profess this faith in words, or easily attain the possession of it in an intellectual way, whilst evincing little other evidence of earnest religion than this “simple” profession. Such an estimate of faith and salvation is indeed easy, and affords a rapid and comfortable way of travelling, apparently, to heaven, without the indispensable but necessarily painful process of regeneration. It is the crown without the cross (which, if really so attained, would be a marvel indeed). “Then is the offence of the cross ceased.”

It appears to be another feature in the bright side of the Wilbur Friends and those of the “old school” generally (including some of the Hicksites), that they retain more clearly the opinions of the Early Friends respecting justification and sanctification,—opinions which,

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although not held by the majority of “Evangelical” Christians, have yet a strong claim to be considered the more powerful on the soul and conduct, and the more truly scriptural in their nature.

These views are, that justification and sanctification are *inseparable* , and can only proceed together, and that the former does not, at least in its application to the soul, precede the latter; and that faith is not merely a thing of “simple” immediate completion, at the first glimpse of Christ's death, but that it is a thing of life-long growth, and alone the gift and fruit of the Spirit of Christ, its Author and Finisher.

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Christ's incarnation and sacrifice are the *foundation* of all true justification. We only come to the Father through His manifestation in the Son. But it is also declared that we only come to the Son through His manifestation in the Holy Spirit. “No man can say [really in his heart] that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.” And “through Him [Christ] we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.”

So that the first step of justification as well as of sanctification must be the work of the Holy Spirit, and He alone can carry on every successive step in us. Thus we grow in justification and sanctification simultaneously, and in both only by degrees, as from birth gradually to “the stature of a man in Christ,” but not necessarily with the same spiritual development for all persons, even then.

Justification and sanctification having once really commenced, if they be not so carelessly cherished as to die again before our death, may secure us an entrance to heaven; but, exactly in proportion to their development in each of us on earth, will probably be our condition in the future world—our allotment in the respective distribution of the “ *many mansions*” prepared for the blessed.

The Scriptures declare that the future state will be one of very different conditions, just as we now behold various “glories” of the sun, moon, and stars, and of men, beasts, birds,

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and fishes. To all men will then be rendered exactly “ *according* to their works” in this life. It may be in a hundred-fold or a thousand-fold ratio, but still in a ratio of *some* kind, and to each “according to their works.” Then it will be— 262 “He that is unjust, let him be unjust still,—he that is holy, let him be holy still.”

Evidently from Scripture we have no reason to expect that the Christian of great advantages and corresponding faithfulness in this life will be on a level, in the next one, with the poor heathen, who may have been also faithful to the dim shining of the comparative twilight which God has been pleased to allot to him. The Bible fully warrants us in believing that there will be vastly greater differences of allotment, both as to blessedness and misery, in the future world than in the present one; and that all will then depend upon the extent to which the Holy Spirit has been yielded to and prayed for by us here, and in precise proportion to the stage of combined justification and sanctification wrought in us by Him, according to *His* works, “for it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to do of His good pleasure.”

But all the glory of these works of the Holy Spirit in us, both in sanctification and justification, are due to Christ's incarnation, for the gift to us of the Holy Spirit is *itself* wholly the fruit of Christ's sacrifice and atonement.

All good men, before Christ's coming in the flesh, were only good through a degree of anticipation and forestalling of the gift of the Holy Spirit to be purchased by His blood. “They drank of that spiritual Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Christ.” All good men, since the Christian era, owe their good works to the same gift, pre-eminently “the gift of God.”

Each poor pagan, whether of classic or modern ages, as well as each enlightened saint, who may have 263 been faithful to the better impulses of his being, will be saved through Christ, even though some of them may never have heard the name of Christ, or a syllable of His Gospel history. “For a manifestation of the Spirit is given to *every* man to profit

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withal," but it is not every man who knows that that nobler part of his soul is the gift of Christ, or purchased by His death. But it appears that in proportion as each is faithful to it, he will have celestial blessedness hereafter, and *then* all the redeemed will know that inasmuch as they have been sanctified by the Spirit, they must necessarily have been also justified by Christ, because that Holy Spirit is the gift purchased for us by Jesus Christ *alone*.

Then will all such heavenly beings ascribe all the glory to Him to whom it is due. "Thou art worthy; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God, by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people and nation."

VI.—UNIVERSALIST INSINUATIONS.

One of the characteristic features of the general religious aspects of the United States appears to be the wide-spread, yet for the most part indirectly exerted, influence of Universalist Insinuations. These principles are actively promulgated, both in the eastern and western States; and it appeared to me, from what I heard in several places, that the Friends in some localities have not wholly escaped their influence. But it is of the highest importance to guard 264 against the deadly and seductive delusions of these tendencies.

Universalism, in one form or another, is literally "as old as Adam," for Satan said to Eve, "Ye shall not *surely* die." She believed him, and the whole world feels the consequences. And, similarly, universalists tell us now, that all men will be saved, at least eventually; that God is too gracious a Being to permit the existence of hell, or to visit with terrible future punishment the souls of men who may sin through being tempted by mighty besetments.

In Britain, also, the same sentiments are promulgated, under various disguises, with great persuasiveness, and by some of the most talented and influential men in the country. These are ingeniously plausible in their protests against the plain scriptural doctrine of a really existent, powerful Devil, and a real future, awful hell.

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On the other hand, there can be little doubt but that abundant mischief has resulted from the promulgation of extreme views of an opposite nature. It is no part of true Christianity to represent the Gospel as one chiefly characterized by eternal fire and torment.

But, for one mischievous effect of ultra-Calvinism, there are, probably, a thousand such of Universalism. Calvin was a noble man, and in common with the other Reformers, held decided views on these subjects. So did Whitefield. So have the best men in the church from the apostolic era. So did the Apostles themselves.

It is our duty to endeavour to receive the truths of eternity and religion just as God has revealed them, 265 and not to separate what He has united. He has revealed to us both a heaven and a hell, both a Saviour and a Devil, both a probationary period and a final judgment, both a prospect of blessedness and another of misery.

If there be no hell to save us from, how is Christ a Saviour at all? Or, what need was there for His death? If the Apostles preached no hell, but, on the contrary, a universal salvation, why did they meet with such opposition? For otherwise there was no cause for that opposition or alarm.

It is, perhaps, nearly as important for us to believe in the reality of Satan's existence, as in that of the Holy Spirit. Yet a really estimable Friend in America acknowledged to me, "I am no believer in a personal Devil." Surely this is no trifling delusion.

If Satan is not to be dreaded, resisted, and hated, we are in little or no general danger. If we are all going to heaven together, quietly and comfortably, and as a matter to be taken for granted, then whatever need is there at all for earnest heed to salvation, to the future, or to God?

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It is declared that “God is love,” but, notwithstanding this, it is evidently quite consistent with His love to permit a vast amount of suffering in this world; and if so, why not in the next one also? For He is omnipotent now, just as He will be then.

We may think that terrible punishment is not reformatory in its effect, and that the Fall in Eden was inconsistent with Omnipotent Beneficence and Wisdom. But how can we possibly judge what consists with God's wisdom or beneficence? Can the finite comprehend the infinite? The fact that He 266 *has* permitted these things, though Omnipotent, is sufficient. But, in the things which we can comprehend, we have innumerable proofs of His positive beneficence, both to mankind in general, and to individuals in particular.

Those portions of the Holy Scriptures which specially proclaim God's love, also specially proclaim “the terror of the Lord,” particularly the words of our Saviour and of the Apostle John.

Most awful is that declaration of our Lord respecting the narrow way to life,—“ Few there be that find it. ”

Again, He declares that, at the final decision, there will be great astonishment at the result to many who believed themselves safe amongst His people. “Many will say to Me, in that day, ‘Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Thy name, and in Thy name have cast out devils, and in Thy name done many wonderful works?’ And then will I profess unto them, ‘I never knew you. Depart from Me, ye that work iniquity.’”

And elsewhere He represents the slothful and “foolish virgins” as confidently expectant of admission, till finally refused.

In this world, “the wheat and tares” are to grow quietly together, and the latter are generally the more luxuriant in their growth. In this world, not merely the openly wicked but the carelessly “ungodly” are specially those “who prosper in the earth,” whilst “many are

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the afflictions of the righteous" [with a right object]. In this world, Satan has power to afflict the good, as Job, and to reward the wicked. In this world, the sunshine and the rain 267 are granted equally to the just and to the unjust; and, as to the universal laws of matter, and of cause and effect, "all things come alike to all." In this world, the death of the wicked is often as peaceful and as undisturbed as the glassy smoothness of Niagara at the very verge of its grand descent.

But, in the next world, in the hereafter, all will be otherwise. Then it will be, "Behold, I make all things new." Then will come "the times of the restitution of all things." However dominant and overwhelming the power of evil ones may be now, yet "the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning" of the resurrection. Then will come the final judgment, from which can be no appeal. " *After* death, the judgment."

God now offers Christ as "the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe." He "will have all men to be saved;" but all will not come. He does not compel our free will—otherwise we should be mere machines; and if we were not free to reject as well as to choose God, our love to Him would cease to be love, it would be blind force. If we have no power to do evil, we have no power, as individuals, to do good either.

But all will bow before Him "at that day," either in mercy or in judgment. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in His body."

The most terribly plain assertion of the reality of Satan and hell, and of God's irreconcilable hatred to unrepented, unresisted sin, is proclaimed by the death of our Saviour. This most conspicuous evidence of God's love to us in Christ is also precisely the most 268 conspicuous proof of His fearful wrath towards all who may be ultimately found without Christ.

"In that awful dying scene, See the sinfulness of sin."

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Although it is evident from Holy Scripture that God will discriminate in the future allotment of the impenitent, in proportion to their various responsibilities and circumstances, and although it will be “more tolerable” for some, then, than for others—and also, although some will have “few stripes,” instead of the “many” inflicted on others—yet, at the best, it must be an unutterably awful condition to be allotted any position in the “outer darkness” without the walls of the Celestial City—to be anywhere amongst the “children of wrath” and the company of Satan and his reprobate spirits,—anywhere amongst those to whom will be pronounced the final sentence—“Depart from Me;”—to depart for ever from the sunshine, the love, joy and beneficent activity glowing in that City and in its inhabitants, to whom alone will He be thenceforth present, gloriously and for ever, the perfect manifestation of Christ.

There is, then, urgent need for the command to us all—“Give *diligence* to make your calling and election sure,” and that we “should *earnestly* contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints.” “For we wrestle not [only] against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore, take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and, having done all, to stand.”

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VII.—THE MINISTRY AMONGST FRIENDS.

At Richmond, in Indiana, during the week of the last yearly meeting, in the autumn of 1860, there was one extraordinary meeting which partook of the nature of a “Revival.” It was convened almost entirely by the younger Friends, and was intended as an occasion for the free and untrammelled expression of the religious feelings of any members who might wish to give utterance to their sentiments, but who might feel unwilling to do so in the ordinary manner of public ministry, or at a meeting held in the regular routine.

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On that occasion, at the commencement of the meeting, it was announced that every one was wished to feel perfectly at liberty to express any communication which they might think likely to be useful or interesting to the meeting. A well-known minister from Iowa also addressed the assembly on the importance in religious matters of being divested of “the fear of man.”

The way being thus opened, many of the junior as well as elder Friends, who had never previously spoken in meetings for worship, now felt at liberty to express their feelings, or to kneel in public prayer. More than one hundred and twenty Friends thus addressed this assembly. The meeting, which was a very crowded one, commenced at six o'clock in the evening and lasted till nearly midnight; but so interesting were the proceedings, so solemn the prevalent depth of earnestness, and so evident the presence of the Holy Spirit, that no one appeared tired, nor did it seem to the attenders much longer than the ordinary 270 meetings of an hour and a half in duration. Some of the elder Friends thought the proceedings very “unprecedented” (as indeed they were) for a Friends' assembly, and seemed at first uncertain of their propriety; but after they had witnessed the solemnity, the living earnestness, and the unmistakable manifestation of the approving presence and sanction of the Divine Spirit, even these were constrained to acknowledge that it was good for them that they had been present.

Elijah Coffin (for thirty years the Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting) thus writes of this occasion:—“A meeting was appointed and held by and for the *youth*; a meeting of their *own*, in the evening, which was attended by probably two thousand persons or more, and turned out to be a remarkable time of prayer—a time, I think it may be truly said, when the Most High condescended to be worshipped. The Spirit flowed freely, and prayer went forth abundantly until a late hour. Many hearts were tendered, and many could, and did say, ‘Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless His holy name.’”

I have received letters from Richmond giving me accounts of this meeting, and stating that many Friends in Indiana feel now that the old formalism of stereotype routine, which has

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so long too much prevailed in the Society, even in the West, (though to a far less degree there than in Pennsylvania, and other parts eastward,) must and will be replaced by a freer, healthier mode of action and sentiment.

This has especial reference to the *ministry*, and fully agrees with views which serious and earnest 271 Friends, in various places, have expressed to me on this subject.

The Society of Friends has always prominently set forth the doctrine that no man has any right to speak publicly in the ministry of the Gospel unless he feels an inward call from the Holy Spirit. This view appears to be sound and scriptural, and is, in greater or less degree, recognized by most Christian denominations.

The Early Friends illustrated this view in a far more free and healthy manner than their successors of a later age. They spoke publicly, whether in exhortation or prayer, at home or abroad, whenever they felt a solemn impulse so to do. Further, when they felt constrained to go and visit distant parts, under a similar belief of the Divine impulse, they proceeded at once in faith on God's aid and blessing, as did the primitive Christians of the apostolic age.

But, after a time, this freedom of individual action was found to have inconveniences, through the occasional ministry of persons labouring under fanatical or glaringly mistaken impulses. To check this, a plan (very good, if kept in strict moderation) was adopted by the Society, that, in future, Friends should not travel abroad as ministers without a certificate of approval and permission from their own meetings.

In the course of the eighteenth century, this wise system of precaution was carried to excess, and formalism crept over the ministerial arrangements of the Society, just as in the case of other matters previously alluded to.

Amongst other effects of this, the idea gradually became general that a Friend, to be really and 272 thoroughly a "minister," must be publicly "acknowledged" by his meeting, after

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which he would have to sit in the “gallery” fronting the assembly. Further, it seems to be tacitly assumed, that ministerial impulses must necessarily be continued at intervals for years, if not for life, to those individuals to whom they have been once given.

But especial mischief has resulted in the Society from the setting up, virtually at least, of an unduly high and mysterious standard of perfection as a test, in criticism at least, of the qualifications and expressions of any one speaking publicly in ministry.

More than a few Friends seem to have an idea that no one ought to venture on such public expression without a spiritual impulse so strong as to be *irresistible*, or without such powerful Divine aid as should be at once evident to all around. Now, where does the Bible, or general ecclesiastical history, or even common sense, countenance this?

In ministry, as in other matters, there may be a hundred different *varieties and stages* of impulse and of modes of expression, and yet all may be right in their appropriate times and circumstances, and all may “edify” some, at least, of the hearers.

Friends have, in many cases, seemed to expect that their young ministers should possess those qualifications which only long experience can give, and that ministers, whether elder or younger, should all express sentiments entirely in “unity” with one another. What a world of harm has been done in Christendom by setting up standards, or rather tests, of “unity” which God Himself has never imposed!

The different circumstances of various occasions, 273 places and persons, may often warrant the expression of sentiments decidedly differing from those rightly uttered at other times. And yet both may be good and suitable. Of course, we are not speaking of generally evident fundamentals, for here unity is essential; but only of those things which are not so generally evident in the same way to all persons or at all times.

The apostolic canon for ministry, as well as other church action, is simply, “ Let all things be done unto edifying. ” This is the true standard and test.

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It may be readily believed that the Holy Spirit may prompt a few words of edification from a person at one time, or at various times, without necessarily intending to give a regular and permanent call to the ministry to such.

Further, it must be evident that the Holy Spirit does not act, in general, independently of ordinary means, laws, and circumstances. He suggests the main idea, or even various special ideas, of what a person may express with edifying effect to those around him; but it is rarely, if ever, that He does more. The particular words and manner of expressing that impulse will depend upon the education, the circumstances, and the general feelings and ideas of the speaker. This is evident in Scripture, where, notwithstanding the unity of origin of the inspiration of Paul, Amos, David, Solomon, Moses, and John, we see their own special individuality of idea and expression clearly evident in the utterance of their respective impulses.

Even Paul admitted “we prophesy *in part*.” This means, (at least as I understand it,) that even his T 274 inspiration was not wholly unaffected by his human infirmities. And how much more allowance then should be made for modern ministers who are less gifted than Paul, and of whom it is, of course, to be taken for granted that, in still greater degree, their ministry will be only perfect “in part.”

It does, then, appear desirable that Friends, everywhere, should at any time in their meetings feel at liberty, more than hitherto, to express simply anything which, just at that particular occasion, the Holy Spirit may seem to prompt them to—provided, at the same time, He gives them the belief that it will be of “edification,” (that is, of some *good effect* ,) to the hearers. Such utterances, whether formally “acknowledged” or not by the church, will be genuine ministry in the Bible sense of the word.

Next to this simple prompting, and equally simple test of edification, it is of extreme importance that ministerial addresses should be *brief* , or so, at least, with very rare exceptions.

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In the first place, it is generally essential that some considerable portion of silence should be preserved in Friends' assemblies; and, secondly, that one individual should not unduly trench on the remaining time, when several others besides himself may feel an impulse to speak, and under circumstances which promise "edification."

The more nourishing any kind of food is, the more careful we must be not to eat too much of it at once. And all the food we eat beyond that quantity which we can suitably digest at one time is injurious instead of beneficial. This principle many will, doubtless, remember to have felt exemplified in the case of 275 really good meetings eventually spoiled by the sense of weariness and surfeit, produced by a long and untimely sermon at the end.

How often, too, in family readings or devotion, has some simple biblical passage, hymn, or recital, produced permanent good to the hearers, where the reading of three or four consecutive chapters of Scripture (however well intended, as to effect, by the reader) would have produced something worse than weariness. If it be true that "a great book is a great evil," how much more true is the magnitude of the mischief, in general, of very long sermons and very long Scripture readings.

Brevity and absence of repetition are foremost in the essentials to ministerial edification. Temptations to length and repetitions are more likely to beset ministers of long-standing than those who have seldom spoken. The reason of this is the universal power of *habit*, and its deceptive influence in many cases. The sermons of long-established ministers need generally far more care in these respects than those of younger and less frequent speakers. "Short and sweet," is a blunt old proverb, but it has very wide application, and there is a vast amount of common sense in it, and especially with reference to religious matters. Many an excellent minister has often produced an injurious feeling of surfeit in the more serious part of his hearers by unduly continuing a sermon, which, if it had been terminated at one-third of its length, would have been both acceptable and edifying.

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But whilst the Society of Friends will, it is to be hoped, recur, more than has been the case, to the 276 individual freedom and true simplicity of the ministry of the Early Friends' days, let us also keep a vigilant eye to the danger of going to an opposite extreme—that of *over-activity*, even in good things. For there is such a possibility, and that extreme is just as injurious as the other. Here, again— *Medio tutissimus ibis*.

May our ministry, whilst free to every individual, whilst unimpeded by any frequency of excessive private criticism as to “soundness” and “consistency,” yet be a really spiritual and solemn one. May all who thus speak, endeavour, by prayer, to let the unavoidable tinge of their own individuality and imperfection be as small as it possibly can. May they strive, whilst speaking naturally and unaffectedly, yet at the same time to do it “as of the ability which God giveth,” and not to speak from past habit, but only under an honest belief of a holy and separate impulse for each particular and present occasion, and only *as far* as that impulse seems to prompt.

And may the sole aim of all ministry, whether amongst Friends or others, be increasingly the edification of the church and the promotion of the Divine glory. The only means of securing this, are prayer for, or vigilant attention to, the influences of the Holy Spirit, that, by His aid, the feeling resulting from ministry may be as much as possibly characterised by what a modern writer appropriately terms “the infusion of the sense of *God alone*. ”

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