Introduction

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This is the third volume in Penn State University Press's New History of Quakerism series, a series that seeks to provide up-to-date analysis of Quaker history in volumes accessible to a broad readership. This book addresses the long eighteenth century, a period that has remained largely unexplored as a whole, despite the growth of Quaker history as a field in the past twenty-five years. Interpretations of this period have undergone some revision in recent years as scholars have questioned earlier representations of what has been termed "quietist Quakerism." Was this period marked only by increased sectarianism, declining religious enthusiasm, and stagnation, even regression?[1] Undoubtedly, this was an era of paradox. During the long eighteenth century, Quakers articulated many of the characteristics associated with Quakerism today. Worship became more silent and Quakers used distinct dress and speech to identify and separate themselves from mainstream society. During this period, they established increasingly rigid organizational structures and behaviors, codified in the queries, advices, and discipline. This is the period associated with Quaker withdrawal into sectarianism. At the same time, the dynamic political, social, and economic context of this long century resulted in notably expanded Quaker engagement in politics, trade, industry, and science. The

chapters presented here address and interrogate some of these points of view and complicate a number of traditional interpretations of this period in Quaker history.

Readers familiar with Richard C. Allen and Rosemary Moore's *The Quakers, 1656–1723* will note that the present book does not begin where that book ended. Rather, it overlaps with Allen and Moore's volume. Periodization is not an exact science. Allen and Moore extended their work to 1723 to account for what they call the "long coda," or intermediate period, after 1690, which ended with the death of George Whitehead in 1723 and the British Parliament's passage of the Affirmation Act in 1722.[2] Instead of commencing after the long coda, the present book includes it, weaving itself into the end of Allen and Moore's volume but also standing alone as a collection of essays focused on the eighteenth century.

A number of events mark the 1690s as a time of transition and the beginning of a new period of Quaker history. The Act of Toleration (1689) signaled the beginning of conciliation between the state and Quakers after decades of persecution under the Restoration monarchy. The death of George Fox in 1691, shortly after that of Robert Barclay in 1690, removed Quakerism's most recognized leader and its most influential theologian. The transatlantic Keithian controversy of the 1690s damaged relationships within the Religious Society of Friends. Moreover, in the context of post-toleration British society, Keith's polemical publications threatened to destabilize the Society's delicate legal position and renew persecution. While the 1696 Affirmation Act provided some relief to Friends who refused to use oaths, its wording remained the source of considerable concern until Friends accepted the 1722 Affirmation Act. Finally, the remnants of the first, apocalyptic generation of Friends died in this decade. Besides Barclay and Fox, Stephen Crisp (1692), Mary Fisher (1698), and Margaret Fell (1702) died, leaving the pious and dull—but powerful—George Whitehead to lead Friends in the post-toleration period.

When did the long eighteenth century end? Was it in the 1790s, when the Irish Friend Abraham Shackleton and the American Friend Hannah Barnard began to challenge scripture, behavior for which both were disowned, in 1801 and 1802, respectively? Did the 1807 passage of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act mark the conclusion of the quietist age? Certainly, the Hicksite-Orthodox Schism of 1827–28, which divided a number of North American meetings, marks a watershed religious moment in Quaker history. Even so, in those yearly meetings that did separate, the schism in

1827 or 1828 did not end theological conflict. Quarrels over doctrine became disputes over property in monthly meetings, as individuals and families aligned themselves with various positions. Who retained the meetinghouse and burial ground? If doctrine was the primary issue for the devout, how did the adherent decide whom to support? The division of Quaker communities lingered and unfolded long after the formal separation of the yearly meetings. What of the economic periodization for Quakers so deeply involved in industry and commerce at the heart of the Industrial Revolution? Period breaks in these cases are indistinct and dependent on location. As Richard C. Allen's chapter in this volume demonstrates, when considering industrialization, the long eighteenth century extended into the 1840s. While the end of the long eighteenth century is imprecise, this work adopts a generous periodization of 1690–1830, noting multiple factors beyond doctrine that closed this paradoxical period of Quaker history.

The growth of Quaker history within the past twenty-five years has produced much innovative scholarship. In examining a number of aspects unique to Quaker history during this period, researchers have complicated our understanding of Quakers and Quakerism in the eighteenth century. Consider the impact of women's or gender history. Women have played significant roles at every point in Quaker history. They have also produced a substantial number of written sources. This drew the attention of women's and gender studies scholars from the discipline's earliest years. They have produced notable multidisciplinary texts.[3] These works tend to focus on individual Friends or a small segment of the period covered in the chapters that follow. Very recently, two books have added considerably to the literature on eighteenth-century Quaker women. Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill's *New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650–1800* gathered scholars in the fields of religion, history, and literature "to assess the dynamic impact of [Quaker] women within their society and throughout the transatlantic world."[4] It is an impressive volume. The authors carefully interrogate the principle of spiritual equality and complicate conclusions about the ways in which Quaker women worked within the privilege of Quaker membership, the ways in which they were excluded or silenced, and the ways in which they might have excluded or silenced others. Naomi Pullin's *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650–1750* challenges conventional feminist scholarship by contending that "the process of institutionalisation enhanced rather than diminished women's roles within transatlantic Quakerism."[5] In this anthology we have not separated women

into a separate essay or series of essays; rather, authors have integrated women and gendered analysis—beyond a focus solely on women—where appropriate.

The role of Quakers in the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade and their place in eighteenth-century industry and commerce have been two other areas of significant publishing. Building on Jean Soderlund's and Gary Nash's work on Quakers and abolition (1985 and 1988), the last few years have produced rich scholarship exploring the role of Quakers in antislavery and abolition movements around the Atlantic world. This work addresses the complex nature of the Quaker relationship with slavery and slaveholding and the long road to adopting an abolitionist position.[6] James Walvin examined the role of Quakers in eighteenth-century business and industry in his 1997 work *The Quakers: Money and Morals*. A number of scholars have advanced this theme, situating their work strongly in the field of Atlantic history. The results offer comprehensive interpretations of Quaker mercantile success in the eighteenth-century consumer revolution and its connections to Quaker history.[7] Most recently, Stephen Angell and Pink Dandelion's edited collection *Quakers, Business, and Industry* proposes a number of new interpretations about the reasons for Quaker success in these areas. Given the strength of these book-length studies, neither abolition nor commerce is addressed on its own in this volume. As with women, both topics are integrated into chapters as appropriate.

A number of regional studies of the history of Quaker communities and meetings in the Atlantic world have advanced unique perspectives on Quakerism outside London and Philadelphia, broadening our understanding of the Quaker Atlantic world beyond Quaker metropoles.[8] Transatlantic Quakerism has also become the focus of a number of books that investigate the similarities in Quakerism around the Atlantic basin.[9] All of these works enrich our understanding of Atlantic Quakerism, but none has considered the period as a whole. This volume aims to situate Quakers in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic world, both those on the margins and those at the center of that geographic and conceptual space; this allows for comparative views that include peripheral Quaker histories alongside those of London and Philadelphia Friends. Readers will see all three concepts of Atlantic history—transatlantic, "circumatlantic," and cisatlantic— represented here. David Armitage and Michael Braddick have defined these approaches. Transatlantic history is "the history of the Atlantic world told

through comparisons.""Circumatlantic" history considers "the history of the people who crossed the Atlantic, who lived on its shores and who participated in the communities it made possible." Cisatlantic history "studies particular places as unique locations within an Atlantic world and seeks to define that uniqueness as the result of the interaction between local particularity and a wider web of connections."[10]

The essays collected here are presented thematically rather than chronologically. The book is divided into three parts: "Unique Quaker Testimonies and Practices," "Tensions Between Quakerism in Community and Quakerism in the World," and "Expressions of Quakerism Around the Atlantic World." These themes address, interrogate, and deconstruct the paradox of long eighteenth-century Quakerism (the withdrawal into sectarianism, with more rigid adherence to Quaker discipline coupled with increased engagement with the world through social reform). At the same time, these themes expand geographic understandings of the Quaker Atlantic world to determine how local events shaped expressions of Quakerism. Authors often challenge traditional or oversimplified interpretations of Quaker practices outlined in the book of discipline (in American meetings) and book of extracts (in British meetings). They present the Quaker world as a complex one in which prescription and practice were more often negotiated than dictated, even after the mid-eighteenth-century "reformation" and tightening of the discipline on both sides of the Atlantic.

With the exception of Elizabeth Cazden's chapter, analysis of the eighteenth-century positions for which Quakers remain best known today—equality, abolition, and pacifism—is not isolated in individual chapters. This allows readers to see the complex ways in which Quaker testimonies emerged and evolved during the long eighteenth century. Given the time and space covered, this collection of essays is not without gaps. Examination of the role of Quakers in colonization and interaction with the Indigenous peoples of North America is just beginning. Geoffrey Plank's chapter helps move this conversation forward. Similarly, all the chapters focus on topics frequently unaddressed in the current literature. Given the thematic approach, many chapters cover the entire period; others focus on a portion of the century germane to the topic under consideration. We hope that these fresh perspectives will encourage readers to reevaluate what has often been viewed as the dull Quaker century. The following overview of the period establishes context for the essays that follow.

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Space limitations prohibit an introduction to Quakers and Quakerism from its origins in mid-seventeenth-century England. Readers unfamiliar with Quakerism should consult the first two volumes in this series.[11] To situate eighteenth-century Quakerism, however, it is helpful to understand its seventeenth-century precedents. Quakerism emerged in the late 1640s during a turbulent period in English history. Against the backdrop of civil wars and the lifting of restrictions on speech, printing, and modes of worship, a number of political and religious factions appeared alongside the "separated" churches of Independents and Baptists. In 1647, George Fox, son of a Leicestershire weaver, had a transformative experience of the divine. He recalled this experience as a voice saying, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition."[12] The experience changed his life and led to the founding of the Quaker movement. While Fox is often identified as the "founder" of Quakerism, most scholars consider him "the leading personality," one of a number of early Friends with strong messages.[13]

Divine revelation (the Inward Light) and the belief that freedom from sin (perfection) was possible were central to early Quaker theology. Together, revelation and perfection culminated in the "Lamb's War"—the defeat of evil in oneself and the battle against evil in the world. The Quaker message spread quickly through northern England in the 1650s. From there, Quakers traveled across England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, usually in pairs. These "First Publishers of Truth" also went to Europe and the Atlantic colonies. In their Lamb's War, Quakers were militant; this alarmed authorities and resulted in arrests and imprisonments throughout the Interregnum. Quakers shocked authorities, and even themselves, with spectacles such as James Nayler's 1656 procession into Bristol, re-creating Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Authorities responded with harsher persecution; Friends responded with stronger organization and behavioral regulations.

The religious toleration alluded to in the Declaration of Breda that accompanied the restoration of King Charles II to the throne in 1660 did not materialize. Anglican clergy retaliated against the sects, especially Quakers. With conservative Anglicans firmly entrenched in the Cavalier Parliament, what followed was a legislative program of religious intolerance and brutal suppression of sects. The Clarendon Code (1661–65) and the Quaker Act (1662) were punitive laws used to persecute dissenters between 1660 and 1689. Persecution occurred in many forms; Quakers recorded this

persecution in the *Great Book of Sufferings*. During the Restoration, suffering became a central aspect of Quaker identity.[14] At the same time, Quakers learned the law and became proficient in using it to contest persecution. They actively lobbied Parliament and the courts for religious liberty.[15]

Between 1666 and 1668, Fox altered the meeting structure. In what he called "Gospel Order," different levels of meetings were placed into an ordered structure of governance. The smallest units of local congregations were known as particular meetings, or preparative meetings in North America. A number of these meetings reported to a monthly meeting. Monthly meetings played the most significant role in Friends' lives, as they had the authority to admit and discipline members and to approve marriages. Monthly meetings were organized regionally into quarterly meetings, and quarterly meetings into yearly meetings. In the 1670s, administrative meetings were added: the Second Day [Monday] Morning Meeting (1673) oversaw publishing and managed the itinerant ministry, and the Meeting for Sufferings (1676) recorded sufferings, lobbied government, and handled finances. Quakers outside the center occasionally challenged London's efforts to impose uniformity of practice, and there were minor separations. Even so, the Quaker world expanded despite efforts to suppress it. In the years leading up to the Act of Toleration (1689), Quakers established a successful transatlantic network of meetings in the British Atlantic colonies.

A number of factors around 1690 altered the political and religious climate for Quakers in the British Atlantic world. Under the 1689 Toleration Act, nonconformists such as Friends gained limited rights. They were permitted to worship without fear of arrest or persecution in registered places of worship. But they still could neither attend universities nor hold political office. Moreover, the Church of England remained the established church and the Crown demanded that Friends who were British subjects pay tithes for its support.

In this new reality, eighteenth-century Quakers fixed their sights on survival as a separated, peculiar people. This was not an altogether new development. Robert Barclay's introspective theology, outlined in his *Apology* (1678), had been formed in the context of persecution and debate.[16] What emerged was a "meantime," not an end-time theology.[17] Quaker interactions in their local communities and their well-developed lobbying efforts had moved Quakers toward a measure of accommodation with mainstream society.[18] Still, non-Quakers questioned the orthodoxy of Quakers' theology

and their inclusion in toleration. It was in the midst of this uncertain period that a number of prominent Friends died. Fox's death in 1691 was a particular loss; his charismatic leadership was almost impossible to replace. Barclay's death in 1690 and Stephen Crisp's in 1692 also removed valuable leaders. At the same time, William Penn, Pennsylvania's founder, was embattled. His close relationship with James II meant that the Crown considered him a traitor. He lost his colony between 1691 and 1693 and lived in perilous uncertainty for a number of years.[19]

In these uncertain times, Quakers faced a threatening internal disagreement, the Keithian controversy, a theological dispute that became colored by politics.[20] At its center was George Keith, initially viewed as one of the Society's "best systematic theologians," now remembered as "the great apostate."[21] Originally from the Aberdeen Meeting, Keith had ministered alongside Robert Barclay, George Fox, William Penn, and George Whitehead before emigrating to East Jersey in 1684 as surveyor-general. When he relocated to Philadelphia in 1689, Keith encountered Quakers he considered to be both biblically illiterate and unorthodox in their commitment to the incarnation and the physical Christ. Post-toleration Friends did not feel that this piece of doctrine required a unified position. Keith disagreed. In "Gospel Order Improved," he called for a number of reforms, including the necessity of a written creed.[22] This raised the ire of noncreedal Friends who opposed any attempt to limit the power of the Light to a set of statements.

What followed was deeply acrimonious. Keith pointed to Quakers' rejection of his proposed reforms as evidence of their heretical beliefs. Keith's "high opinion of himself" and his "acerbic manner" made matters worse.[23] The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (PYM) disowned him in 1692, "not for doctrinal matters but for his divisiveness."[24] The conflict was neither easily nor quickly resolved. It soon became public, and potentially embarrassing, when Keith published his version of events.[25] Philadelphia Friends attempted to silence him through a failed defamation trial.

In 1694, both parties traveled to London to seek satisfaction. Reprints of Keith's polemical works had already arrived in London in 1693, setting the stage for the arrival of colonial Friends the following year. The extent and significance of transatlantic networks is evident in the way this conflict reverberated throughout the Quaker Atlantic. Within the delicate political context of toleration, the dispute became grounds for a schism. The London Yearly Meeting (LYM) disowned Keith in 1695, again for his manner, not

his beliefs, although the differences were theological.[26] For years afterward, Keith and other former Quakers like Francis Bugg continued to denounce Quaker "heresies" in writing or in public meetings. Friends found themselves in the difficult position of defending the Christian orthodoxy of their faith and their inclusion in the Toleration Act. One survival strategy was an increased reliance on meeting organization and discipline. Quakers' focus on order, expressed in plain dress and speech patterns or endogamy, was a reminder to others and themselves that they were a peculiar people. Another survival strategy was migration and settlement in areas where Friends believed they could live out their testimonies freely.

The Quaker Atlantic world expanded significantly in the eighteenth century. Although individual communities could be located at quite some distance from one another, they were connected to the transatlantic Quaker network though epistolary correspondence, Quaker publications, and the traveling ministry. As Quakerism became a transatlantic faith, it was changed. Despite the LYM's best efforts to control the periphery from the center, transatlantic Quakerism was increasingly shaped by a variety of local expressions. New yearly meetings were created in response to the spread of Friends across North America. The New England, Baltimore, Virginia, and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings all existed before 1690; the New York Yearly Meeting (NYYM) was created in 1695 and the North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1698. As maps I.1 and I.2 show, transatlantic migration negatively affected some British meetings. Wales Yearly Meeting was a case in point. So many Quakers left Wales for the British North American colonies that in 1797 the yearly meeting was reduced to a half-yearly meeting, under the LYM. The maps also show the impact of westward migration in North America after the American Revolution, with Ohio and Indiana Yearly Meetings being added in 1813 and 1821, respectively. Map I.2 identifies the North American yearly meetings that divided in the Hicksite-Orthodox Schism of 1827–28. The Genesee Yearly Meeting was set off from the Hicksite branch of the NYYM in 1834. Although its location is shown in the state of New York, it was a transnational meeting and met alternately in New York and the Canadian province of Ontario. Because the maps show only yearly meetings, they do not show the Quaker population shifts in the Caribbean. At the beginning of the long eighteenth century, the islands of Jamaica and Barbados hosted sizeable Quaker populations; there were almost no Friends on either island by the middle of the century. Nor do the maps show the Quaker communities in the Netherlands. Throughout

MAP 1.1   Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends, 1690s. Map by John Grotenhuis.

MAP 1.2   Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends, 1830s. Map by John Grotenhuis.

the eighteenth century, many Dutch Friends emigrated to North America (largely Pennsylvania); by the end of the century, only a handful remained in the Netherlands. Quakers established communities in Norway in 1814, when Norwegian prisoners of war who had become convinced Friends while in English captivity returned to their country. Quakers were among the Norwegians who sought religious freedom in the United States in the

1820s. This reduced the number of Quakers in Norway but did not eliminate their presence there.

Partly out of a protectionist posture, Quakerism became more organized, bureaucratic, hierarchical, and sectarian over the course of the eighteenth century. Consider membership. Before significant transatlantic migration began in the late seventeenth century, local meetings recognized who belonged and who did not. Colonial meetings, swelling with newly arrived immigrants, could not be certain. After 1700 they requested that the LYM and its constituent meetings issue certificates to emigrating Friends, confirming that migrants were members in good standing, that they were free to marry or not, and that their financial status was sound.[27] Poor relief, a benefit of membership, was another concern in the migratory Atlantic world. The need to reliably identify members and determine the meeting responsible for poor relief or relocation costs compelled stricter classification. The LYM first defined membership, including birthright membership, in a 1737 minute on "removals and settlements." It dictated that children and wives of members were to be counted as members. While Quakers had conventionally identified children of members as members, they had not yet codified this practice. The change expanded the ranks of nominal Friends who were Quaker by birth, not by choice, and this affected spiritual vigor.[28]

The focus on uniformity of practice is apparent in the codification and collection of what Quakers called advices, queries, and rules of discipline. The New England Yearly Meeting replaced the advices of Fox and other visitors with a formal discipline in 1708. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting approved its first discipline in 1704, then lengthened and more carefully arranged it in 1719. The London Yearly Meeting issued copies of Christian and brotherly advices, called *The Book of Extracts*, in 1738. *The Book of Extracts* became the first officially printed discipline in 1783; the American yearly meetings printed their disciplines shortly thereafter.[29] There was some consistency of testimonies across the Atlantic. Still, local contexts affected expressions of Quakerism, as is demonstrated in Andrew Fincham's comparison of the LYM and PYM disciplines in this volume.

Despite their commitment to separating themselves from the world, eighteenth-century Quakers were active in worldly affairs. They expanded their mercantile interests, and some accumulated great fortunes. Expansive Quaker networks and business practices such as restricting debt created an environment in which Quaker industry flourished.[30] The Navigation Acts favored Atlantic trade, and an expanding empire multiplied mercantile

opportunities. But Quakers, shut out of universities, professions, and the civil service, were innovative and entrepreneurial. They participated actively in every area of imperial commerce, including the trade in African slaves and goods produced by slaves.[31]

Interaction with the market and commercial success challenged quietist ideals of a separated life, creating anxiety and internal conflict for many Quakers. They addressed this conflict in multiple ways. Some left their faith. Others remained in the faith but did not follow the discipline. By the end of the century, Quakers themselves distinguished between plain Friends (those who observed regulations) and gay Friends (those who did not). Some extremely devout Quakers, like John Woolman, walked away from business entirely.[32] More often, Friends developed ways of moving between separate spiritual and temporal domains. For instance, plainness acted as a protective barrier; it permitted Friends to operate in the commercial world while maintaining their distance from it. Philanthropy and benevolence helped Quakers navigate this tension. Profit was permissible as long as Friends gained it honestly and cared for those in distress.[33]

Quakers clarified their testimonies on slavery and war in this period, often reacting to political, social, and economic circumstances in the Atlantic world. Their position on slavery and abolition was complex. Despite popular portrayals of Quakers as proponents of racial equality and abolition from the start, this was not the case. Eighteenth-century Quaker commercial accomplishments depended in no small part on the products of slave labor and the trade in slaves. Pressure from the periphery on the center instigated action. Colonial attempts to limit the trade compelled the LYM to articulate the Society's position on slavery, although the yearly meeting originally refused to use its powerful parliamentary lobby to support the Pennsylvania anti-import campaign.[34] Moreover, while the LYM advised the PYM in 1727 that the traffic in slaves was inconsistent with Friends' principles, it did not circulate this advice to British meetings until 1750, when it was finally included in *The Book of Extracts*. An official shift occurred at midcentury. This coincided with the Seven Years' War and the Quaker reformation, when enforcement of the discipline became a priority.[35] In 1754 the PYM published John Woolman's pamphlet *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, and in 1758 the LYM printed an epistle condemning the trade and any involvement in it. It was not until later in the century, however, that Quakers focused on abolishing the trade instead of distancing themselves from it. Yet antislavery sentiments increased on both sides of the

Atlantic owing to the distribution of abolitionists' messages and the formation of antislavery societies. In 1787 the LYM's antislavery committee joined forces with non-Quaker abolitionists like William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson. Their persistent, highly organized campaign of petitions, boycotts, and lobbying eventually resulted in the 1807 Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The peace testimony was also complicated.[36] Early Quakers had participated in the mid-seventeenth-century civil wars that affected the British Isles and colonies and, despite Friends' declaration of peaceable principles to Charles II in 1660, behavior did not always reflect stated beliefs. Friends' mercantile interests in the British Atlantic compelled a clear position. Armed conflict was commonplace in the long eighteenth century; more than half of the period was punctuated by wars of empire or revolution. Could Quakers arm ships defensively or protect their homes? It was not until 1744 that Friends clearly equated war with "injustice, barbarity, and bloodshed" and determined that those associated with it were to be disowned.[37] Quakers in the Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly were divided in the war crisis of 1755 between those who supported a defensive war tax and those who did not. Influenced by the Quaker reformation, most Quakers withdrew from the Assembly in 1756.[38] In the American Revolution, the American yearly meetings adopted a position of strict neutrality. The impact of this position and the extent to which Friends complied depended on a number of factors. Despite their strong connections to Britain, most American Quakers reconciled with their new government. A few true Loyalists returned to England; some became refugees, or later settlers, in what remained of Britain's North American colonies. By the end of the century, aversion to war, war-related activities, or even discussion of war was complete, and pacifism became a defining feature of Quakerism.[39]

Throughout much of the eighteenth century, the bounds of Quaker orthodoxy were generous even if the limits of behavior and practice were not. Three theological tendencies—quietism, rationalism, and evangelicalism—functioned side by side among Quakers throughout the eighteenth century.[40] Through much of this period, Quaker culture throughout the Atlantic world demonstrated a capacity to hold diversity in tension. Behavior (or orthopraxy) was increasingly controlled, but theology (or orthodoxy) remained flexible. This world began to fracture late in the century. Theological conflict first emerged in the late 1790s when Irish Friend Abraham Shackleton and American Friend Hannah Barnard questioned the accuracy

of an Old Testament passage in which God commanded the ancient Israelites to exterminate their enemies. William Savery, a visiting PYM minister, was horrified at Shackleton's views. Savery branded Shackleton a deist and urged the Irish Yearly Meeting (IYM) to disown him.[41] When Shackleton and some others who shared his views refused to renounce their position, the IYM disowned them. During this time, Barnard, a minister and member of the Hudson Monthly Meeting in the NYYM, was traveling through Europe, including Ireland. When visiting the LYM, Barnard came into conflict with Friends who challenged her questioning of scripture.[42] The LYM refused to endorse any further travel in ministry and Barnard returned to the United States, where, in 1802, her monthly meeting disowned her for challenging the accuracy of scripture.

Evangelical doctrines such as the divinity of Christ, the infallibility of the Bible, and the necessity of accepting Christ's atoning sacrifice began to occupy greater, more formal space in Quakerism, as they had in British and American society generally in the late eighteenth century. They gained formal expression in the LYM's 1805 publication of Henry Tuke's *Principles of Religion, as Professed by the Society of Christians Usually Called Quakers*. Not every Quaker agreed with Tuke's thinking. A significant group of Friends in North America expressed grave concerns that this form of Quakerism was unlike that of the faith's founders.[43] At the center of the theological disputes in the American meetings was Elias Hicks, a Long Island minister. "An extreme Quietist who feared acting without the guidance of the Holy Spirit," Hicks sought "to be empty, to know nothing, to call for nothing, and to desire to do nothing." He believed that Quakers' ties with non-Quakers through social reform activities were corrupting Friends. Beyond the desire to remain a separate and peculiar people, Hicks and his supporters disapproved of increasing the evangelical influence on American society, with its "ordained man-made ministry."[44] In an 1819 address on slavery to the PYM, he criticized the "worldly spirit" that had crept into Quakerism and stressed the importance of behavior over belief. He then urged young Friends to follow their consciences, even if this required disobeying their elders. In a move designed to insult Hicks, offended and powerful male leaders (who supported what would become known as Orthodox Quakerism) adjourned while Hicks was addressing the women's meeting. Hicks chose to overlook the slight by ignoring the authority of the leadership.[45]

Hicks's attempts at reformation among Friends pressed both sides to crystalize their beliefs. Those who criticized the "Hicksites" became known

as Orthodox Friends. Their theology was very similar to that of non-Quaker evangelicals in the Atlantic world. There was never a unified Hicksite party, nor did those labeled Hicksite spread the ideas of Elias Hicks. Rather, Hicks's name was applied to a disparate group that disagreed with and responded to the rise of evangelicalism within Quakerism. Hicksites were unified in their commitment to the ongoing revelation of the Inward Light instead of specific doctrine determined by an external source. Both sides claimed that their positions were closest to original Quakerism. The disagreements dividing Quakers were predominantly theological ones, complicated and colored by geography, economics, governance, and kinship.[46]

The nastiness of the disagreements was not confined to the yearly meetings. Both sides began a fierce campaign of traveling and pamphleteering that spread discord throughout the North American meetings, from the metropoles of Philadelphia and New York to the distant peripheral meetings. The LYM, which supported the Orthodox Friends, sent in reinforcements in the form of weighty English Friends who toured the North American meetings extensively in the 1820s. While this may have been the LYM's attempt to support uniformity of faith and practice throughout the Quaker world, its interference made things worse. As Larry Ingle puts it, with the arrival of these English Friends, "all hope for conciliation vanished."[47] Where American Friends might have worked through disagreements in doctrine and power, the meddling of English ministers deepened rifts. Their participation, whether knowingly or not, in what amounted to a Quaker "imperial" process, marked the end of the LYM's authority at the center of the Quaker world.[48]

The conflict came to a head in April 1827 at the PYM when Orthodox members refused to replace the staunchly Orthodox clerk with a Hicksite one. Those identifying as Hicksites withdrew and called for a reorganized yearly meeting. The division in Philadelphia spread to other yearly meetings. Baltimore, Indiana, Ohio, and New York Yearly Meetings divided in 1828. The schism was devastating to North American Quakers. Quakers throughout the Atlantic world had established and strengthened their local communities through the carefully woven ties of family and faith. The schism dismantled this world. In the yearly meetings that separated, every constituent meeting, down to the level of preparative meeting, was forced to decide which yearly meeting it would recognize. In local communities where Friends lived, worked, and worshipped in proximity to one another, quarrels over belief extended into fractious disputes over property. In some cases,

property disputes had to be resolved by legal means, something Quakers had scrupulously avoided throughout their history.

The Hicksite-Orthodox separation was a watershed event. Hugh Barbour has called it "the most traumatic event in American Quaker history."[49] It forever changed the Quaker Atlantic world. Some Quakers became more isolationist; others sought further connection with mainstream society through greater involvement in social reform or mercantile interests. Quaker unity gave way to diversity. Division seemed to become the accepted way of dealing with theological disagreement. Both the Hicksites and the Orthodox fragmented further in the years after 1830, including a division in the LYM. In terms of the periodization we have employed in this volume, the separation stands at the end of the long eighteenth century. Using a different periodization, it fits into the first third of the long nineteenth century, as seen in Thomas D. Hamm's *Liberal Quakerism in America in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1790–1920*.[50] Either way, the Quaker world of 1830 was significantly different from that of 1690.

NOTES

1. A number of scholars, beginning with William C. Braithwaite in 1919, portrayed eighteenth-century Quakerism as an unremarkable stage between the enthusiastic Quakerism of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. See William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1919; 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1921); Walter R. Williams, *The Rich Heritage of Quakerism* (1962; repr., Newberg, OR: Barclay Press, 1987); D. Elton Trueblood, *The People Called Quakers* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); and John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984).

2. Richard C. Allen and Rosemary Moore, eds., introduction to *The Quakers, 1656–1723: The Evolution of an Alternative Community* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2018), 2.

3. Notable book-length contributions that focus on the eighteenth century include Margaret Hope Bacon, ed., *Wilt Thou Go on My Errand? Three Eighteenth-Century Journals of Quaker Women Ministers: Susanna Morris, 1682–1755; Elizabeth Hudson, 1722–1783; Ann Moore, 1710–1783* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1994); Cristine Levenduski, *Peculiar Power: A Quaker Woman Preacher in Eighteenth-Century America* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700–1775* (New York: Knopf, 1999); Judith Jennings, *Gender, Religion, and Radicalism in the Long Eighteenth Century: The "Ingenious Quaker" and Her Connections* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006); and Amanda Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

4. Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill, eds., introduction to *New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1.

5. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1.

6. Recent works include Brycchan Carey, *From Peace to Freedom: Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1657–1761* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Elizabeth Cazden, "Quakers, Slavery, Anti-Slavery, and Race," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 347–62; Brycchan Carey and Geoffrey Plank, eds., *Quakers and Abolition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014); Julie Holcomb, *Moral Commerce: Quakers and the Transatlantic Boycott of the Slave Labor Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016); Marcus Rediker, *The Fearless Benjamin Lay: The Quaker Dwarf Who Became the First Revolutionary Abolitionist* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2017); and Katherine Gerbner, "Slavery in the Quaker World," *Friends Journal*, September 1, 2019, http://www.friendsjournal.org/slavery-in-the-quaker-world.

7. See, for example, Mike King, *Quakernomics: An Ethical Capitalism* (New York: Anthem Press, 2014); Esther Sahle, "A Faith of Merchants: Quakers and Institutional Change in the Early Modern Atlantic, c. 1660–1800" (PhD diss., London School of Economics, 2016); Holcomb, *Moral Commerce*.

8. Examples of these works include Nicholas J. Morgan, *Lancashire Quakers and the Establishment, 1660–1730* (Halifax, UK: Ryburn, 1993); Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society, 1655–1725* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Robynne Rogers Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian: Faith and Community Among Yonge Street Friends, 1801–1850* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006); and Richard C. Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales: From Resistance to Respectability* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007).

9. These include Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004); Sarah Crabtree, *Holy Nation: The Transatlantic Quaker Ministry in an Age of Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); and Jordan Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World: The Creation of an Early Modern Community* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

10. David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 16–21.

11. Other helpful overviews of early Quaker history are available in Angell and Dandelion, *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, and in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.)

12. George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 11.

13. Rosemary A. Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain, 1646–1666* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2000), 15. Other respected early leaders include James Nayler, Margaret Fell, Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill, Richard Hubberthorne, Richard Farnsworth, and William Dewsbury.

14. Raymond Ayoub, "The Persecution of 'an Innocent People' in Seventeenth-Century England," *Quaker Studies* 10, no. 1 (2006): 48–49; John Miller, "'A Suffering People': English Quakers and Their Neighbours, c. 1650–c.1700," *Past and Present* 188, no. 1 (2005): 71.

15. Richard L. Greaves, "Seditious Sectaries or 'Sober and Useful Inhabitants'? Changing Conceptions of the Quakers in Early Modern Britain," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 33, no. 1 (2001): 24–50.

16. Hugh S. Pyper, "Robert Barclay: The Art of Apologetics," in *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought, 1647–1723*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 207–23.

17. Pink Dandelion, "Guarded Domesticity and Engagement with 'the World': The Separate Spheres of Quaker Quietism," *Common Knowledge* 16, no. 1 (2010): 95–109; Robynne Rogers Healey, "From Apocalyptic Prophecy to Tolerable Faithfulness: George Whitehead and a Theology for the Eschaton Deferred," in Angell and Dandelion, *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought*, 273–92.

18. Craig W. Horle, *The Quakers and the English Legal System, 1660–1688* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); Davies, *Quakers in English Society*; Miller, "'Suffering People,'" 71–103; Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales*.

19. Andrew R. Murphy, *William Penn: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 201–26.

20. Michael Birkel, "Immediate Revelation, Kabbalah, and Magic: The Primacy of Experience in the Theology of George Keith," in Angell and Dandelion, *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought*, 264.

21. Ibid., 256; Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 79.

22. Jon Butler, "'Gospel Order Improved': The Keithian Schism and the Exercise of Quaker Ministerial Authority in Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (1974): 435–37.

23. Clare J. L. Martin, "Tradition Versus Innovation: The Hat, Wilkinson-Story, and Keithian Controversies," *Quaker Studies* 8, no. 1 (2003): 17; Birkel, "Immediate Revelation," 264.

24. Birkel, "Immediate Revelation," 265.

25. George Keith, *Some Reasons and Causes of the Late Seperation* [*sic*] (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1692); George Keith and Thomas Budd, *A True Copy of Three Judgments Given Forth by a Party of Men, Called Quakers at Philadelphia, Against George Keith and His Friends. With Two Answers to the Said Judgments* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1692).

26. Martin, "Tradition Versus Innovation," 15–18.

27. Jon Butler, "Power, Authority, and the Origins of American Denominational Order: The English Churches in the Delaware Valley, 1680–1730," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 68, no. 2 (1978): 28–29.

28. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, 1:108–10.

29. Ibid., 1:143; Barbour and Frost, *Quakers*, 108.

30. Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1763* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948); Landes, *London Quakers*.

31. See Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

32. See Geoffrey Plank, *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

33. Mark Freeman, "Quakers, Business, and Philanthropy," in Angell and Dandelion, *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, 423.

34. For an outline of events, see Cazden, "Quakers, Slavery, Anti-Slavery, and Race."

35. Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (1984; repr., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). The LYM followed a similar reform beginning in 1760, as outlined in Punshon, *Portrait in Grey*, 142–44.

36. Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 245–53.

37. LYM, *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London* (London: J. Phillips, 1783), 254.

38. Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 32.

39. LYM, *A Collection of the Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Great-Britain, Ireland, and Elsewhere from 1675 to 1805: Being from the First Establishment of That Meeting to the Present Time* (Baltimore: Cole and Hewes, 1806), 378.

40. Healey, "From Apocalyptic Prophecy to Tolerable Faithfulness"; Robynne Rogers Healey, "Into the Eighteenth Century," in Allen and Moore, *Quakers, 1656–1723*, 287–312.

41. Thomas D. Hamm, *Liberal Quakerism in America in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1790–1920* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

42. David W. Maxey, "New Light on Hannah Barnard, a Quaker 'Heretic,'" *Quaker History* 78, no. 2 (1989): 62–65.

43. Robert W. Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth-Century America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1967); Larry H. Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986); Hamm, *Liberal Quakerism in America*.

44. Thomas D. Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805–1887," in Angell and Dandelion, *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, 64.

45. Doherty, *Hicksite Separation*, 28–29.

46. Doherty posits that Orthodox Friends in the PYM were both wealthier and more powerful (ibid., 16, 46–48). Ingle identifies an urban-rural divide, with urban Quakers generally identifying as Orthodox and rural Quakers as Hicksite. He also demonstrates that Orthodox Friends in the PYM and NYYM were more frequently weighty, or powerful, Quakers. Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 16–60.

47. Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 30.

48. Robynne Rogers Healey, "Elizabeth Robson, Transatlantic Women Ministers, and the Hicksite-Orthodox Schism," paper presented to the Quaker Studies Research Association, June 22, 2019.

49. Hugh Barbour, Christopher Densmore, Elizabeth H. Moger, Nancy C. Sorel, Larry H. Ingle, and Alson D. Van Wagner, "The Orthodox-Hicksite Separation," in *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings*, ed. Hugh Barbour, Christopher Densmore, Elizabeth H. Moger, Nancy C. Sorel, Alson D. Van Wagner, and Arthur J. Worrall (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 100.

50. See Hamm, *Liberal Quakerism in America*, 14–29. In the *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, Angell and Dandelion end the long eighteenth century (the quietist period) about 1805. In the *Cambridge Companion to Quakerism*, they set the beginning of the period of "conflict and transformation" in 1808.