

1-1-1995

New Lights and Inner Light

Richard M. Kelly

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt>



Part of the [Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kelly, Richard M. (1995) "New Lights and Inner Light," *Quaker Religious Thought*. Vol. 85 , Article 6.
Available at: <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol85/iss1/6>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @ George Fox University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Quaker Religious Thought by an authorized editor of Digital Commons @ George Fox University. For more information, please contact arolfe@georgefox.edu.

NEW LIGHTS AND INNER LIGHT

RICHARD M. KELLY

THE REVIVALIST HERITAGE OF THOMAS R. KELLY

IN 1868 FAIRFIELD QUARTERLY MEETING appointed a committee led by evangelist John Henry Douglas “to visit and hold meetings among friends who lived in places remote from any meetings. One of these places was a little village called Londondary¹, twelve miles east of Chillicothe [Ohio]—where two or three friends lived, and some who were descendants of Friends,” wrote Nathan and Esther Frame.² The Frames, important Quaker evangelists described that first visit to this most eastern area of Fairfield Quarter. In spite of prejudice that Quakers were odd people who held silent meetings and dressed differently, the advertisements in the Chillicothe papers that evangelizing Quakers were coming with a woman preacher among them aroused great curiosity in the community.

We held our first meeting in a little old fashioned meeting house, five miles from Londonderry near Schooly’s Station, and were hospitably entertained by two maiden ladies named Claypole....In the mourning “The Committee”, and ourselves were conveyed in two large old fashioned wagons....When we were driven into the town the whole population were on the watch to see the “Quakers,” and as we passed on to the M. E. Church where the meetings were to be held, we were much a wonder as if we had been a menagerie from Central Africa.

There were many intelligent persons in the community, but the church people had been much demoralized during the “late Civil War,” and were as sheep without a shepherd—scattered. They came fifteen miles to attend the meetings; some women riding over the hills on horseback with babies in their arms, to enjoy one day’s meeting, when it took them one day to come, and another day to go home. There were hundreds at this meeting converted; the churches that had been demoralized were revived, the ministers called to them, there was a Friends Meeting organized and a new meeting house built....³

At the dedication of the new meetinghouse, John Henry Douglas and Nathan Frame each spoke for an hour, Esther Frame gave the first public prayer and went on to address the gathering herself at length.

TOM KELLY'S CHILDHOOD

A quarter of a century after the wagons brought the Quakers to Londonderry, Thomas R. Kelly, author of *A Testament of Devotion and The Eternal Promise* was born on a small farm no more than a mile from the old Schooley meetinghouse. His immediate family consisted of his parents, Carlton Kelly and Madora Kersey Kelly; his sister, Mary; and his grandmother, Mahala Saum Kelly. An extended family of Kelly great aunts and great uncles, second and third cousins lived nearby. Most of them belonged to the Quaker church in Londonderry.

His father, Carlton Kelly, still in his twenties, was assistant clerk of the meeting and superintendent of the Sunday school. Each week the family drove the buggy to Sunday school, and morning worship at the Friends church in Londonderry. They returned home for dinner, and in the afternoon taught Sunday school at Schooley where they had reopened "the little old fashioned meeting house" for worship and instruction. When Carlton Kelly was only 33, he was appointed clerk of the Meeting. But within a month he was dead. His widow, "Dora," replaced him and held the post for six years. The little family stayed on the farm until 1903 when Madora moved with her children to Wilmington, Ohio. Grandmother Mahala remained in Ross County where she died in 1905.

As an adult Thomas R. Kelly looked back on his childhood as bleak and lonely. He remembered little of his father. He recalled his life in Wilmington as so happy, compared to the early days on the farm, that he felt his real life had begun there. His sister Mary, who was two years his elder, however, recalled their earliest years, before the death of their father, as filled with fun and fantasy.

Though Thomas Kelly felt his life "began" in Wilmington, personality is shaped in the years before adolescence, so by revisiting the early religious heritage of Thomas R. Kelly we may enrich our understanding of his later life. As an adult he moved away from the revivalist, holiness Quakerism of Douglas and the Frames. But as a child and as a young man these influences were keenly felt. His first experiences of public worship were not in the silence of a traditional Quaker meet-

ing, but in the singing, preaching, teaching, praying of a holiness Quaker church. The theology of his youth was not that of the Inner Light or of the old discipline of the Quaker way of life with its plain speech and dress. It was the theology of instantaneous conversion and sanctification.⁴

HIS MOTHER, MADORA KERSEY

His mother, Madora Kersey, lived to be almost ninety and was a great story teller. My childhood visits with her were melodramatic journeys into the past. She loved to relate, in minute detail with flowery Victorian hyperbole, events of her own childhood, her early married life, and her “tragic” suffering after Carlton’s sudden death in 1897. Grandma told stories of digging in Indian mounds on her family’s farm in Oregonia, of gypsies who camped near their home, and of the locomotive which struck and dragged her a hundred yards, and how no one thought she would survive. But survive she did! She outlived two husbands, and her son and son-in-law. She was a strong, dominating little woman whose memories sustained her, and whose sense of what she thought was right and wrong never wavered.

The great romantic adventure of her life was her two-year courtship by mail with Carlton Kelly. The great tragedy of her life was his sudden death in 1897, struck down by some unknown malady. The great “shame” of her life, which she hardly dared tell, but always did, was that Carlton’s body was stolen from its grave and found weeks later by “Detective Stanley of Chillicothe” at a medical school in Columbus.⁵ A local doctor, she said, was arrested and tried for the body snatching.

The great triumph of her life was the heroic struggle to keep her tiny family together, in spite of such tragedies, and to see her children through school—Mary marrying a Quaker businessman, Francis Farquhar; Tom becoming a college professor and prominent Quaker minister.

Madora Kersey came to Ross County as a bride. She was born in Turtle Creek, near the village of Oregonia in Warren County, Ohio, about seventy miles to the west. She was from an old Orthodox Quaker family. She attended Wilmington College and taught school before her marriage to Carlton Kelly in 1889. As a young person she was

swept up in the revival meetings of her day. In later years, in reaction to the more liberal approach of modernist Friends, she and other holiness Friends of her generation slipped into a near fundamentalism,⁶ vastly different from the theology and ideas her son would adopt.

Though she looked back on her married life with Carlton Kelly as an idyllic time, she was not happy in Ross County. She felt her children could not get a good education if they remained. When her children completed their early schooling, she sold the farm, moved to Wilmington, and built a house across the street from the college she loved.⁷

She was, however, neither an intellectual nor a creative thinker. Unlike her son, she had little sense of humor. She fretted over what was socially proper. But she had a driving ambition for her son that pushed young Tom Kelly to academic excellence and success.

She had a nineteenth-century romantic fascination with death. Her funeral was planned out and scripted down to the order of worship, the hymns, and the prayers. She had a box in her bedroom where her burial clothes, complete with new shoes, underclothes, dress, and gloves were neatly laid out. She carefully showed me every item as though lessons in good grooming in a coffin were an essential part of every little boy's education.

HIS FATHER, CARLTON KELLY

Unlike his mother who lived a long life, Thomas Kelly's father, Carlton Kelly, was a young man when he died in 1897. But we can get a clear sense of his personality in his courtship correspondence with Madora Kersey where he wrote freely about himself.

Chillicothe Ohio Sep 15th '87

Miss Dora Kersy,

A motive of pure curiosity induces me, a stranger to write a letter to you.... Your name & address was in the catalogue of the Wilmington school...and I thought perhaps you were not as se-date & stiff as some of the Quakers are reputed to be and that you might not object to a correspondence. I know you run the risk of writing to a fellow you nothing know about but I will say in extenuation of myself that I am of good moral carachter &

family. I am not well educated, having only attended the common grammar school. I gave my name to the Friends Church at Londonderry last winter but I must confess I am a poor Christian. Perhaps you can help me. I live on a farm 3 1/2 miles from Chillicothe and have always been a farmer; my mother and I live together, I have no brothers or sisters. This is all I will tell you about myself.

Yours Truly,

Carlton W. Kelly

P.S...I have thought that perhaps a description of my personal charms would be in place: I will say that I have gray eyes, brown hair and a very fine moustache, also five feet seven or eight inches in height when I am fully stretched out.... And in return I ask a description of yourself and perhaps in time we might exchange photographs. Now don't think this is presumptuous. I don't mean to be. I am very plain ordinary fellow.

Their correspondence continued over two years. Photographs were exchanged. On his visit to her home in Oregonia a year later they agreed to marry. The letters are filled with references to laughter and family jokes, but he had a thoughtful side as well.

Carlton Kelly was not a birthright Friend, having been born before his father joined the Londonderry Monthly Meeting. In 1887 he formally became a Friend and was so well regarded that he was immediately appointed as assistant clerk and Sunday school superintendent. This writer has his copy of Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* but its near "mint condition" suggests that it was not well read. Revivals, tent meetings, and missionaries spreading the Gospel were at the center of Carlton's and Madora's religious and social activities, and that of their relatives and friends. Exchanged letters are filled with references to such meetings.

His letters show that Carlton was a man of charm, and humor and a keen mind. Madora always spoke of him as exceptionally bright, light-hearted, and in need of settling down, which she saw as her mission!

GRANDMOTHER MAHALA SAUM

Carlton's mother, Mahala, brought a non-Quaker, Pennsylvania Dutch heritage into the Kelly household. The Londonderry Monthly Meeting minutes never mention her. Though her husband was a minister of the church, she played no role in its organizational life. What little survives are her newspaper clippings of recipes, quilt patterns, sentimental poems, and articles about her husband's court cases. A daguerreotype photograph shows her as a young woman in an elaborate and obviously non-Quaker dress, wearing long gold earrings and a wedding band.

Madora Kersey apparently did not warm to her mother-in-law. My sister recalls conversations with our father and grandmother that indicate Madora's relationship with Mahala was strained at best as the two strong-willed women vied for control of the household.

GRANDFATHER THOMAS WILLIAM KELLY

Thomas Raymond Kelly was named for his Quaker minister grandfather, Thomas William Kelly. The older Thomas Kelly died in 1882, eleven years before his namesake's birth, but his memory and example deeply influenced Carlton.

Thomas William Kelly did not become a Quaker until he was in his forties (February 7, 1874). Within a month he was acknowledged as a minister of the Gospel, and shortly thereafter reports indicated Friends were satisfied with their minister. This unusually hasty action on the part of the meeting indicates that Thomas W. Kelly was already seen by the meeting as a "Minister of the Gospel" long before he joined the Friends.

Born in 1830, Thomas William Kelly learned his father's trade of tanner, harnessmaker and shoemaker and practiced the trade throughout his life. He was already a preacher in his twenties. An undated fragment of a sermon entered in his journal⁸ appears to be a homily on the Eucharist and reveals a man of deep personal religious life with an obviously mystical quality:

. . . as we all come to the table and take our seats and pray God to remit our sins and grant us his blessing. Our hearts become warmed and the quiet that rests among us tells of that love which none but the Christian can feel. . . .

Oh how they loved him. Since at this hour (oh at this hour) I let heaven weep, take this, it is my body.

BARTON STONE AND THE NEW LIGHTS

Before he became a Quaker, Thomas William and members of the Kelly family were New Lights, a schismatic Presbyterian group which came out of the great frontier revivals in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The Second Great Awakening (or Great Western Revival) began during the 1790s in New England. In the southern back country, "Old Light" Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists had kept the First Great Awakening alive and carried the seeds of the Second Great Awakening over the mountains to the new settlements in the west. "Cataclysmic" outbreaks of religious enthusiasm occurred in Kentucky at the camp meetings of 1800 and 1801, most notably at Cane Ridge in Bourbon County. "I saw the religion of Jesus more clearly exhibited in the lives of Christians then than I had ever seen before or since to the same extent," wrote Elder Barton W. Stone, a Presbyterian minister who participated in the revival at Cane Ridge, August 7-12, 1801. People came by the thousands. The revival spirit was great and continued for days. Participants jerked and swayed with emotion. Many fell prostrate on the ground. "Although Presbyterians sponsored the meeting, a number of Methodist and Baptist preachers mounted the stumps and from these wilderness pulpits proclaimed God's love for sinners. The Cane Ridge Camp Meeting was a remarkable demonstration of Christian unity for denominational loyalties melted in the heat of revival."⁹

The influence of this great revival was felt throughout the frontier and reinvigorated Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterians as well as spawning several small sects and the Christian Church, Disciples of Christ. The nondenominational or nonsectarian character of the Second Great Awakening and the western revival movement laid the groundwork for interdenominational cooperation and ecumenism in the nineteenth

and twentieth century. This same revival movement precipitated schisms within Quakers and eventually brought an end to Quaker isolation from mainstream Protestantism.

Presbyterian New Lights stressed conversion through the confession of sin and accepting Jesus as Savior. They sought to recreate the original spirit and lives of the first Christians or “Disciples.” The Bible, not doctrine or church structure, was their principal guide. Each local congregation was autonomous. Their preachers were usually untrained, local men.

Three New Light congregations were formed in Ross County, east of Chillicothe before 1820. An organization was effected and ministers came from various places, among them Barton Stone from Kentucky.¹⁰ The church at Schooley Station was the third New Light meetinghouse and was “the little old fashioned meeting house” to which Friends first came in 1868.¹¹ All three congregations were discontinued before the late 1860s when the Quakers came to town. The church building at Schooley, however, still stands, a free church, not owned by any denomination.

There are no surviving membership records of these New Light churches, but oral tradition and family burial records indicate the early Kellys were members of Schooley New Lights.¹²

THE HOLINESS QUAKERS

When in 1868 the Quakers came to the old New Light meetinghouse in Schooley with their own message of universal salvation, Kelly aunts and uncles were among the first to respond. John Henry Douglas led the movement to reach out to non-Friends in Ohio.¹³ He addressed Center Quarterly Meeting in June of 1870:

My family and I were raised in New England Yearly Meeting where you could be disowned for going to town or reading a novel. Times have changed. The Lord has stirred us to new ideas. This change became evident in our Yearly Meeting of 1860 when over 2,000 young people attended an evening session to give witness to the presence of the Lord in their lives....With your blessings, we gave forgiveness to and took back into our membership many families that took part in the recent civil conflict that ended slavery, a cause dear to our heart....The Lord has brought change into our lives. We must preach among the poor,

the diseased as well as possessed of the devil as Christ did. We can no longer preach only among ourselves. Over 2,000 came recently to Martinsville to an open air meeting to hear the word of the Lord and give praise to Him. They will join us in this great work if we only open the door....Let's end the old ways and the old days. Let's spend our time, with the Lord's guidance, doing good things and growing in response to his call. Let's not find fault among ourselves for dress, speech or associations. Let us move with the Lord.

In addition to their New Light affiliation, Thomas William Kelly and his siblings were descendants of Friends, and as such were of particular concern to the Quaker evangelists who came to Schooley and Londonderry. So powerful was John Henry Douglas's message of reconciliation to the descendants of former Friends, that when in 1992 I visited a Friend at Londonderry Meeting she immediately recounted how her own eighteenth-century ancestor had been disowned for marrying a Methodist, and how grateful her family was to have been welcomed back into the Friends church in the 1860s.

Though Thomas William Kelly brought with him a Quaker heritage, he was first and foremost a Christian evangelist whose religious views and experience were fully formed before he became a Friend. Members of the Kelly family seem to have kept their "New Light" identity long after they became Friends.

The Kellys were "pillars" of the Londonderry meeting. Uncle Ezra and Uncle David Harrison both served the meeting as elder and treasurer. Thomas William served it as its minister. Carlton served as Sunday school superintendent and clerk; his widow serving after him. Jane Kelly, David Harrison's wife, served as clerk of the woman's meeting for many years and later served as clerk of the entire meeting. But deep inside, a part of them remained true to the New Lights as much as to the Inner Lights.

Even Carlton's letter to his prospective wife shows that he did not fully identify himself as a Quaker when he wrote, "I thought perhaps you were not as sedate & stiff as some of the Quakers are reputed to be." When the young Kelly couple "reopened an old meeting house at Schooley," Carlton was returning to the New Light church of his childhood, to the church where his grandparents had married, and where his father and uncle must have preached a generation before.

His wife, Madora, on the other hand, though a revivalist Friend, was also a serious, very Orthodox Quaker. And though perhaps not as “sedate & stiff” as some Quakers, her cultural background had little in common with the freer, Scotch-Irish Kellys with their laughter and occasional problems with liquor. So when Tom Kelly’s family moved to Wilmington, this heritage was left behind. When Madora told her grandchildren stories of her years in Ross County, she never mentioned the New Lights. In her telling, Schooley meetinghouse was transformed into an abandoned Quaker meeting. According to Madora, the first Kellys who crossed the Appalachians from Virginia into Ohio in 1803 were transformed from poor Scotch-Irish farmers seeking cheap land on the frontier into high principled Quakers fleeing the evils of southern slavery. The New Light evangelist Kelly brothers both became Quaker ministers. The revivals of Cane Ridge and the New Lights were forgotten. The Orthodox Quakerism of his mother’s family and the evangelistic legacy of John Henry Douglas shaped Thomas R. Kelly’s teen and young adult years. Wilmington College, also founded by John Henry Douglas, and Wilmington Yearly Meeting now became the focus of the Kellys’ religious and cultural life.

But the New Lights and the Quakerism of John Henry Douglas should not be seen as antagonistic. Douglas’s vision of Quakerism made it open to all believers. The first New Light preachers found themselves in conflict with Calvinist theology that God saved only the elect, in the same way Douglas challenged the traditional Friends approach to “waiting on the Lord.” But unlike the Presbyterian Barton Stone who withdrew from his denomination, Douglas did not withdraw from Quakerism. He and his contemporaries reshaped and brought new life into it. The New Lights and the Revivalist Friends shared much. The revivalist holiness Friends were an extension of the same Great Western Revival, rekindled in response to the upheaval of the Civil War. For both the New Lights and Revivalists, religion and worship were active. Salvation was available to all that acknowledged sin and looked to God’s grace. Douglas’s vision of Quakerism also had room for the mystical quality of Thomas William Kelly’s powerful little homily on the Eucharist. The Revivalists welcomed many, including the Kellys and Frames, from other denominations, radically changing Quakerism forever.

Beyond his obvious institutional impact on all Quakers in the Middle West, did Douglas have a direct, personal influence on the Kelly family? John Henry Douglas and Thomas William Kelly were

contemporaries. Did he have a role in bringing Thomas William Kelly into the Friends ministry? We do not know. By the end of the 1870s John Henry Douglas had left Ohio and moved on to New York and from there to Iowa.

When he eventually retired in Whittier, California, his wife, Miriam Douglas, struck up a genealogical correspondence with her distant cousin, W. Rufus Kersey, Thomas R. Kelly's uncle. On November 20, 1915, she included the following in a long letter, "I am quite interested in the notice I see of 'Tom Kelly.' Is he a nephew or cousin to thee; I hope he will make a strong man. He seems careful in his early life." And two years later, on her eighty-sixth birthday, she wrote, "I watch with great interest 'Tom Kelley's' career so far as I am able to learn of it and all that Wilmington Yearly Meeting is doing..."¹⁴ Had John Henry and Miriam Douglas met the young Tom Kelly somehow or had they simply followed with interest the family of their old colleagues from Londonderry half a century before?

What influence did this early heritage have on the young Tom Kelly? Clearly he was raised in the revivalist tradition of holiness Friends. The revival was the center of his family's religious life. The involvement of John Henry Douglas, Esther and Nathan Frame in the founding of Londonderry Meeting place the Kellys squarely in the holiness camp. Thomas Kelly's initial motivation to attend seminary was to become a missionary in the Orient. His work for the YMCA in World War I was as an evangelist seeking "decisions" for Christ among the troops encamped on England's Salisbury Plain, and later among German prisoners of war.

But the renewing influence of the Revivalists had about run its course by the 1920s and Thomas Kelly's adult theology would be shaped by modernist Friends such as Rufus Jones at Haverford, and contemporary biblical and philosophical thought at Hartford Theological Seminary and Harvard University. The pages of his seminary student Bible are filled with penciled underlines and notes of "higher criticism" highlighting and separating the various "J" and "E" documents of the Old Testament. The marginal notes and underlines in his complete set of Rufus Jones's studies in mystical religion and Quakerism show they were well and thoroughly read. It was from Jones that he first learned of Meister Eckhart, and Brother Lawrence, and the journals of Fox and Woolman. By 1928 he was fully committed to Jones's historical approach and defined true Quakerism as a mystical religion.¹⁵ In 1937

and 1938, when he experienced his own religious upheaval, it was expressed in the terms of Quaker mysticism and the Inner Light and in the philosophical language of the Eternal Now breaking into time.

If we wish to find anything in the adult Thomas Kelly that points to his roots in the New Light Kellys of Ross County or the Revivalist Friends, we will not find it in the philosophical content of his message. But it is still seen, full blown, in his personality, in the emotional content of his message, in the old time evangelical phrases, and the rhythm of the language.

When he wrote in *A Testament of Devotion* "I'd rather be jolly Saint Francis hymning his canticle to the sun than a dour old sobersides Quaker whose diet would appear to have been spiritual persimmons" we are reminded of his father's quip about old Quaker men at Turtle Creek Meeting swatting flies and nodding off, and of the holiness Quaker's criticism of the Quietist Friends. His friend Merrill Root recalled, "He laughed with the rich abandon of wind and sun upon the open prairie. I have never heard richer, heartier laughter than his. He delighted in earth's incongruities, all the more perhaps because he saw eternal things and the values that transcend the earth...."¹⁶ We may also find revivalism in the intensity of Kelly's later writing. Couched in modernist Quaker language, his religious experiences of his last years were as dramatic and cataclysmic as any tent meeting conversion. The experience of a loving, winning God at work in his life was its own type of sanctification. The intellectual, scholarly man is still present, carefully shaping words and phrases, referring to ancient mystics, relating the experience of the Light Within to the great philosophers of the East and the West. But the fervor of the evangelists of his youth comes hammering through, insisting that religious experience be dramatic, be specific, be tangible, be real, be felt.

In the end he found the modernist Quaker thought, once so challenging and liberating, to be inadequate. "You can learn the history of the Christian church. You can know about the Synoptic Gospels and have your own theories about Q and the J, E, D and P document of the Hexateuch, you can know all the literature about the authorship of the Johannine epistles, whether the author was John the Beloved Disciple or another by the same name. You can know all about the history of Quakerism, you can know the Nicene Creed and the Constantine Creed....You can know all this, and much more. But unless you know God, immediately, everyday communing with Him, rejoicing in Him,

exalting in Him, opening your life in joyful obedience toward Him and feeling Him speaking to you and guiding you into ever fuller loving obedience to Him, you aren't fit to be a minister."¹⁷

A friend from his Earlham days wrote of his visit with Thomas Kelly in the autumn of 1940, "He almost startled me, and he shocked some of us who were still walking in the ways of logic and science and the flesh, by the high areas of being he had penetrated. He had returned to old symbols like the blood of Christ, that were shocking to a few of his old colleagues who had not grown and lived as he had. But he brought new meaning to all symbols, and he was to me, and to some others a prophet whose tongue had been touched by coals of fire."¹⁸

The existential theologian Paul Tillich speaks of an individual's personal, interior journey as one which ultimately ends in isolation and separation from God. Resolution of that journey takes the form of a return to one's most fundamental childhood beliefs, seen and experienced in the new light of adult experience. Thomas Kelly himself saw his religious conversion in terms of a return to something childlike and something homelike. From Germany he wrote his wife Lael "Help me, Sweetheart, to become more like a little child—not proud of learning, not ambitious for self, but emptied of these things, and guided by that amazing Power, which is so gentle....Now I feel I must come home."¹⁹

In the closing pages of *A Testament of Devotion*, you can hear the cadence of the camp meeting:

Do you really want to live your lives, every moment of your lives, in His Presence? Do you long for Him, crave Him? Do you love His Presence? Does every drop of blood in your body love Him? Does every breath you draw breathe a prayer, a praise to Him? Do you sing and dance within yourselves, as you glory in His love? Have you set yourselves to be His, and only His, walking every moment in holy obedience? I know I'm talking like an old-time evangelist. But I can't help that, nor dare I restrain myself and get prim and conventional. We have too long been prim and restrained. The fires of the love of God, of our love toward God, and of His love toward us, are very hot.²⁰

Thomas Kelly came full circle; back to the roots of his religious heritage, tempered and honed by the historical and philosophical thinking of the early twentieth century. Quakers of both the pastoral and

older unprogrammed traditions can rightly claim him as their own. The original insight of the universality of the Christian message announced by the New Lights almost a century before Thomas Kelly's birth was a fundamental part of his own Scotch-Irish heritage and an essential element of the later Quaker revivalist movement which finally moved the Society of Friends out of the peculiarities of a minor sect into a modern member of the Christian community. As such Thomas Kelly is a uniquely prototypical Quaker whose universal acceptance within and without the Society of Friends stems from this essential mainstream Protestant background, tempered by his profound commitment to historical Quakerism and the universal insight of the philosopher.

July 17, 1993

NOTES

1. Throughout this paper spelling from original sources is not corrected. The correct spelling of the village is Londonderry.
2. Nathan T. and Esther G. Frame, *Reminiscences* (Britton, 1907), p. 89.
3. *Op. cit.* pp. 91-92.
4. Instantaneous experiences of conversion at revivals and subsequent sanctification were at the heart of their meetings and their teaching. Thomas Hamm writes "Revival Friends reserved their most withering criticism for silent waiting. Such waiting was unnecessary for the sanctified since, as one of them put it, those who were baptized by the Holy Ghost as a second definite experience after conversion...always had Him with them and did not need to wait." See *The Transformation of American Quakerism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 85.
5. The writer visited Londonderry Monthly Meeting in July 1992 and found the story of Carlton's body still a vivid part of the folklore of the meeting.
6. Hamm, *Transformation*, p. 98.
7. Her first home in Wilmington was later the President's house and is now the Office of Development. Her daughter's home, where she lived out her days, was on Fife Avenue across the then main entrance of the College. It is now a fraternity house.
8. Thomas Kelly's Journal is a small leather bound book containing various entries about his travels on the frontier, his speeches, and business transactions.
9. Quotation of Barton Stone and description of the Cane Ridge revival from Lester G. McAllister & William E. Tucker, *Journey in Faith, a History of the Christian Church* (Disciples of Christ) (Saint Louis: The Bethany Press, 1975), p. 73.
10. *History of Ross and Highland Counties* (Cleveland: Williams Brothers, 1880), p. 278.
11. His notes are now in possession of his son, John Holderman Ellis of San Diego, California.
12. A total of 68 Kellys, cousins, in-laws, and ancestors were buried in the little cemetery behind the Schooley Meeting House before 1900 (*Index of Cemeteries- Liberty Township, The Ross County Genealogical Society, Chillicothe, Ohio, 1987, pp.73-87*).
13. Hamm, *Transformation*, p. 83.

14. Letter in the author's possession.
15. Letter of Thomas R. Kelly to Harold H. Peterson, in Richard M. Kelly, *Thomas R. Kelly, A Biography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 53-55.
16. *A Testament of Devotion* (New York: Harper & Brother's, 1941), p. 7.
17. Thomas R. Kelly, *The Eternal Promise*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 53-54.
18. Douglas V. Steere, "A Biographical Memoir," in *A Testament of Devotion*, p. 24.
19. Kelly, Thomas Kelly, *A Biography*, pp. 102-103.
20. *Testament*, p. 119.