

## KURC Founder Frances Cloud Taylor Praised and Remembered at Quaker Memorial Service



On Sunday, April 15, dozens of family members and friends gathered at the William Penn Room at Crosslands for over an hour to share their memories of and their admiration for Frances Cloud Taylor: mother, aunt, grandmother, great-grand mother-- and historian of the Underground Railroad in Chester County.

Frances was best known outside her family for her research on the UGRR in the area where she lived almost all of her long life. In 1976 she published a slender work called *The Trackless Trail* that recounted stories of the agents, their families, and their exploits of quiet courage that helped secure freedom to thousands of those seeking it by passing into and through Chester County. Illustrated with drawings and photographs by her husband of 63 years, Thomas Taylor (like Frances, a birthright Quaker), this volume became quite popular in this region and was read by thousands of students and adults. The Taylors made presentations to school groups and organization for decades. In 1995 they published a second, larger work, *The Trackless Trail Leads On*, dealing with more stories gleaned from Robert C. Smedley's 1883 work, the *History of the*

*Underground Railroad in Chester and Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania*. The Taylors also gathered insights from research at Chester County Historical Society and interviews with descendants of UGRR agents, such as Ann Preston's great-niece and 90-year-old William Ruth, whose father Samuel (born a slave in Georgia) told him tales of his escape.

In 1998, Frances gathered together a group of friends also determined to remember and celebrate the local UGRR, and they founded the Kennett Underground Railroad Center. At 77 her health did not allow her to guide that organization for very long, and Mary Dugan became Frances's successor for over a dozen years until Mary's death in 2013. However, KURC is indeed the offspring of this dedicated woman,

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## Scheduled KURC Bus Tours for 2018

These two-hour tours take place on the third Sunday of the month. They begin at 2:30 at the Brandywine Valley Tourism office on 300 Greenwood Road, outside Longwood Gardens.

June 17

July 15

August 19

September 16

October 21

For more tour information and to register using Eventbrite, please visit the Events section on our Facebook page or website. Registration can also be made via email or voice message.

***Private tours may also be arranged.***

Contact us by phone (484)-544-5070, or email [info@kennettundergroundrr.org](mailto:info@kennettundergroundrr.org).

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Frances Cloud Taylor, and we carry on in her honor as well as that of the freedom-seekers and those who assisted them.

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Walking into the Penn room, we who gathered there listened to lovely recordings of piano playing and singing. These were of Frances herself, an accomplished musician

who loved to play and even compose pieces and songs. Music and history were among her passions, second only to her devotion to family.

Family members spoke of this woman whom they loved. First was her daughter Katherine Taylor Gamble, who recalled that Frances had graduated from

Westtown and a business college. Devoted as she was to family, both past and present, Frances was not pleased at the ways in which the careers of women such as herself were thwarted in the 1940s as she was becoming an adult. Willard Taylor, son of Frances, spoke of her love of music, especially hymns, and in tribute to his mother he sang four

choruses of "How Great Thou Art," her favorite. Stephen Morris, Frances's nephew from California, recalled summer days spent with his aunt on the farm where she was born and lived most of her life.

A close friend, Peggy Jones, descended, as Frances was, from UGRR agents, told the story of Frances arriving at her home one day insisting that she was going to write a book. In *The Trackless Trail Leads On*, Frances extended "a special 'thank-you' Margaret Brosius Jones who has helped in the editing of this manuscript and who has stood by to give me moral support as well." Loraine Lucas of KURC spoke of the influence Frances's work had on her own interest in the UGRR and also the pleasure of discovering new Cloud relatives since the news of Frances's passing. Two of Frances's grand-daughters, Clare and Caroline, spoke of what an ideal grandmother she was. Tom Swain, President of Friends Historical Association, spoke of how right this memorial service seemed to him, combining the love of family, music, and Quaker heritage.

Frances had lived for many years at Crosslands and died on March 23. She was 96 at the time of her death. One of her granddaughters, Caroline, nicknamed "Cloudy," made the point that Frances had for some years remained a serene and happy person, little regarding the past or the future. Cloudy recalled that she had said goodbye to her grandmother many years ago, but she enjoyed visiting her "second" grandmother. "Grandma Two was pretty cool, as well."

The service concluded as it had begun--with a recording of Frances Cloud Taylor on the piano. This time she was playing what her family said was her favorite song: "The Rose," Amanda McBroom's lovely piece made popular by Better Midler. Perhaps others at the service were struck, as this writer was, at how much like a hymn it sounded.

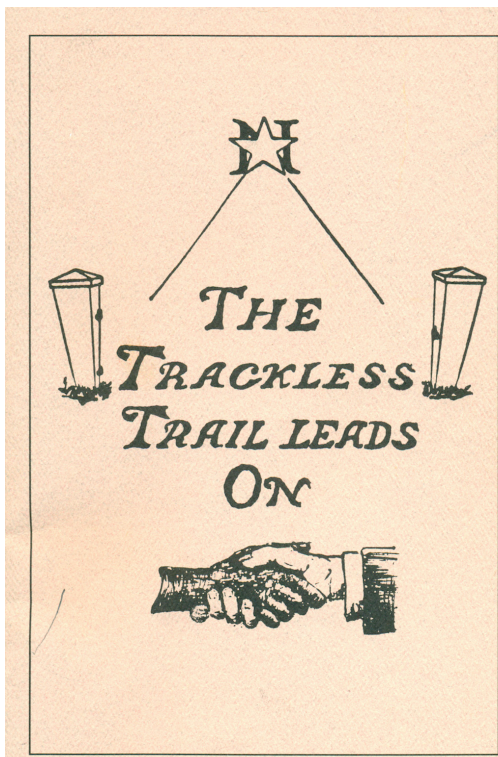
## Frances C. Taylor's Epilogue to *The Trackless Trail Leads On*

"No one can accurately recount the number of slaves that passed through the small towns and villages of Chester and Lancaster Counties. Altogether, historians estimate from 40,000 to 100,000 slaves escaped on the Underground Railroad. Few records were kept because of the necessity for secrecy in the movement. Most who knew the stories have long since passed on.

We of the third or fourth generation are far removed from the actual experiences of the Underground Railroad, and much has been lost in the telling and the passage of time. But if this story is not told, even as we heard it and read about it, it will be forever lost. The blanks must be filled in by the reader, by his compassion and understanding, as a rededication to the heroes of slavery, both black and white, and to those conductors who risked their reputations and even their lives to help their fellow men," p. 79.

We current members of the Kennett Underground Railroad Center would phrase things a bit differently, using "freedom seekers" rather than "slaves; "fellow humans," rather than "fellow men"; and we are working to uncover the names and stories of African-American agents of the UGRR, not just the Quakers to whom most attention has been paid in the past.

In essence, though, our purpose is the same as the noble aim stated above: to preserve that heritage and keep those memories alive. Please consider joining our quest.



## KURC March 4 Open House a Resounding Success

The current Board members and volunteers of the Kennett Underground Railroad Center did not know of any time in our organization's past twenty years that we had an Open House with the purpose of explaining our general aims and specific current undertakings, and inviting others to join us.

The idea evolved from a series of consultations with Kimberly Siejak, a representative from the Greater Philadelphia Arts and Business Council, a group that advises non-profits on governance, outreach, and other matters. It was one of those simple questions we hadn't asked ourselves--and wondered why we hadn't: has KURC ever invited the public to a session in which we explain our goals and see if anyone who attends might be interested in helping?

When? During the holidays? No, people are too busy. During January or February? No, the weather's too iffy, and besides, half the people of our region were too busy following the Eagles. It had to be a Sunday, but after football season.

We settled on March 4th; and the Kennett Friends Meeting, in particular Sarah Kastriner, Riverstone McElroy, and Jessie Cocks, graciously allowed us to use their all-purpose first floor space to set up and host.

Flyers were distributed, schools and churches and meeting houses informed, individuals were contacted--but what apparently worked best was announcing the event of our Facebook page. And work it did!

Getting there early, some of us set up chairs for 30, hoping preliminary indications about possible attendance were correct. Before the 2:00 pm starting time, we had added another 10-12 chairs. And people kept coming, and more chairs. KURC members estimated that between 70-80 interested folks were there, looking over books and pam-



phlets for sale, chatting with Board members and volunteers, interacting with old friends and new acquaintances.

A little after 2:00 pm, President John O'Neal (*bottom of page*) greeted the audience in his deep booming voice. John explained the kinds of activities KURC has been undertaking for many years and what things we hoped to accomplish in the future.

Next came Michele Sullivan, (*upper left*) a Board member for ten years, who has been researching for the past four years the role of local African American abolitionists and

UGRR railroad agents. Michele gave a presentation on the results of that research. She pointed out the dozens of new



names she has uncovered and the importance of African American churches and communities in the early-mid 19th C. to the success of the UGRR in Chester County.

Terry Maguire, (*above*) who since he joined the Board in 2011 has given many presentations at schools, businesses, and organizations, told a few stories, tales of dramatic confrontations and unexpected conversions regarding the

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*The mission of the Kennett Underground Railroad Center is to preserve the heritage and engage the public about the historic abolitionists and freedom-seekers of this area and beyond.*

### ***Donate to KURC***

Many of you receiving this publication have donated in past years to the Kennett Underground Railroad Center, a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. We hope you and our other readers will consider making a donation this year, mailing them to the address below.

### **Contact information:**

- info@kennettundergroundrr.org
- P. O. Box 202, Kennett Square, PA 19348
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UGRR agents near the Kennett Square area.

Next volunteer Loraine Lucas (*right*), who manages KURC's Facebook page (a major key to the success of this Open House), spoke of volunteer opportunities for anyone in the audience wishing to help our efforts.

Finally Board member Darleen Amobi (*below*) spoke of her work as a *griot*, a story-teller who keeps oral traditions alive, just as that special class of persons in Western Africa has for generations untold.

Audience members asked questions and made statements, in some cases suggesting that KURC collaborate with other local efforts, such as the People's Hall restoration in Fallowfield. Philip Merrill of Nanny Jack & Co. spoke of



the need to tell the story of slavery in this country and the need that it not be "sugar-coated." We assured him that our presentations did no such thing.

Many of those in attendance wrote down their names and contact information, and we also acquired a list of persons interested in helping KURC as volunteers or possible Board

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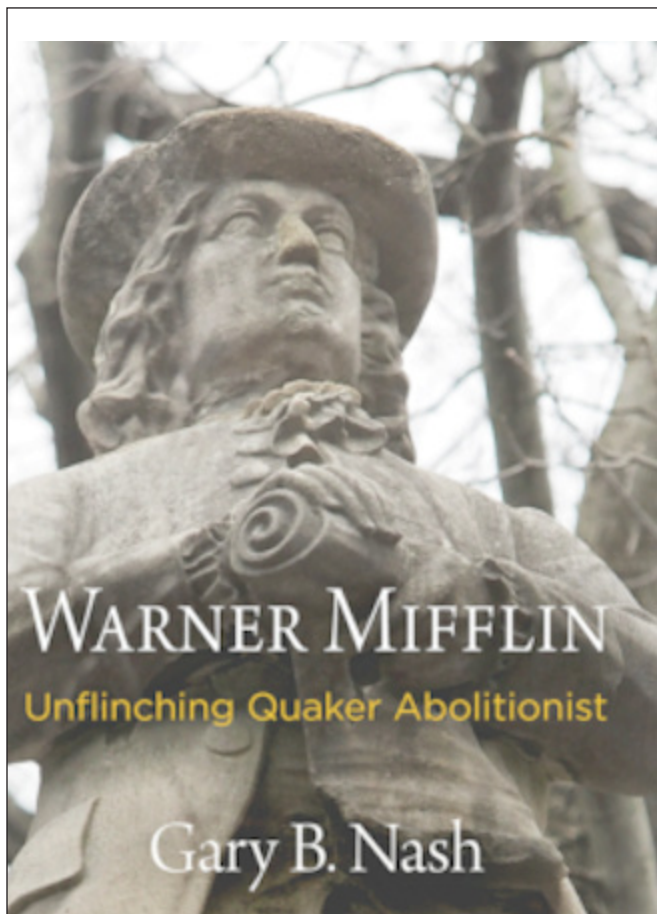


members. All those who attended were contacted afterward, and we have arranged meetings with prospective volunteers. We of the Kennett Underground Railroad Center have been heard, appreciated, and re-energized.



*Philip Merrill of Nanny Jack & Co and Board Member Chris Densmore at the March 4 Open House*

# Historian Gary Nash Tries to Rekindle Honor for Forgotten 18th C. Abolitionist Crusader Warner Mifflin



On the evening of April 27, 2018, the Arch Street Meeting House Preservation Trust welcomed distinguished historian Gary B. Nash to discuss a remarkable and yet largely forgotten Quaker abolitionist of the late 18th C. Warner Mifflin of lower Delaware was born a slave-holder, but within his short life (1745-1798) he became one of the most important national and even trans-Atlantic spokespersons against enslavement of human beings. Dr. Nash recently published a major biography *Warner Mifflin Unflinching Quaker Abolitionist* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), and after his talk, books were offered for sale and for signing.

Like his father, Mifflin was a farmer who eagerly acquired more and more land, for which both felt they needed increasing numbers of slaves. Though rising quickly in the ranks of leadership of Western Quarterly Meeting and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Mifflin at first resisted the rising tide of Quaker feeling that all true Friends should divest themselves of their slaves. Once he made that leap, in 1775, Mifflin was, as Dr. Nash puts it, unflinching in his determination to make right the wrongs of the past and convince others to do the same. He was an early member of

the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society (1775) and became, like Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, a major Quaker voice for the abolition of slavery. Like Woolman, Mifflin believed that a kind and gentle approach to abolition would be effective. He proposed and carried out lobbying strategies, including distributing ant-slavery tracts and introducing anti-slavery bills to the state legislatures.

Mifflin is considered the father of the idea of reparations for freed slaves, favored by many Quaker slave-holders: that it was not enough simply to free their former possessions but to give them the means of sustaining themselves as free persons. His home outside of what is now Smyrna, Delaware, came to be a safe house for fugitives, long before there was any more organized underground railroad. Mifflin proposed in 1790 the right to petition for freedom, and he represented African-Americans in court proceedings. Though he desired to travel to England and elsewhere in Europe to promote the idea of abolition, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting declined to endorse this mission. Nonetheless, various persons from Europe, especially from France, visited him and were moved by his arguments.

An unintended tribute to Mifflin's sincerity and effectiveness was the fact that he incurred the wrath and scorn of Southern slaveholders, who thought him a fanatic. He was warned that his efforts threatened the unity of the emerging American nation.

Why is Mifflin not better remembered? His humanity, charity, integrity, patience, and kindness made him as an ideal model as an ethical and humanitarian lover of country. He was a "holy crusader" in battle with slave owners. Dr. Nash offered no reason why he should have been comparatively forgotten, but he is trying to remedy that neglect.

The 84-year Gary B. Nash is a professor of American history at UCLA and is a prolific writer and speaker. He was a 1980 Finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for history, and has received numerous awards for his academic scholarship and professional leadership. He has been as consequential in shaping the standards of the profession of history as he has been in examining the influences that shaped early American history.

*"Nash has been prominent in emphasizing the importance of marginalized groups, especially the poor, the working-class, African-Americans, and Native Americans, in helping shape American history. His studies of the American Revolution emphasize the roles of seamen, tenant farmers, city artisans, slaves, Native Americans, and women."*  
[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gary\\_B.\\_Nash](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gary_B._Nash)

## KURC Partners with Local Organizations for

An afternoon festival titled, *Juneteenth Celebration: Honoring Kennett Square Heritage, Human Dignity and the History of the Underground Railroad* will occur in Kennett Square on Saturday, June 16, 2018 from noon - 4 pm. Juneteenth is an African-American holiday commemorating the date (June 19) in 1865 when many slaves in Texas learned they had been freed by the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863). Locally, the Germantown neighborhood in Philadelphia is holding its 12th



Annual Juneteenth Celebration, but celebrations occur throughout the U.S. KURC is partnering with Historic Kennett Square, The Joseph & Sarah Carter Community Development Corporation (formerly Historic East Linden Project, Inc.), Kennett Public Library, and the Martin Luther King Community of Greater Kennett Area to offer free, family-friendly events in downtown

Kennett. Visit <https://historickennettsquare.com/> for updated event details before planning your trip.

# Juneteenth Celebration

## Below is a tentative schedule of events:

- Noon - 3 pm: Carter CDC Study Buddies After-School Program: student and guest readings under tents on East Linden St.
- Noon - 3 pm: KURC “Pop-Up Museum” at the New Garden UAME Church on East Linden Street, featuring local experts, books, artifacts, and information about UGRR activity in Kennett Square and the surrounding areas. Chris Densmore will be featured in “Ask the Expert” sessions.
- 1 pm - 3 pm - walking tour of East Linden St (starting in the Genesis Walkway)
- 3 pm - 4 pm - Folkloric Heritage drum performance (East Linden St.)
- 9 am - 4 pm - Kennett Public Library will play the documentary, *Whispers of Angels* on the hour between 9 am and 4 pm. Interviews with prominent historians blend with dramatic reenactments in this powerful story about the fight to end slavery. Edward Asner and Blair Underwood portray the two most prominent agents on the Eastern line of the Underground Railroad, Thomas Garrett and William Still.



East Linden Street from an old postcard; p. 6: list of local UGRR heroes on the Willow Street mural commissioned by Darryl Hall in 2010.

## At Marlborough Friends Meeting, Densmore Explains Pivotal Struggles Enacted There Regarding Abolition, the UGRR, and Quakerism Itself

“They Being Dead Yet Speaketh,” was the title of a talk given by nationally recognized scholar Chris Densmore, KURC Board member and recently retired Curator of Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore, on May 12, 2018, at Marlborough Friends Meeting. He spoke to an audience of more than two dozen ( *see below* )

To most first-time visitors, the little red-brick Meeting House, (*see right*) built in 1801, seems charmingly quaint and bucolic, like the village surrounding it. One would hardly imagine it to be the focal point of weighty matters of social activism and religious controversy. But so it was in the early 1850s, as Densmore explained. Below is an abridged version of that talk.

In 1837, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) appealed to its members “to embrace every right opportunity to maintain and exalt our testimony against slavery.” Local Friends were among the founders of three important Anti-Slavery Societies in 1830s. They were the backbone of the Underground Railroad in this region. But Friends were sometimes divided over how to bear witness against slavery and still maintain the other testimonies of Friends.

Slavery and intemperance were great evils, and Friends needed to bear a full and efficient testimony against all evil. However, as Sunderland P. Gardner, whose *Address to the Youth and Children of the Society of Friends* was published by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1846, cautioned, “wrong may be wrongfully opposed, and war opposed in a warlike spirit.”

One issue was whether non-Quakers could speak in Quaker meetinghouses. At Fallowfield Meeting House, in a compromise, local residents (mostly Quakers) built People’s Hall, a few feet south of the meetinghouse. The Hall was open to presentations and debates on any topic.

Marlborough Friends Meeting was an important place in this controversy, which divided Friends in the 1840s and 1850s. The doings at Marlborough Meeting were covered, sometimes at great length, in the pages of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, the *Liberator* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. It is also important to remember that Marlborough was part of a wider Quaker world, and the eventual split in Marlborough cannot be understood apart from a series of separations in other states.

In August 1844, the Chester County Anti-Slavery Society held its annual meeting here in Marlborough Meetinghouse, with Frederick Douglas in attendance. This Quaker-dominated body considered, among other topics, “the pro-slavery character of the Society of Friends” and whether it was



the duty of reformers to leave tainted churches.

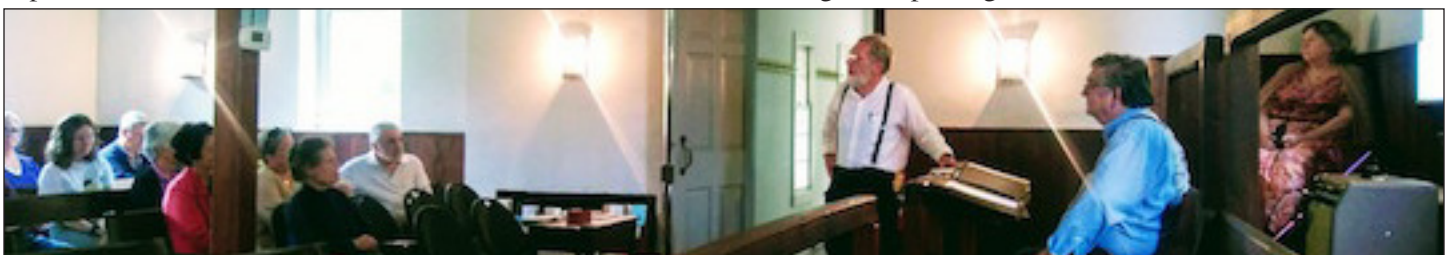
In May 1845, the first “Marlborough Conference” was held in this meeting house on the subject of leaving or remaining in the Society of Friends. Sentiment was divided, some believing that

*the Quaker church was once an instrument of good... [but now] turns to the traditions of the past for its guides to action, instead of attending to the revelations of the present; hence the sectarian prejudice that would crucify all that is new, and condemn unheard all that our fathers did not teach.*

After a series of meetings held from May to September, the attenders of the Marlborough Conference decided to remain within the Society of Friends, though remaining critical of Quaker inactivity. Marlborough Preparative Meeting, Kennett Monthly Meeting and Western Quarterly Meeting were essentially put on notice that a separation was possible.

The Radicals, then, felt that it was the manifest duty of every Friend to lose no opportunity to speak and act against slavery, and to make common cause with others who acted similarly, both within and outside the Society of Friends.

By 1848, there were several “come-outer” Quaker yearly meetings. Joseph Dugdale, a radical member of one such,



the Green Plain Yearly Meeting in Ohio, had been at Marlborough in 1845 and had attended both Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Western Quarterly Meeting that year.

By 1851, the fragmentation within Kennett Monthly Meeting and Marlborough Preparative Meeting had existed for years. The division was heightened by the return of Joseph and Ruth Dugdale, who claimed right of membership and of participating in Western Quarterly Meeting on the basis of their membership in Green Plain Monthly Meeting. One side recognized him as a legitimate Friend, and the other maintained that he was a member of a separate organization. Western Quarterly Meeting in May 1851 ended in confusion, and by summer, two bodies claimed that they were Kennett Monthly Meeting-- the Dugdaleites and the non-Dugdaleites. Both attempted to meet at the same time in the same buildings. The following month, Kennett heard a complaint from Marlborough against William Barnard for "disorderly conduct in having associated with others in holding a meeting out of the order..." William Barnard was disowned, the first of eventually thirty-four people disowned from Kennett Monthly Meeting between 1851-58.

In May 1852, both the Western Quarterly Meeting that met at London Grove and the Dugdaleite Western Quarterly Meeting from Kennett sent representatives to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. PYM seated the London Grove delegation, thus recognizing their legitimacy. The split was all but permanent.

On, June 2-3, 1852, a Woman's Rights Convention was held in West Chester. The chair of the Convention was Mary Ann Johnson, wife of Oliver Johnson (*see below*),



editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* and a member of the Congregational Friends meeting in New York State. The overlap between the early woman's rights movement and the anti-slavery movement is nearly total, and the participation of radical Friends in both movements was extensive. At the close of the Convention, Johnson told Dugdale that he intended to attend Marlborough Friends Meeting on June 6th.

Word of this reached the weighty members of Marlborough Friends Meeting (non-Dugdaleite), and they determined to prevent Johnson from speaking.

Two groups claimed to be Marlborough Meeting-- the Progressive Friends (the Dugdaleites) and the Hicksite Meeting. PYM had just acknowledged the Hicksite Meeting. Now the Progressives were announcing, in effect, a public lecture at the time of meeting for worship. The issue was more than whether Johnson could or should speak, but, at least to the Hicksites, the question of the ownership of the meeting house and the legitimacy of the meeting.

On Sunday, June 6th, Oliver Johnson sat on the facing bench, between Eusebius Barnard and Joseph Dugdale. Johnson was moved to speak, arose and began; but he was interrupted by elder Humphry Marshall, who requested him to sit down and not disturb the harmony of the meeting. When Johnson stood a moment, Marshall instructed two men to remove him from the meeting. Johnson sat down. Marshall then called on Constable McNutt to remove Johnson, but Eusebius Barnard and others protested the action. The party opposed to Johnson left the meeting, while others remained to hear him. This was the end of the disturbance-- sometimes called the "Marlborough Riot."

Johnson and five others, however, were arrested on Monday and charged with disrupting a meeting. Johnson paid his fine and left to write up the affair in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*. The others, Eusebius, William and Vincent Barnard, and Dr. Bartholomew Fussell, were tried and convicted. The defendants declared they would not pay the fine. While Fussell was speaking, it was announced that the fines and fees had been paid, quite possibly by the prosecuting party. Whether the prosecutors were embarrassed at having made recourse to law -- an un-Quakerly action-- or because they wanted to end the matter quickly, is unknown.

The split within Kennett Monthly Meeting and Marlborough Preparative Meeting, dating from May 1851, then became permanent. At their next quarterly meeting, in 1852, the Progressives of Western Quarterly considered the organization of a new Yearly Meeting, and prepared a call for a General Religious Conference to be held at the Kennett Meeting House in 1853. The call was addressed to all interested in a new religious association, free of sectarian

*See "Densmore at Marlborough," continued on p. 10*

## Abington Friends Meeting Honors Benjamin Lay, Righting a Wrong of 280 Years

On November 12, 2017, Abington Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends approved this minute into record:

*Abington Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends recognizes Benjamin Lay's dedication to equality, and his willingness to repeatedly speak his messages of Truth to a society that was in denial about the evils of slavery. We acknowledge that Benjamin Lay used radical activism in his attempts to teach his peers to recognize the equality before God of all people, regardless of race or gender. He lived his life with integrity according to his Quaker beliefs, and he called others, especially slave-owners, to accountability.*

*Benjamin Lay was written out of membership at Abington Monthly Meeting on the thirtieth day, eleventh month, 1737 (which by the Quaker calendar, while the Julian calendar was in use, would have been January 30, 1738), because his zealous actions were considered disruptive. It is now known that at least two of the Friends who led the discernment about writing Benjamin Lay out of membership in the Society of Friends were slave-owners and were likely targeted by Benjamin Lay's anti-slavery activism. Benjamin Lay was disowned decades before Quakers were disowned for being slave-owners.*

*We now recognize the truth behind Benjamin Lay's abolitionist efforts. Although we may not reinstate membership for someone who is deceased, we recognize Benjamin Lay as a Friend of the Truth and as being in unity with the spirit of our Abington Monthly Meeting.*

On Saturday, April 21, 2018, Abington Monthly Meeting unveiled a Grave Marker for Sarah & Benjamin Lay in its historic graveyard. The unveiling was followed by gathering in the meetinghouse in the manner of a Friends Memorial Meeting, with a dramatic reading of Benjamin Lay's writing, presented by theater artist Benjamin Lloyd, and a panel discussion about what social concerns we need to see more clearly today, if we are to follow Benjamin Lay's example of activism.



1790 painting of Benjamin Lay, by local artist William Williams



"Densmore at Marlborough Meeting," continued from p. 9

strictures, and dedicated to the cause of human progress.

The meeting at Kennett in 1853 organized itself as the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends. It adopted testimonies on temperance, slavery, the rights, wrongs and duties of women, tobacco, capital punishment, and other matters.

This Yearly Meeting was open to all who shared an interest in reform, including a core group from Marlborough and elsewhere in Kennett Monthly Meeting, Friends from other locations, and non-Quakers of note, including William Lloyd Garrison, Sojourner Truth, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Theodore Parker. In 1854, denied further use of the Kennett Meeting House, the Progressives began building the new meeting house at Longwood, the site of annual meetings from 1854 until 1940.

Finally, in 1874, Kennett Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), invited all who had been disowned to return to membership with a simple expression of their desire to do so. A number did, sole dissenting voice being from Oliver Johnson. The split was finally healed.

One Friend dismissed the Progressives in the following words: *This Debating Society—this Babel—its top to reach to the skies—its light to illuminate the earth, professing and expecting boundless love from unregenerate men, found its "bond of union," but a rope of sand, it fell apart of its own weight...*

As an attempt to be a religious denomination, the Progressive Friends may have fallen apart, but as an annual forum, it continued until 1940. Many people found it useful, and some have argued that it was the beginning of liberal Quakerism.