QUAKERISM

A Study Guide on the Religious Society of Friends

by
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Quaker Publications
Box 726
Kennett Square, PA 19348

Reprinted 1982
Reprinted 1983
Reprinted 1984
Reprinted 1986
Reprinted 1989

Library of Congress Number: 81-80656
I.S.B.N.0-932970-21-4

Printed by
PRINIT PRESS
Dublin, Indiana

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Preface

This book has been written to provide a wide range of individuals and groups with a broad-based account of Quakerism — past, present, and future. It has been planned for use by individuals and by groups — in First Day Schools or Sunday Schools, in membership classes, and in Quaker schools and colleges. Because of its topics and style, it is hoped that it will prove helpful to young people as well as to older men and women, and to non-Friends as well as to Friends.

Obviously that is an ambitious plan. As the author I hope I have been able to come close to such comprehensive coverage.

In order to carry out the overall design, the book is divided into three parts. Part One deals with the history of the Religious Society of Friends for over 300 years. Part Two accents some of the distinctive aspects of Quakerism. Part Three develops some special themes of current interest and importance.

It is my hope that this publication will draw attention to some special aspects of our message and mission today and tomorrow, as well as in the past, and contribute in a small way to the revitalization and extension of Quakerism. It is also my hope that this volume will assist many Quakers in understanding better the variety of groups in our broad-based movement, as well as the bonds which help to unite these divergent groups in a world-wide fellowship or family of Friends.

If there is one central theme in this publication, it is the importance of the total message of Friends in the early periods of Quakerism and the losses sustained later as American Friends, in particular, divided their inheritance, each group taking some significant parts of it and minimizing or neglecting other important aspects. We need now to regain the totality of the Quaker message.

And if there is one dominant concern for the future, it is for the development of a prophetic, relevant, powerful and empowering ministry among the various groups of Friends.

The emphasis in this study guide is on Quakerism in the United States, but some attention is given to the movement in other parts

of the globe, especially in the chapter on The World-Wide Society of Friends.

There is some overlapping of material in the various chapters because some ideas could not be confined to a single part of the volume.

In order to enhance the use of this book as a study guide, a few questions are listed at the end of each chapter and a brief reading list is included for each section, composed largely of books and pamphlets in print as this book goes to press.

In writing this volume, I have drawn upon several of my previous Quaker publications, especially my book *Toward a Fourth Century of Quakerism,* printed in 1952 and long out-of-print. Some material has also been adapted from my books on *Sixteen Quaker Leaders Speak* and *Worldview: The Autobiography of a Social Studies Teacher and Quaker,* as well as from my pamphlets on *George Fox — Seeker, Going to Meeting, The Friends Peace Testimony, The Society of Friends in 1970,* and *Meditations Around the World.*

It is extremely difficult to write for the wide range of Quakers and to be fair to each group. In this regard it may be helpful for readers to know that I have lived and worked with several Quaker groups in the United States and in other parts of the world. I trust I am an ecumenical Friend; at least that is what I aspire to be.

In preparing this publication I have had the help of several individuals. Among them were Edwin B. Bronner, Stephen G. Carey, Larry Garvey, Margaret S. Gibbons, Herbert Hadley, Carroll H. Kenworthy, Howard T. Lutz, Stephen Nash, Earl Prignitz, and Dan Whitley. However, I assume full responsibility for what appears here.

Brooklyn, New York
January 1, 1981

Leonard S. Kenworthy

Part One
Friends for Over Three Hundred Years

Chapter 1

George Fox and the Early Friends: Quakerism in the Seventeenth Century

In order to understand individuals and movements, they need to be seen against the background of their times and their localities. That is certainly true of George Fox and the early Quaker movement. For them the time was the 17th century; the place — England.

That was a boisterous period; a time of tensions and turmoil; an age of argumentation; a century of colonization, conflicts, and changes.

England then was a small and sparsely settled country, with a population of approximately five million persons. But London was already the largest city in the world, with a half million inhabitants. Travel was difficult and limited largely to walking and horseback riding; stage coaches were just beginning to appear.

It was also a period of social stratification. England was like a giant pyramid, with the royal family at the top and the mass of common people at the bottom, with a few small groups in between. Each part of the populace had its assigned place and there was little social mobility. And those at the top were accorded special honors. For example, the common people removed their hats in the presence of the elite and addressed them with special terms of respect.

Because of the excesses of the 16th century Elizabethan period in dress, art, and music, a large part of the English population in the 17th century espoused Puritanism.

The most revolutionary aspect of that century in England, however, was the fact that for the first time in history the Bible, in the King James version, was available to people who could read. Consequently religion was a major topic of conversation — and often of confrontations. Religious tracts were published profusely and distributed widely. That keen interest in religion led to the

formation of many sects, such as the Anabaptists, the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Muggletonians, the Ranters, and the Seekers. In fact, two of the chief characteristics of that century in England were the conflicts over religious beliefs and the clashes over control of the government by various religious groups — the Catholics, the Church of England, and the Puritans.

The drama of that century included in its star-studded cast such persons as John Milton, the poet; William Shakespeare, the playright; Oliver Cromwell, the Protestant political leader; Sir Walter Raleigh, the adventurer and colonizer; and George Fox, the founder of Quakerism.

Fox's Birth and Early Years. George Fox was born in July of 1624 in the small town of Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire, England, in the central part of that nation. His father was a weaver whose only outstanding characteristic seems to have been his honesty; we know that he was called "Righteous Christer." The mother was a good woman, "accomplished above most of her degree." Consequently there was apparently no reason to pay particular attention to the birth of a son to such a poor, simple, hardworking couple.

Years passed and this unknown lad acquired a little education and became apprenticed to a shoemaker who also kept sheep and cattle. Often George Fox would be left alone in the fields with the animals. At such times he meditated upon the world around him and the people who lived in Fenny Drayton and the surrounding countryside.

He seemed to enjoy that solitude, for even as a child, "he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren, being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing beyond his year." It disturbed him to see how "lightly and wantonly" many older people behaved and he resolved not to be like them when he grew to manhood. At the age of 11, according to his account, "I knew pureness and righteousness, for while a child I was taught to walk to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully in two ways . . . inwardly to God and outwardly to man."

Such characteristics were unusual for a young man in his teens and he was subjected to ridicule. Probably that drove him deeper into solitude and developed further his sensitiveness, although he

says in his *Journal* that he merely left his critics alone and went his way.

To such a sensitive youth the world was baffling, and in all of his attempts to bring order out of the chaos in his mind, he was unsuccessful. Some of his friends advised him to marry as a solution to his problems, but he told them that he was "but a lad . . . and must get wisdom." Others recommended tobacco and psalm singing, to which he replied that tobacco was "a thing he did not love" and psalms he was "not in a state to sing." The professors to whom he turned for help "did not possess what they professed" and the ministers he consulted were "empty, hollow casks."

He was a lonely, troubled young man, almost hopeless of finding an answer to the riddle of life. Physically he was so "dried up with sorrows, grief, and troubles" that he wished he had "never been born" or that "he had been born blind."

His Great Discovery. Then something happened in 1648, when he was 24. He described that "something" in unforgettable language:

> And when all my hopes in them (the preachers) and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do; then, oh then, I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition," and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy.

For years he had wandered in a spiritual desert without any showers of manna to feed his hunger. Now he feasted on manna. For years he had travelled in that desert without water to slake his thirst. Now he had found a spiritual oasis with a perpetual source of water. As the hart paneth after the brook, he had panted after God. And like the psalmist he could now say, "All Thy waves and Thy billows are gone over me."

Fox had made a great discovery — that God lives and talks directly to people today. He is not one who revealed Himself solely to a few prophets in the past: He reveals Himself to anyone who is ready to listen. He is a Living Presence, a Continuing Illumination.

As Elton Trueblood has phrased it, "George Fox . . . had grasped a great idea, the idea that Christian experience could be couched in the present tense."

Some Effects of His Discovery. That striking experience had a profound effect upon Fox. Here is how he described what had happened:

> All things were new and all the creation gave another smell unto me, beyond what words can utter . . . . Great things did the Lord lead me into and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can words be declared.

Spiritually his wanderings in many directions were over. He had found The Trail. Throughout the rest of his life his eyes were fixed on that path and his feet did not fail to follow it.

And his spiritual integration aided his physical integration. Heretofore he had been a fragmented individual; now he was integrated, complete, whole. Gradually he was transformed from a shy, depressed, physically debilitated young man into a robust adult, able to endure years of arduous travels, physical assaults, and imprisonments.

He knew, too, that this remarkable discovery was something which should not be hoarded; it was something which should be shared. He felt impelled to tell others, that his joy might be their joy, too.

Consequently he set out on a life of travel which led him into many parts of the British Isles; across the Atlantic to the Barbados, Jamaica, and the American colonies; and to what is now The Netherlands and Germany.

From that remarkable experience, and others like it, emerged the Religious Society of Friends, as it was later called, with George Fox as its founder.

The Travels of the Man in Leather Breeches. Thomas Carlyle, the Scottish essayist and historian, once wrote this pungent, perceptive, and provocative comment about Fox:

> Perhaps the most remarkable incident in modern history is not the Diet of Worms, still less the Battle of Austerlitz, Waterloo, or any other battle; but an incident passed over carelessly by most historians — namely, George Fox's making himself a coat of leather.

That suit was not made to attract attention or to make Fox appear bizarre. It was made as a practical measure, providing him with something warm and durable for the days of walking and riding and the many nights he would spend sleeping against the haystacks or hedges, or in the open fields.

Clad in his leather breeches; his long, plain, leather jacket; and his big white hat, he set out on one of the longest, most arduous, and most important journeys in history, lasting for years and taking him to many parts of the English world and of Europe.

He travelled by foot, by horseback, and eventually by boat, meeting and talking with people wherever he could find them — by the roadside, in market places and at fairs, and even in churches, standing on a bench rather than in the pulpit, to preach.

This was a time of religious turmoil and seeking for a more satisfying way of life. Many people were restless and disillusioned with existing creeds and contemporary practices, finding little that was satisfying in the churches of that time. Consequently word often spread that the man in leather breeches was coming, and people turned out to see and hear him. Sometimes the groups were small. But often people came by the hundreds and on occasions by the thousands.

At such gatherings Fox would sometimes sit in silence for a long time, waiting for the leadings of the Spirit.

His Messages. And the messages came — mighty messages, moving messages, life-sustaining messages, life-transforming messages — and sometimes life-disturbing messages.

At their core was Fox's certainty that God does not dwell in temples made by human hands, but in people's hearts. It was apparent to him that we are all created in the image of God and that something of the Divine is implanted at birth in each of us.

Fox had many words and phrases to describe this incredible phenomenon — The Indwelling Spirit, The Light Within, The Light of Christ, The Seed.

We can deny this divinity within us as well as outside us. We can ignore it. We can minimize it. But it is always there, ready to be released.

Hence each of us can make direct contact with God at any time and in any place, without intermediaries.

Thus God's guidance was available in the seventeenth century as well as in the first century of Christianity. It was available to men, women, and children, and not reserved for the prophets, the apostles, and the saints. And God's guidance was available to common as well as uncommon human beings, the uneducated as well as the educated, the inconspicuous as well as the conspicuous.

Fox's messages were also filled with hope because of the transforming love of God. He even believed in the possibility of human perfection or what many of us today would call completeness, wholeness, or integration.

Fox was an optimist. But he was also a realist. Many of his mes-

sages were punctuated with references to suffering and sin. He knew about the imperfections of human beings. Yet he believed such shortcomings could, with God's help, be overcome. In one of the most famous passages in his *Journal,* he wrote:

> I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness.

Such was the invincible spirit of this man in leather breeches and his overwhelming belief in the power of love.

His convictions were not the result of biblical scholarship or theological disputations. His convictions and his certainty came from experiences. If one word were sought to summarize his teachings, that word would be "experience." Over and over he testified that "I came to know God experimentally and was as one who hath a key and doth open," or "This I new experimentally." Today we might say "experientially."

Such were some of his thoughts about the relationship of people to God. But religion to him was much more than that. It involved, also, the relationship of people with other human beings. Once individuals discovered the sources of spiritual power, they would be transformed. They would become new beings. They would be living witnesses to God's truths. And they could, by example, indicate to others The Way.

To Fox religion was not a creed, not an organization, but a life. In such a life one receives power from God and translates it into love for others — caring, compassion.

In modern language, God is a mighty torrent of water and people are generating plants. Only when the channels are open can this flood of water pour through. People are so equipped that they can change this torrent of water into power and pass it on to others.

Fox phrased this idea in Biblical terms: "I told them this was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words, but God Almighty looked for fruits among them." Or, "I saw how people read the Scriptures without a right sense of them, and without duly applying them to others, but did not turn to find the truth of these things to themselves."

Religion to Fox was a twofold relationship — a vertical relationship to God and a horizontal relationship to other people. Often he referred to these two dimensions as the inward and the outward states.

Therefore he admonished his listeners to:

> Be patterns, be examples, in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come; that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in everyone . . . .

Thus, while working on their own transformation, people would simultaneously be working on the transformation of society. Taken seriously, the belief of "that of God" in every individual would have far-reaching consequences. You would not kill because in doing so you would be killing something of God in other persons. You would accord equal rights to women and children, because they, too, were endowed with something of the Divine. You would be concerned with the plight of prisoners and the handicapped, because they were also Children of the Light. And you would treat people of other races with respect because they, too, were touched with the Divine.

So the implications of this deceivingly simple doctrine could be extended. Thus Fox and the early Friends became social reformers as well as spiritual regenerators.

Fox and Prayer. Fox was powerful as a preacher, sensitively attuned to the leadings of the Spirit. But he was even more powerful in public prayer. As William Penn testified, "the most awful, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld . . . was his in prayer".

The Centrality of Worship. George Fox had found God in the silence of his soul. He had communed directly with the Divine. He was able to do so whenever he was outwardly and inwardly prepared to listen.

Fox believed such experiences were available to everyone. God equips each person so that he or she can hear The Eternal Voice. In modern language, God is like the radio waves which are always there when the human instruments are properly tuned to pick them up. Each of us is a spiritual receiving set.

Fox believed, also, that people can hear God best in silence. They can do this individually and in groups. In fact, a heightened sense of God's presence is possible when people worship in groups.

Sermons, music, a beautiful altar, and stained glass windows can be hindrances rather than helps to worship. They can distract people from hearing God's Voice; they can substitute form for substance.

From these beliefs emerged the Quaker meeting for worship —

not of silent meetings, but of meetings on the basis of silence, of openness, of searching, of listening, and of expectancy in Divine Guidance. That was a radical departure in seventeenth century England — and even now!

Caring Communities, Fellowships of Friends. Fox also thought of Christianity in terms of group fellowship.

Small groups of individuals and families, bound together in their search for God's guidance in their lives, were fellowships, caring communities, religious societies of friends.

Therefore people should come together for more than worship. They should come together to carry on the business of the group. They should come together to celebrate the marriages of their fellow-worshippers and friends. They should come together for the burials of their neighbors and friends.

Primitive Christianity Revived. These ideas were not the sole discovery of George Fox. They were not even new. Fox was no religious revolutionary; he was a religious reviver, struggling to rediscover the authenticity, simplicity, power, and vitality of first-century Christianity.

Many of those early Christians had known God directly. He was a power in their lives. They were filled with His love, willing to sacrifice and undergo horrendous persecutions to testify to His all-pervading, all-satisfying Presence. And their lives were often high testimony to their faith.

Fox burned with a desire to recapture and revive that kind of Christianity.

And his message was Christian. It was not a thin humanism or a vague mysticism; although it was both humane and mystical. In the words of William Penn, it was "primitive Christianity revived." In the words of Fox: "Christ is come and doth dwell in the hearts of His people . . . ." Or, "I declared God's everlasting truth . . . that they might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them."

Clashes with the Church Authorities. Even though Fox considered himself a religious reviver, most church leaders of his day in England considered him a revolutionist. He was a challenge to their authority, a disbeliever, a rebel, a renegade in their ranks. And that was true of all those who joined with Fox. The contrasts

in belief between the church officials and early Friends were often stark. For example:

Where they declared the doctrine of human depravity,	Early Friends proclaimed the possibility of human perfection.
Where they declared the doctrine of the elect,	Early Friends declared that all men, women, and children are elect.
Where they believed that revelations were limited to a few individuals and had stopped hundreds of years ago,	Early Friends believed that revelations were still occurring and that anyone could have such revelations from God.
Where they believed in the supremacy of the Bible,	Early Friends believed in the supremacy of the Inner Light.
Where they upheld the sacraments as essential aspects of Christianity,	Early Friends considered them as substitutes for the one and only sacrament, a Christian life.
Where they relied on the preaching of a single individual (a man), in their services,	Early Friends maintained that all worshippers are potential ministers, including women and children.
Where they utilized stained glass windows, an altar, and music to promote worship,	Early Friends considered them deterrents to true worship.
Where they depended upon a few church officials to make decisions for their congregations,	Early Friends stressed the inclusion of all members of their groups in making decisions, including women and children.

Was it any wonder, then, that so many of the church leaders and their adherents clashed with Fox and his co-workers?

Clashes with the Political Authorities. Fox and his followers were also in disagreement with the political as well as with the religious authorities. Among the areas in which these two groups differed were the following:

Where the political leaders demanded that all witnesses take an oath on the Bible to insure truthfulness,	Early Friends refused to take such an oath, believing it contrary to the injunction not to swear, letting their yeas be yeas and their nays, nays.
Where they required people to remove their hats in courts and before the Royalty as a sign of respect,	Early Friends maintained that hats should be removed only in the presence of the Ultimate Authority — God.

Where they relied upon war as a major means of settling disputes, and required all able-bodied men to enlist,	Early Friends refused to take part in fighting.
Where they limited severely the civil liberties of citizens,	Early Friends worked strenuously to defend and extend civil liberties.

In the light of such challenges by Quakers to the existing political order, it is understandable that so many government officials condemned Fox and his followers and sought in various ways to curb their activities.

Persecutions. In seventeenth century England the Quakers were obviously not only a nuisance, they were a threat to the status quo, religiously and politically. Consequently they were attacked verbally and physically, beaten and stoned. Laws were passed against them and they were often imprisoned.

For example, the Conventicle Act in 1664 made it a crime for more than five persons to meet for worship in any type of service other than that of the Church of England. Because of that act and other stern measures, over 2000 Friends were in prison within a year of its passage. In 1681 there were at least 1000 Quakers in prison and in 1685, approximately 1400. And the prisons in which they were incarcerated were filthy, dank, windy, cold places, unfit for human habitation.

Yet most Friends were able to endure such persecutions and some even deepened their faith because of these tests of their convictions. Those in prison held services and preached to other inmates. And some of those outside the prisons petitioned the government to allow them to replace their fellow-sufferers in jails, although their requests were never granted.

There is even an account of the children of Reading holding meetings for worship while their parents were imprisoned.

To assist the Quaker prisoners, a Meeting for Sufferings was established — a term which continues today as the name for the executive body of London Yearly Meeting.

As the leader of this new movement, George Fox did not escape incarceration. Eight times he was sent to prison, spending six years in jails and prisons, under almost unbearable conditions.

Some Faults of Early Friends. Seventeenth century England was not marked by toleration or tact and early Friends did not always escape the spirit of that age. Despite their message of love and

forgiveness, they could be uncompromising and unforgiving. What they considered certainty and conviction, others considered prejudice and fanaticism. In their fervor as new converts, they sometimes provoked opposition and encouraged persecution by their words and deeds.

Nor was Fox without fault in this respect. As Rufus Jones pointed out in his book on *The Life and Message of George Fox:*

> Though usually humble and tender, he yet sometimes was over-conscious of his importance and he occasionally shared the tendency of his age to speak with an air of infallibility and finality. He felt undue satisfaction in the calamities which overtook his persecutors, though we should all admit that it is a very human trait.

Fox and His Co-Workers. Without doubt Fox was the dominant figure in this new movement. Despite his humble background and his lack of education, he was a religious genius.

Dependent as this new movement was upon him for its message and its organization, the Religious Society of Friends would never have grown without a large group of conspicuous and able co-workers — ministers, missionaries, evangelists, who travelled far and wide in England and overseas, spreading the new gospel, or the old gospel revived.

Eventually they became known as The First Publishers of Truth or The Valiant Sixty, even though there were at least 66 of them and possibly more. They were from many walks of life, a majority of them farmers and small shopkeepers. A dozen of them were women, including Elizabeth Hooton, the first convert to Quakerism and its first minister. They were also young men and women, most of them in their twenties or early thirties; a few in their late teens.

Often they travelled in pairs, to aid each other in times of trouble; to provide companionship on their lonely, difficult journeys; and to assist each other in the public ministry.

Fox once stated that "one man, raised by God's power to stand and live in the same spirit the prophets and apostles were in, can shake the country for ten miles around." Those itinerant ministers shook the countryside for far more than that distance.

In fact, they were so important that one chronicler of Quaker history, Sidney Lucas, has maintained that "The Quaker movement was primarily one of leaders."

And Fox had a special gift, it appears, in encouraging and inspiring these co-workers who often possessed gifts he lacked.

The Fells of Swarthmore Hall. Also of great importance to this burgeoning movement were the Fells of Swarthmore Hall. That was a wealthy and well-educated family who lived in a large and comfortable manor, the largest in the county of Ulverston, with 13 fireplaces and many servants.

Margaret Fell was an early convert to Quakerism. Her husband, Thomas Fell, never became an adherent, but he used his considerable influence as a judge and political leader to protect the Quakers.

Soon Swarthmore Hall became the unofficial headquarters of the new movement, with the traveling ministers often stopping there for physical and spiritual renewal.

In addition, Margaret Fell became the treasurer of the Quaker group. Then, in later life, after the death of Judge Fell, she became the wife of George Fox, and his co-worker. Often she is called The Mother of Quakerism.

Thus Swarthmore Hall became the hub of the Quaker world in England in the late seventeenth century — the first Quaker Center — the forerunner of Woodbrooke in England, and Pendle Hill, Quaker Hill, and Powell House, in the United States today.

The Importance of the Rank and File of Early Friends. Any movement depends in part upon the caliber of its prominent leaders. But any movement also depends upon its lesser known adherents. So it was with the early Quaker movement. Much of its vitality came from its common as well as its uncommon members, its inconspicuous as well as its conspicuous adherents, its private Friends as well as its public Friends.

Many of these lesser-known individuals discovered that they had been Friends long before they had heard of this new movement. For example, some of them belonged to the Familists, who practiced silence in their worship, rejected oaths and wars, and used only "the plain language." Others were associated with the Particular Baptists who were opposed to compulsory tithing and paid preachers, and recognized women as well as men as ministers. Still others were from the Seekers, who no longer recognized the sacraments and believed that God revealed himself to people directly.

After examining carefully nearly all of the private *Journals* of early Friends and many other documents from that period, Howard Brinton reported in a Pendle Hill pamphlet on *How They Became Friends,* that:

> . . . a careful scrutiny of early Quakerism shows that spectacular events did not constitute the heart and core of the movement. Its real strength lay in the quiet, inconspicuous growth of small meetings in many homes where sometimes as few as three or four waited upon God in silence until one of those present felt moved to speak . . . . These small home-meetings constituted the seed-bed out of which the Quaker movement grew.

One of Quakerism's most learned and gifted leaders, Robert Barclay, described his own attraction to the movement in this way:

> . . . I myself, in part, am a true witness, who not by strength of arguments, or a by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and convincement of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this life; for when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them which touched my heart, and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up, and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more for this power and life . . . .

Often there was extraordinary power in seemingly ordinary people, a power released by their new faith. And, as Fox recorded in his *Journal,* "The lives and conversations of Friends did preach."

Membership was not instituted for 75 years, but it is estimated that there were around 30,000 Quakers in England a decade after the movement began.

The Quaker Movement Overseas. Soon the Publishers of Truth extended their visits to other parts of the world. Two women Friends went to the Barbados and thence to Boston. Others went to France and Holland. Three men and three women even set out to visit the Sultan of Turkey, although only one of them, Mary Fisher, was able to complete the journey and be received by the young ruler.

Eventually George Fox and his companions journeyed to Jamaica, the Barbados, several of the American colonies, and to what is now The Netherlands and Germany.

Such trips were often long, difficult, and hazardous. Several of them resulted in persecutions for those undertaking them. A few even resulted in deaths. The four best known of those are the

hanging of three English Friends and a Friend from the Barbados, in Boston.

Unchecked Inspiration. But there were dangers lurking inside as well as outside the movement which threatened its existence. How does one control the excesses of ecstatic converts? How does one handle the uninhibited and obviously misdirected "leadings" of the Indwelling Spirit? How does one strike a balance between freedom and responsibility?

Some of these difficulties were brought to a dramatic and almost disastrous climax by a situation involving James Nayler, one of the most able and articulate of the early Publishers of Truth. Exhausted by his imprisonments and by the demands upon his leadership of the movement in London, Nayler succumbed to the suggestion of some of his adoring disciples that he recreate the scene of Jesus riding through the streets of Jerusalem while His followers hailed Him. Yielding to that idea, Nayler rode through the streets of Bristol in a kind of modern miracle play, while his followers flung their coats in his path, and chanted, "Holy, holy, holy."

Quakers as well as non-Quakers were shocked by this incident. Nayler was arrested, imprisoned, and pilloried for blasphemy and the seduction of the people. He escaped the death penalty by a vote of Parliament of 96 to 82. But his forehead was branded with the letter B, he was whipped publicly in London and Bristol, and his tongue bored through with a hot iron.

When Nayler was eventually released, he went to Fox and asked his forgiveness, which was grudgingly given. According to one of the most eminent of Quaker historians, Neave Brayshaw, that was "the only act of his (Fox's) about which we are seriously grieved."

One of the legacies from Nayler is the prayer he wrote shortly before his death. It reads in part:

> There is a spirit which I feel that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God; its crown is meekness . . . .

Soon thereafter Nayler died. In his account of *The Valiant Sixty,*

Ernest Taylor calls Nayler "gifted, mistaken, repentant — one of the most beautiful spirits who ever lived."

Fox's Organization of the Religious Society of Friends. The effect of the Nayler incident on Fox was far-reaching. For a time it looked as if all he had worked for had been undone by this episode. Unchecked, the new movement could be strangled by such events.

He saw clearly that a way must be found to curb individual excesses. Consequently, in an extraordinary revelation or a stroke of genius, Fox decided to strengthen the organizational aspects of the movement and to temper individual leadings with group leadings.

Hence, much of his attention in the coming years was devoted to the organizational structure of the society, stressing the power of local groups or Monthly Meetings as Christian cells, caring communities, religious societies of Friends.

As the Swedish author and Quaker historian, Emilia Fogelklou Norlind, has written, Fox thereby relinquished the leadership of the Quaker movement and thus probably saved the Religious Society of Friends from eventual dissolution. In her words:

> To a very considerable extent Fox gave up being the man of power, and in so doing saved Quakerism from the fate which threatens so many groups, namely: "Who can carry on the program when the original strong man is gone?"

More than almost any other religious leader, Fox therefore became the great organizer as well as the great interpreter of primitive Christianity revived.

Most of the sects in England in the seventeenth century eventually disappeared. But the Quaker movement survived because it had an organizational structure as well as a spiritual message.

Other Outstanding Leaders Join the Quaker Movement. Within a few years of the emergence of the Quaker movement in England, several other outstanding persons had joined its ranks, adding greatly to its power and its effectiveness. Particularly outstanding were Isaac Penington, Robert Barclay, and William Penn.

Their personalities, their interests, and their talents differed, but all of them came from prominent families and were men of unusual ability. They were all more sophisticated, more educated, and more reasonable than most of the people in their times, including Quakers. They were less aggressive, less given to confrontation, than many of the early leaders of the Quaker movement.

Isaac Penington's father had been Lord Mayor of London and a friend of John Locke and John Milton. Isaac Penington became an expert on inward experience and mysticism, whose greatest contributions came through his public ministry, his remarkable letters, and his many publications. He was the literary, mystical interpreter of the new movement.

Robert Barclay was born in Scotland and was educated by both Calvinists and Catholics. His contacts with Quakers impressed him with their rare combination of inwardness and outwardness and he determined to devote himself to the furtherance of this unique way of life. He travelled widely in the ministry, became the governor of East Jersey (although he ruled through a resident deputy), and the expositor of Quaker theology. Despite his abhorence of Calvinist beliefs, he was a staunch defender of religious freedom for everyone.

Of all the early Quakers, William Penn is best known. He was a many-sided man, far ahead of his times. He was a champion of civil liberties (as in the famous Penn-Meade trial in England), the formulator of a plan for A Federation of Europe, a friend of Indians and other minority groups, an educator, a city planner, and the founder of the famed Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania. He was also an interpreter of religion, as in his *Fruits of Solitude, No Cross, No Crown,* and other writings.

Each of these men was enriched by association with the Religious Society of Friends and each, in turn, enriched that expanding group.

The End of an Era. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Quaker movement had come to the end of its first half-century (1650-1700) and possibly the end of an era. Howard Brinton, the outstanding recent chronicler of Quakerism, referred to that age as the heroic or apostolic period.

Isaac Penington had died in 1679. Robert Barclay in 1690. And George Fox in 1691, at the age of 67, a ripe old age in those days, especially in view of the demands upon his body occasioned by his arduous travels, his years of inprisonment, and the many other types of persecution.

By the end of that century, the movement had grown to perhaps 50,000 adherents, some of them in the American colonies. It had survived despite much suffering and some dissensions. But it had done much more than that; it had added a new dimension to the Christian movement and helped to purify the church of its day.

Various names had been given to those early Friends, including The Children of the Light and The Publishers of Truth. But the official name had become The Religious Society of Friends. However, members of that group were increasingly called Quakers, a term originally used as one of derision, but one which came to represent respect.

In a remarkable way that early movement combined a number of strands, as indicated in the chart below:

Rationality and Education	+ Social Concern	+ Simplicity	+ The Historic Christ and The Inner Christ	+ Equality	+ The Bible	+ Evangelism and Missions

As we have pointed out in this chapter, there were roles for a variety of leaders, including women, and a special role for the rank and file.

But it was Fox who was the central figure. When he died, he uttered these final words: "I am clear, I am fully clear." What a magnificent statement from that spiritual giant.

Writing about Fox, William Penn once said, "He was an original, being no man's copy". Or, again, "Many sons have done virtuously in this day, but, dear George, thou excellest them all . . .".

Fox was the prophet and the organizer of this remarkable movement — a Quaker extraordinaire. But Fox is not just a Quaker; he is one of the great Christian leaders and interpreters of all times. Many of his insights and messages are timeless. He belongs to all those, anywhere and at any time, who seek God directly.

The eminent biblical scholar, historian of Christianity, and leading German Quaker, Emil Fuchs, maintained that Fox rather than Luther should be called The Prophet of the Reformation, because Luther's youthful vision was clouded by his later compromises with the politicians of his day, whereas Fox's youthful vision was never compromised.

Various non-Quaker historians and philosophers have commented favorably, and at times fulsomely, on the place of the Quaker movement in history. For example, William James, the American philosopher, wrote:

> The religion which he (George Fox) founded is something which it is impossible to overpraise. In a day of sham, it was a religion of veracity, rooted in spiritual inwardness, and a return

to something more like the original gospel truth than men had ever known in England.

Some Questions on Chapter One

1. What idea presented in this chapter strikes you most forcefully? Why?
2. Which of the quotations cited in this chapter speak best to your condition? Why?
3. How would you describe the personality of George Fox as presented here? How do you react to him as a person?
4. How do you think an adviser of Fox today would handle his adolescent problems?
5. Are there any of the statements in the right hand column on page 10 which you would have qualms in supporting. Why?
6. In what respects does the Religious Society of Friends today, as you know it, differ from the movement in the 17th century?
7. Do you think you would have joined the Quaker movement in its early days in England? Why? Why not?

A Reading List on Chapter One

Five books on the history of Quakerism which are still in print are listed here as references. They vary in interpretations and in style. Each has its particular values. More serious students of Quakerism will want to consult other references, especially the Rowntree-Braithwaite-Jones series.

Brinton, Howard. *Friends for 300 Years.* Harper and Brothers. 1952. 239 pp.

Newman, Daisy. *A Procession of Friends: Quakers in America.* Doubleday. 1972. 460 pp. Very little on the earliest period in England. More popular in style than the other volumes, written like a novel, concentrating on interesting episodes.

Russell, Elbert. *The History of Quakerism.* Macmillan, 1942. 586 pp. Reprinted in 1980 as a paperback by the Friends United Press.

Trueblood, D. Elton. *The People Called Quakers.* Harper and Row, 1966. 298 pp. Reprinted by the Friends United Press as a paperback. 1971.

Vipont, Elfrida. *The Story of Quakerism Through Three Centuries.* Friends United Press, 1977. 324 pp. Originally printed

in England by a British Friend. Especially good on the early periods of Quakerism.

Some References on Outstanding Early Quakers

Robert Barclay

Kenworthy, Leonard S., *Robert Barclay Speaks.* 8 pp. Also in Kenworthy's *Sixteen Quaker Leaders Speak.*

Trueblood, D. Elton. *Robert Barclay.* Harper, 1968. 274 pp.

George Fox

Brinton, Howard H. *The Religion of George Fox.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1968. 32 pp.

Fahs, Sophia. *George Fox — The Man Who Wouldn't.* Friends General Conference, 1971. 37 pp. For children.

Jones, Rufus M. *The Story of George Fox.* 169 pp. Reprinted in 1966 by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Kenworthy, Leonard S. *George Fox Speaks.* 8 pp. leaflet. Also in Kenworthy's *Sixteen Quaker Leaders Speak.*

Kirk, Jack. *The First Quaker.* Friends United Meeting and Friends General Conference, 1977. 13 sessions. For junior high students.

Nickalls, John L. (ed.). *Journal of George Fox.* London Yearly Meeting, 1975. 789 pp.

Norlind, Emilia Fogelklou. *The Atonement of George Fox.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1969. 31 pp. Largely on the Naylor incident.

Vipont, Elfrida. *George Fox and the Valiant Sixty.* Hamish Hamilton, 1975. 141 pp.

Margaret Fell Fox

Barbour, Hugh. *Margaret Fell Speaking.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1976. 32 pp.

Isaac Penington

Kenworthy, Leonard S. *Penington Speaks.* 8 pp. leaflet. Also in Kenworthy's *Sixteen Quaker Leaders Speak.*

Leach, Robert J. *The Inward Journey of Isaac Penington: An Abbreviation of Penington's Works.* Pendle Hill Publications. 1975 reprint. 43 pp.

William Penn

Bronner, Edwin B. *William Penn: 17th Century Founding Father: Selections from His Political Writings.* Pendle Hill

Publications, 1975. 36 pp.
Kenworthy, Leonard S. *William Penn Speaks.* 8 pp. leaflet. Also in Kenworthy's *Sixteen Quaker Leaders Speak.*
Noble, Vernon. *William Penn.* Friends Home Service Committee (London). 1971. 32 pp.

Chapter 2

Consolidation, Cultural Creativeness, and Conservatism: Quakerism in the Eighteenth Century

The Quaker movement, launched in England in the 1650, has continued without interruption for well over 300 years. During that time it has remained a small group numerically, limited largely to the Anglo-American world. But it has continuously exerted an influence far out of proportion to its numbers.

Quaker historians, such as Elfrida Vipont Foulds and Harold Loukes of England, and Elbert Russell and Howard Brinton in the United States, have not agreed completely on the dates of demarcation for various periods, depending in part on whether they were writing primarily about English or American Quakerdom. But their differences are small and immaterial. Perhaps the easiest to follow is that provided by Howard Brinton in his book *Friends for 300 Years.* In it he used the following dates for four major periods and indicated the outstanding characteristic of each period by a telling phrase, as follows:

1. The heroic or apostolic period, about 1650-1700.
2. The period of cultural creativeness, about 1700-1800.
3. The period of conflict and decline, about 1800-1900.
4. The period of modernism, from 1900- .

In this chapter we will try to telescope the history of Quakerism from around 1700, where we left off in the first chapter, to 1800. That means that we can merely sketch in thin pencil lines some of the major emphases or trends, a few major events, two of the outstanding personalities, and a few of the many concerns of that period.

Some Characteristics of Quakerism in the 18th Century. Various Quaker historians have attempted to catch the spirit of different periods in a single word or phrase. There is the danger of oversimplification in that approach, but there is the value of focusing on the state of the Society of Friends in a given period in

that way.

Thus Harold Loukes in his book on *The Discovery of Quakerism* characterized the second period of the Society of Friends as one of consolidation. That was certainly true in England and to almost the same extent in the American colonies.

In her volume on *The Story of Quakerism,* Elfrida Vipont Foulds emphasized the transition of the movement from a loosely-knit fellowship to a more structured religious society, with various efforts to tighten the discipline of Quakers and Quaker meetings. This might be considered a growing trend toward conservatism.

In his volume on *Friends for 300 Years,* Howard Brinton gave a more optimistic interpretation to that century. He even went so far as to state that the period from 1700 to 1750 was "The Golden Age of Quakerism," with the inward and the outward states and the mystical and the evangelical aspects in good balance.

Believing that all of these trends are apparent in that century, we have included them in our title — Consolidation, Cultural Creativeness, and Conservatism.

The Great Migration to the American Colonies. Certainly one of the major events of that period in Quaker history was the migration of Friends to the American colonies. So extensive was that migration and so influential were Friends in the New World, that Elbert Russell wrote in *The History of Quakerism:*

> At that time (1700) Friends were the greatest single religious organization in the English colonies as a whole, both in their influence and in their promise.

Friends first arrived in The New World as travelling ministers and often they met with persecution. Nevertheless they persisted in preaching and won some converts. Then a few Quaker settlers came to the American colonies. Finally there was the large migration to Pennsylvania, starting in 1682 with the arrival of the ship Welcome, in Delaware, with its passengers bound for the new, planned city of Philadelphia, with 30 of the 300 passengers dying of smallpox, en route to their new home. Surely the arrival of that ship ranks with the arrival of the Mayflower as one of the most important and most dramatic events in early American history.

Most people know something about the settlement of Pennsylvania, but many are not aware of the extent of Quakers and of Quaker influence in all the original colonies of what is now the United States.

Their impact was particularly pronounced in Rhode Island. That

colony, with its comparative tolerance, was a good place for many of the first Friends on these shores. For example, as early as 1673 they were exempt from military service on grounds of conscience. By 1700 half of the population of that colony were Quakers and for 36 terms (from 1672 until 1768) there were Quaker governors. At times the assembly adjourned on Fifth Day so that the large number of Friends in that body could attend mid-week meeting.

On the nearby island of Nantucket, it is estimated that half of the population of 5000 attended Quaker meetings.

So, as early as 1661, New England Yearly Meeting was established, the first such body in the American colonies.

There were Quaker groups in New York, too, especially on Long Island in the 1600s, and by 1695 New York Yearly Meeting was "set off" or established by New England Yearly Meeting.

The first colony in The New World in which Friends were the owners or part owners was New Jersey, even before Pennsylvania was settled. Among those owners were William Penn and Robert Barclay. In New Jersey Friends were able to institute some of the reforms in government which were to mark Pennsylvania in a few years.

But it was in Pennsylvania that Quakers had a unique opportunity to try to apply their religious principles in government on a comprehensive scale. That large tract of land had been obtained by William Penn as payment on a loan his father had made to King Charles II of England. Penn considered that colony a tremendous opportunity to provide a refuge for the persecuted of England and Europe, to apply Quaker principles in government, and to institute a more democratic system than had existed up to that time. Pennsylvania was to be A Holy Experiment.

In Pennsylvania people were promised freedom of speech and worship, and trials by juries. All men could vote rather than a restricted few, and elections were to be held yearly. Amendments were possible, thus providing for changes when they were needed. The Indians were to be dealt with fairly and prisons were to become workshop for the rehabilitation of inmates rather than places of punishment. These and other innovations made Pennsylvania the most democratic government in the world and an influential example for the United States when it was formed.

Despite some difficulties between Pennsylvania and Maryland, there were several hundred Quakers in Maryland, as well as in Virginia. And in the Carolinas Quakers were the first organized

religious body, and in places the only organized one. At one time half of the legislators of North Carolina were Quakers and John Archdale, a Quaker, was Carolina's distinguished colonial governor.

Rufus Jones estimated that by 1750 there were 25,000 Quakers in Pennsylvania, 6000 in New Jersey, 3000 in Maryland, 4000 to 5000 in Virginia, and 4000 to 5000 in the Carolinas. He did not give any figure for New England.

The Effect of Those Migrations on English Quakerism. That exodus of Friends from England changed the pattern of Quakerism drastically in the 18th century. Henceforth the largest number of Friends would be in The New World, even though they continued to look for leadership to London Yearly Meeting, which American Friends regarded as the parent body.

But that mass migration attracted many of the younger and more able men and women and thus deprived English Friends of their talents. In addition, it decimated the ranks of many Meetings in the British Isles.

Some contacts were maintained, however, between those two strongholds of Quakerism. Each yearly meeting prepared annually an Epistle, summarizing the spiritual state of its Meeting, and sent these accounts to other groups. The spiritual diaries or *Journals,* kept by many leading Friends in the early days of the movement, were also published and read widely by Quakers. Even more important were the travels of Friends ministers, especially from England, to the colonies. It is estimated that 70 such ministers from abroad travelled in the area of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting between 1700 and 1756. When such persons felt a "call" or "concern" to travel, they presented their desire to the local Meeting for its approval (or disapproval). If it was approved, they were given a "Minute" saying that they were "released" for service among Friends. Often such a Minute was sent on to the Quarterly Meeting and Yearly Meeting for further endorsements. The importance of such travel cannot be overstated as it kept American and English Friends in contact with each other and often provided the only new voices in the Meetings which they visited.

Migrations in the New World. But Friends did not always remain where they had originally settled in the colonies. Early they became a mobile group, moving south or west from their original settlements along the Atlantic coast.

Thus many New England Quakers moved into New York — along the Hudson river, into the Mohawk Valley, and into Western New York. Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey moved west in those colonies or into Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.

A Quaker Culture Develops. Wherever they went, Friends took their culture or way of life with them. As soon as a settlement was started, a Meeting House was built. Often a school was begun in that building, or a separate edifice constructed near the Meeting House.

The plain but often beautiful Meeting Houses were the centers of community life. Meetings for worship were held twice a week, on the First Day and on the Fifth Day, indicating that every day was a holy one.

In those close-knit communities Friends were married in special meetings for worship and Friends were buried after a special service in the Meeting House. Infractions of the accepted code of behavior were dealt with by the elders or overseers, or by special committees appointed by local monthly meetings to counsel with recalcitrant Quakers, trying to persuade them to mend their ways.

A small library was also established in many Meeting Houses or in the Friends School nearby. In homes the Bible and some of the *Journals* of leading Quakers were considered as essential as the furniture, and were read regularly, often aloud in the family group.

Some of the original zest of the movement lingered well into the 18th century on both sides of the Atlantic ocean and the totality of the Quaker message and mission remained intact.

Thus a Quaker culture or way of life emerged, leading Howard Brinton to call this period from 1700 to 1750 "the flowering of Quakerism." The American historian, Samuel Eliot Morison, in his *Oxford History of the American People,* refers to this generation of Quakers as having "sloughed off the frenzy and fanaticism of Fox's early converts, yet (having) retained the serenity, the high ideals, and the sturdy pacifism that are the finest flower of that sect."

Others, however, maintain that Friends retreated into respectability and a stable life-style very much in contrast with the enthusiasm and vitality of early Friends.

Quaker Quietism: Conservatism Develops. Every institution and every movement is faced eventually with the problem of how to retain the purity and fervor of its founders, how to maintain the

momentum generated in the early years, how to become self-renewing.

By the middle of the 18th century several measures had been taken which were intended to strengthen the Religious Society of Friends. However, taken collectively, they tended to place the emphasis upon group discipline rather than on group dedication to the original ideas of the movement. What had been a loosely-knit fellowship now became a society, with formal membership instituted, including the recording of children at birth — known familiarly now as "birthright membership."

In order to cope with problems of conduct and the business affairs of the group, elders and overseers were appointed in each Meeting. They were almost always older and more "weighty" Friends, with great concern and long experience in Quaker ways. Hence they tended to be conservative in their approach — guardians of tradition rather than creators of new ways for changing times.

Then, too, a book or *Discipline* was published, delineating the acceptable ways of carrying on the Society's affairs. Although not intended as a rigid codification of laws, it approximated that situation. That event occurred in England in 1738.

Eventually considerable religious tolerance was established in England and in the American colonies and Friends were no longer subjected to persecution. But they were also spared the purifying experience of being tested under fire.

Friends were hard working, honest, frugal people and many of them prospered as farmers and business people. People have quipped that the Quakers came to Pennsylvania to do good — and they did well. But the same was true in England. People knew that if they dealt with Quakers, they would receive good work or good materials, at a fixed price — something new in those days. So they did business increasingly with Friends. And many Friends prospered.

Quietism in Worship. There were many itinerant ministers in the 18th century and they did much to keep the authentic Quaker message alive. But the days of the great preachers and the large public meetings were gone and the evangelical fervor of the early days of the movement was lacking.

Local meetings for worship were often held without any vocal messages and the silence tended to become something sacred rather

than a living, vibrant environment out of which messages could be expected to arise from time to time. And without some ministry Friends meetings often became paralyzed and died.

Thus the evangelical and mystical phases of Quakerism tended to become out of balance, with the mystical predominant. Likewise, the inward and outward aspects of Quakerism became unbalanced, with the inward becoming uppermost.

Some Positive Aspects of Quietism. Nevertheless there were positive aspects of Quietism. Elbert Russell summarized them tersely in his volume on *The History of Quakerism.* In that book he wrote:

> It developed souls of fine spiritual discernment, brave unworldliness, human tenderness and rare beauty of character. It gave some of its devotees a singularly true and helpful discernment of spiritual "states" and rare skill in "speaking to their conditions." The system or ideal which flowered in the philanthropic zeal, moral pioneering and social daring of the next period had a worthy place amid the formalities, frivolities, and immoralities of the middle eighteenth century.

The Quaker Withdrawal from the Pennsylvania Assembly. Almost from the beginning of The Holy Experiment, Quakers in the Pennsylvania assembly were faced with a dilemma with moral, spiritual, and political implications. The question was how far they were willing to go in promoting friendly relations with the Indians, in voting against money for defense, and in refusing to take part in the military aspects of the British empire.

Under pressure from the non-Quaker elements in the colony and from the British rulers, Friends sometimes voted money for the King or Queen, knowing full well that some of that money would be used for defense. But with the coming of the French and Indian wars, the issue became even more acute and further compromises unacceptable to them. In that resolve they were supported by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and by a special delegation of English Friends sent to Pennsylvania to advise with Friends on that extremely difficult situation.

Eventually the decision was made that the members of the Quaker minority in the assembly would withdraw. The alternative seemed to have been a vote demanding the oath of every member of the assembly, thus disqualifying all Quaker legislators.

It was a sad day because it meant the end of The Holy Experiment and the active participation of most Quakers in govern-

ment in the colonies and in the United States government for decades to come. But it was a decision which Quakers had to make to remain true to their principles.

This, too, had its effect in driving American Quakers still further into the period of Quietism about which we have already written.

Quakers During the American Revolution. Over a long period tensions between the American colonies and England increased, breaking out eventually in the American Revolution. Most Friends were firmly opposed to the attempt to resolve differences by war and so remained neutral, despite their valiant attempts before the war to seek the redress of grievances.

But their neutrality caused suspicion and many Friends in the colonies suffered at the hands of those supporting the American cause. In some instances their property was seized for the non-payment of taxes which would have supported the revolution. And in a few cases their homes were burned. The worst example of persecution was the banishment of 20 prominent Philadelphians to Virginia, 12 of them Quakers. Around 1779 the Pennsylvania legislature demanded an oath of all teachers, thus disqualifying Quakers from such posts, including those in Quaker schools. That was a bitter blow.

A small group of Friends, however, openly supported the American Revolution and even formed a branch of Quakers known popularly as The Free Quakers or The Fighting Quakers, a body which existed for a few years and then disappeared.

After the Revolution, Friends supported the new government; Philadelphia Yearly Meeting sent a warm letter to George Washington upon his inauguration, pledging their assistance, to which he replied generously.

Two Outstanding Friends of the 18th Century. Many men and women could be listed in a Who's Who of the 18th century Quakers, even though the list would not be as long as that for the 17th century. Two seem especially interesting and important. They were Anthony Benezet and John Woolman.

Anthony Benezet (1713-1784) was born in France and raised in a Huguenot family. But when the persecutions against members of that Protestant group became oppressive, he fled to Philadelphia, by way of Holland and England. There he became a "convinced Friend" at an early age and taught in the Penn Charter School, an institution still in existence. Later he founded a school for girls, wrote textbooks, and championed many educational reforms. But

it is largely for his work in the anti-slavery movement that he is best known, playing a role second only to that of John Woolman.

Far better known is John Woolman (1720-1772), whom many people today regard as the finest product of the Religious Society of Friends, a rare combination of the inward and outward aspects of Quakerism — a spiritually motivated social actionist.

Born into a Quaker family in New Jersey, he became a tailor by trade, curbing his thriving business in order to avoid the dangers of wealth, against which he spoke and wrote continuously and convincingly. His words bore much weight because his actions squared with them.

His chief concern, however, was the abolition of slavery, a cause in which he believed passionately and one which he pursued persistently. But he did not carry placards, march in parades, or take part in public demonstrations. He believed the Quaker way was to talk with the owners and to convince them to free their slaves. Patiently he pursued this policy, travelling hundreds of miles by foot and on horseback in behalf of this cause, leading eventually to the release of many former slaves.

His was a personal concern, eventually supported by other Friends. By 1761 London Yearly Meeting declared that Friends owning slaves or taking part in the slave trade should be disowned. And by 1780 no Friends in the American colonies were slave owners — 80 years before the Emancipation Proclamation. Such action by Quakers was the result of the slow growth of a corporate consciousness and concern, due in large part to Woolman's efforts.

But that was not his only concern. The abolition of war and the type of living which would remove the causes of war were likewise much on his mind, as was the treatment of the Indians. To him the whole body politic had to be purified.

Fortunately he left his *Journal* as a spiritual diary of his travels and thoughts, as well as other writings on the social order. Two brief passages from his writings should give readers some idea of his approach to life. Explaining a visit to the Indians, he said:

> Love was the first motion and then a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them, or they might in any degree be helped forward by my following the leadings of truth among them.

And on the purpose of life he wrote:

> . . . to turn all that we possess into the channel of universal

love becomes the business of our lives.

Writing on these two men, Horace Alexander, a leading British Friend of recent times, said:

> It seems to me that Anthony Benezet and John Woolman and their associates in the campaign against slavery were the pioneers among Friends in producing a wider sense of social and political responsibility. Living in the eighteenth century quietist period, they stand out as striking exceptions to the quietism of that period.

Some Central Concerns of Friends in the 18th Century. Friends in that period were particularly concerned with discipline, as has already been pointed out. But they were also active in many concerns, some of which will be developed in detail in Chapters 9 and 10. Among them were education, the fair treatment of Indians, the abolition of slavery, government (especially in the early years of that century), temperance, and fair dealings in business.

Some Questions on Chapter Two

1. What idea or ideas in this chapter strike you most forcefully? Why?
2. Some Friends and others believe that Penn and his fellow Quakers were overly generous in admitting people into Pennsylvania who did not believe in the principles behind The Holy Experiment. How do you react to this proposition?
3. What obstacles do you see today for a Quaker becoming an elected government official? What advantages? Would you urge some Quaker you know to run for public office? Why? Why not?
4. Does the idea of separate Quaker communities today appeal to you, as it does to some Friends? Why? Why not? Would you like to live in such a community? Why? Why not?
5. Do you share the admiration many Friends today have for John Woolman, almost raising him to the rank of a Quaker saint? Why or why not?

A Brief Reading List for Chapter Two

Readers should consult the relevant parts of the general histories cited at the end of Chapter One — by Brinton, Newman, Russell, Trueblood, and Vipont. In addition, see the following references:

Bacon, Margaret H. *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of Quakers in America.* Basic Books, 1969. 229 pp. Chapters 4 and 5.

Elliott, Errol T. *Quakers on the American Frontier.* Friends United Press, 1969. 434 pp. A short account on Quakers in the south and west in the 18th century.

Comfort, William Wistar. *Stephen Grellet: A Biography.* Macmillan, 1942. 202 pp.

Kenworthy, Leonard S. *John Woolman Speaks.* 8 pp. Also in Kenworthy's *Sixteen Quaker Leaders Speak.*

Moulton, Phillips P. (ed.) *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman.* Oxford, 1971. 336 pp.

Moulton, Phillips P. *The Living Witness of John Woolman.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1973. 32 pp.

Whitney, Janet P. *John Woolman.* Little, Brown, 1942. 490 pp.

Woolman, John. *The Journal of John Woolman and a Plea for the Poor.* Citadel Press, 1961. 249 pp. A paperback.

Chapter 3
Dividing Our Inheritance and Promoting Quaker Concerns: Quakerism in the Nineteenth Century

The 19th century was a period of stresses and strains in Quakerism, especially in the United States. A further tightening of the discipline regarding the conduct of Quakers led to thousands of disownments, with the consequent loss of many of the younger and more adventurous men and women. It also led to the hardening of the spiritual arteries and frequently the lack of a vital and authentic message for those times. Intervisitation slackened and many of the newer Meetings in the old Northwest Territory were isolated from the centers of Quakerism in London and Philadelphia, becoming moribund. As a result of these and other factors, several separations took place in that century, with various groups of Friends in the United States dividing their many-sided message from the past.

In some respects the 19th century was a sad chapter in Quaker history. Consequently one can understand why Howard Brinton capsulated that period with the words Conflict and Decline, both negative words.

Yet there were several more favorable aspects to 19th century Quakerism. Surely a group which could provide such a large share of the leadership in the United States for the anti-slavery movement, the women's rights crusade, the peace movement, and educational advances, deserves a better summary than the phrase Conflict and Decline. And a group which produced such outstanding persons as John Bright, Elizabeth Fry, and Joseph Sturge in England, and John Greenleaf Whittier, Levi Coffin, and Lucretia Mott in the United States certainly merits more than the words Conflict and Decline.

Therefore we have given this chapter the title Dividing Our Inheritance and Promoting Quaker Concerns. To us that caption captures both the negative and positive aspects of Quakerism in the

19th century.

Further Movements Westward in the U.S.A. During that period American Friends were still on the move. That was especially true of Quakers in the southern states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia.

Finding slavery repugnant and realizing the new lease on life it had obtained by Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793, many Friends decided to move to an area of the United States where slavery was forbidden. Therefore entire families sold their property, packed, and moved in covered wagons to the old Northwest Territory. Sometimes whole Meetings migrated, taking their record books with them and naming their new settlements after the ones where they had previously resided.

Thus nearly all the Quakers in Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, and many of them in North Carolina joined the trek west. It is estimated that between 1800 and 1860 at least 6000 Friends from the south moved west. So depleted was Virginia Yearly Meeting that it was "laid down" in 1845 and the remaining Meetings transferred to Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

But the loss in one section of American Quakerdom was the gain in another. Soon new Yearly meetings were "set up" — Ohio in 1812, Indiana in 1820, Western (for western Indiana and eastern Illinois) in 1858. Eventually there were several yearly meetings along the main routes west — in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, and California.

Discipline and Disownments in England and the U.S.A. Unfortunately the tightening of discipline on members and on Meetings which had begun in the 18th century became even more pronounced in the 19th. And disownments were more frequent. Friends were disowned for playing a fiddle, dancing, using foul language, or drinking. Even more were disowned for "marrying out of Meeting," which means that they married a non-Friend. It is estimated that between 1800 and 1850 at least 5000 members were dropped in England for that reason. And in the United States, Meetings were at least as severe.

At their best, Quaker groups were caring communities, marked by plain living and high thinking. At their worst, Quaker groups were closed communities, inhabited by a peculiar people. As Sidney Lucas says in *The Quaker Story,* Quakerism in many places "became a monument rather than a movement."

Then Came the Divisions. In the early part of the 19th century

Friends in the United States were separated by great distances and they were separated by points of view. Instead of working out their differences in a broad synthesis, they resorted to separations. Thus a large part of the energy of Friends in the 19th century in the U.S.A. was dissipated in arguments over discipline and dogma. Hence the 19th century in American Quakerism became our Tragic Era.

Some of the stresses and strains in that period came from outside the Society of Friends. The American Revolution and the French Revolution had highlighted the new spirit of democracy and personal freedom, and that new spirit of independence had its effects upon Quakers as well as others.

Likewise the Evangelical Movement had a tremendous impact in England and in the United States, arousing a religious fervor and dedication similar to that of 17th century Quakerism. As Elbert Russell pointed out in his pamphlet on *The Separation After a Century,* there were at least five major points in that movement: (1) the final authority of the Bible, (2) the "deity" of Christ, (3) his "substitutionary" death on the cross, (4) the depravity of human nature through Adam's "fall," and (5) the necessity of a personal religious experience.

Many Friends were influenced by that movement, seeing in it positive points which could help to combat the lethergy and stagnation which marked Quakerism at that point. For example, they saw the need for Friends to return to the close acquaintance with the Bible which had marked the early Quaker movement. They saw the need for more religious education among members of the Society of Friends. And they saw the need for more education.

But there were other tensions, too. There was the tension between those who emphasized the mystical element in Quakerism and those who emphasized the evangelical. There was tension between city Friends and country Friends. And there was tension between the elders and overseers and the rank and file.

These tensions were often heightened by the messages of travelling Friends, some from England and some from the United States. One of the most able of the Americans was Elias Hicks, a farmer from Long Island with a limited education but a logical mind and moving ministry. Hicks abhorred Deism and Atheism but the rational method appealed to him as a new implement to counteract the inroads of the Evangelical movement.

These various tensions came to a head in Philadelphia Yearly

Meeting in 1827 in what has come to be called the Orthodox-Hicksite split. There are many interpretations of the conflict but most Quaker historians now agree that the divisions there came about largely as a result of a revolt of country Friends against city Friends or the rank and file against the elders. Many city Friends at that time were well-to-do and tended to be conservative on most matters. Also, the meetings of the elders were held in Philadelphia and the city elders could attend them more easily than country Friends. By and large country Friends were disturbed by the new doctrines being disseminated and by the "worldliness" of city Friends. Furthermore, country Friends were in revolt against the authoritarianism of the city elders. Elbert Russell even reported that "unofficial members were not supposed to have copies of the book of discipline," — a condition it is difficult for us to understand today. On the other hand the city elders were disturbed by the disregard by many Friends of the discipline and their resistance to the new evangelical message which they felt would revive a dying Society. Hence they tightened the screws even more rigorously.

The results of the ensuing struggle were sometimes horrendous. Occasionally there were contests over the possession of the Minutes of a Meeting or over the clerk's desk. There were court battles in many places over the ownership of Meeting Houses, schools, and burial grounds. Some families were divided in their allegiance to the two sides of that controversy. And the scars of that struggle lasted for decades.

In the end, almost every yearly meeting in the United States was split. Only New England, Virginia, and North Carolina avoided such a division. In New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore Yearly Meetings the largest numbers after the separation were Hicksites, with about two-thirds of the country Friends adhering to that group and two-thirds of the city Friends aligning with the Orthodox division.

However, both groups maintained the original form of Quaker worship — Meetings held on the basis of silent expectancy.

This is a sad story because it left a fragmented Society of Friends in the United States, weakening its witness and work. Both sides in that dispute appear to share the blame. As Rufus Jones once wrote,

> both sides lacked . . . any historical grasp of Quakerism . . . Still feebler was their comprehension of early Christianity.

Sidney Lucas, an English Quaker historian, has commented that

> Each considered itself the true exponent of Quaker faith and

practice. Both lacked a real understanding of seventeenth century Quakerism, either in its historical background or its spiritual message, and both created doctrinal fabric that was alien to the Quaker ideal . . . . Each party had some portion of the truth.

A Second Split. One split was one too many and should have been avoided. But Quakers in the United States subjected themselves to a second division in the 19th century, thus dismembering the Society further.

In a sense that second split was an extention of the first, being concerned with the evangelical movement, with its accent on Bible study and religious education among young people and adults, and its emphasis upon the historic Christ rather than a combination of the Historic Christ and the Indwelling Christ.

This second split might also have been avoided, but the fires of controversy were fanned by sincere, devout Quakers travelling in the ministry. One especially able visitor was Joseph John Gurney (1788-1846). Gurney was a prominent English Quaker, a member of the famous Gurney banker family, and a brother of Elizabeth Fry, the eminent prison reformer. He was handsome, talented, and persuasive as a speaker and writer. He was a scholar, an ardent student of the Bible, an advocate of higher education, and an evangelical. His messages were filled with references to the Scriptures and were Christ-centered.

As he travelled hither and yon in the United States, Gurney urged Friends to saturate themselves in the wisdom of the Scriptures, to organize Sunday Schools and adult conferences on religious education, and to found Quaker colleges.

He was received enthusiastically in many places. He even visited the President of the United States and held services in the Senate chamber.

The man who became the acknowledged leader of the opposition to Gurney and his friends was John Wilbur, a birthright Friend from New England. In the 1830s Wilbur took a trip to England and was disturbed to discover the emphasis many English Friends placed on the Bible, fearing it would lead eventually to a belief in the infallability of that book. He also opposed lectures and other types of religious education, believing that they constituted undue preparation for open Meetings for Worship. He also wondered if learning of any kind would not lessen spirituality. His own belief was in the importance of the leadings of the Inner Light of Christ and his support was for much of the Quietism which had

characterized the previous century.

John Wilbur was an earnest, sincere, and gifted individual but he was no match for the highly educated, colorful personality of Joseph John Gurney.

Eventually a second split took place in American Quakerdom, with the two groups known as Gurneyites and Wilburites. However, this separation took place only among Orthodox Friends, starting in the 1840s in New England Yearly Meeting and continuing into the 1850s. Most Orthodox Friends sided with the Gurneyites, but several small yearly meetings were formed as a result of this division — in New England, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and North Carolina. By far the largest group was Philadelphia Yearly Meeting-Wilburite.

The Role of English Friends in These Separations. Despite differences in interpretation of the Quaker message, London Yearly Meeting avoided separations, except for a small group of Fritchley Friends. In England the distances were less and communication better, a broader flexibility in beliefs prevailed, and a more staid and conservative political atmosphere seemed to curtail the extremes which characterized life in the United States in the 19th century. And in spite of theological differences, all the Meetings in England retained the original form of Quaker worship — the silent Meeting.

English Friends could have played a reconciling role and some individuals and groups did attempt to do that. But the extremists carried their message to the New World and wherever separations occurred, London Yearly Meeting "recognized" the evangelical groups in the U.S.A.

In her book on *The Story of Quakerism,* Elfrida Vipont Foulds recently summarized the role of English Friends in these controversies in these words:

> London Yearly Meeting was in a unique position to effect a reconciliation, had it been able to rise to its opportunities; not only was it the parent group, but it was spared the painful experience of actual separations within its own ranks save in a minor degree. If only English Friends had maintained a fraternal relationship with all groups in America bearing the name of Friends, they might thus have kept a vital link unbroken. Unfortunately they not only took sides in the dispute, but allowed prejudice to blind them to the merits of one side in the dispute to such an extent that their views were utterly distorted. For years

the "Hicksite" and "Wilburite" Friends were unrecognized, and only the "Orthodox" groups received the Epistles of London Yearly Meeting.

The Divided Inheritance. Charts have their faults but they can sometimes clarify an idea or ideas better than words alone. In the writer's autobiography, *Worldview: The Autobiography of a Social Studies Teacher and Quaker,* the following chart was used to try to illustrate the ways in which Quakers over a long period have divided the total message of 17th century Friends, with each group in the United States concentrating on certain aspects of that many-sided message. The greatest loss has probably been in the division of the original testimony of The Inward Christ and The Historic Christ into two separate testimonies as indicated in this chart:

DIVIDING OUR INHERITANCE
Friends in the United States

Rationalism and Education	+ Social Concern	+ Simplicity	+ The Inward Christ	+ The Historic Christ	+ Equality	+ The Bible	+ Evangelism and Missions

Writing about this fragmentation in a book on *Friends Search for Wholeness,* Jack Kirk said:

> Each group has thought that it carried the full Quaker banner, while in actuality each has tightly clasped only a tattered shred of the rich tapestry that was the original Quaker movement.

The writer's reaction to this story of separations was summed up in a brief account on All Kinds of Quakers in his booklet of *Meditations Around the World,* written in 1958. That brief meditation was as follows:

> Gurneyites, Hicksites, and Wilburites, Five Years Meeting* Friends, General Conference Friends, Evangelical Friends, and Independents. Birthright Friends, Convinced Friends, and Overconvinced Friends. It makes one's head ache to try to understand the many Quaker groups, and one's heart bleed to realize such divisions exist.
>
> Quakerism today is like a good-sized plot of ground which has been divided among several sons and daughters, each inheriting a

small section of the original plot. These strips are too small to cultivate properly alone, and yet people do not seem to be able to farm them cooperatively.

What a Society we would have if we could work together, learning from each other and using the talents of each group. In such a Society we would utilize the zeal, sacrificial giving, and concern for the spreading of the Gospel, of Evangelical Friends. We would profit from the mission work, the concern for children and young people, the talents of many pastors, the network of colleges, and the broad base of membership of Five Years Meeting Friends. And we would all gain from the highly educated, upper middle class membership of the Friends General Conference and of Independent Friends, with their emphasis upon worship on the basis of silence and their interest in social service.

What a Society of Friends that combination would make.

*Now the Friends United Meeting.

Friends and the Civil War in the United States. In the meantime an event of tremendous importance to Americans, including Quakers, had taken place — the Civil War. And what a dilemma it posed for Friends! Quakers had been pioneers and leaders in the Underground Railroad and in the abolition movement. Many of them had left the South because of their abhorence of that inhuman institution. But they were also opposed to war as a means of settling disputes.

Abraham Lincoln summarized that dilemma in his famous letter to Eliza P. Gurney, the widow of Joseph John Gurney, writing:

> You people — the Friends — have had, and are having, a very great trial. On principle and faith, opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma, some have chosen one horn and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my conscience, under my oath to the laws.

Obviously there were difficult decisions to make. Officially Friends upheld the peace testimony. Yet many young men took part in that conflict. Others paid the $300 permitted by law to hire "substitutes." A few hid out (shades of the Vietnam conflict). In general Orthodox Friends disowned those who joined the army. On the other hand, Hicksite Friends were more tolerant or less faithful, depending upon your point of view.

People often castigated Friends for bringing about the war and

then failing to support it. Some Quakers, especially in the South, had their property seized and sometimes destroyed. But the faithfulness of many Friends attracted attention and North Carolina Yearly Meeting grew in this period.

Once the war was over, Friends everywhere redoubled their efforts to help the former slaves, a movement we will describe in more detail in Chapter 9.

The Extension of Quakerism to Other Parts of the World. During the 19th century the Quaker movement also began to spread beyond the two places where it had been prominent — England and the United States.

In Norway there had been some interest in Quakerism since the days of Fox and the early Friends. But a new lease on life for the Society there came during the Napoleonic Wars when some Norwegian and Danish prisoners of war on a British ship studied a translation of Barclay's Apology and started meeting together for worship after the manner of Friends. When they were repatriated, a little group of Quakers was formed in Norway and eventually a yearly meeting was established in 1846.

Then, in 1875, a yearly meeting was set up in Denmark.

However, both groups suffered from military conscription and emigration, and only a small group remained in Stavanger, Norway.

As a part of the evangelical influence of English Quakers, a Friends Foreign Mission Association was formed by London Yearly Meeting in 1868 and missionaries were sent to Madagascar, Pemba, India, and China. One Quaker writer has said that "those missions contributed largely to the recovery of purpose, spiritual power, and heightened social conscience in the Society."

The Introduction of the Pastoral System in Many Friends Meetings. In the latter part of the 19th century a very new development occurred among American Friends. That was the gradual acceptance of the pastoral system. This revolutionary shift in the ways of worship of most Quaker groups in the U.S.A. is treated in considerable detail in Chapter 12, but the barest outline needs to be given here because it explains some of the expansion of Quakerism in the United States and its new vitality, as well as some of the current tensions among various groups of American Friends.

In many Meetings in the United States in the 19th century, spiritual life was at a low ebb. Often there was no public ministry in

meetings for worship or the same people spoke frequently on the same or similar themes. The travelling ministry of outstanding Friends still existed but it no longer flourished. And distance separated the many Quaker groups. Many Friends were farmers and alone much of the time during the week so they longed for more speaking rather than more silence in their meetings for worship.

Many Quakers were impressed with the new life in other churches, brought about in large part by their revivals. And many of the young people coveted the music which characterized other church services.

In many places a non-Friend or a Friend of a very evangelical persuasion was brought into the community for special services. New attenders were drawn to Quakerism but many of them were not happy about their form of worship on the basis of silence. So, in many places the evangelist was brought back as a paid pastor, or some one else was hired by the congregation to preach. Music was introduced, too.

Gradually a large part of American Quakerdom embraced the pastoral system, with a prepared sermon, congregational singing, and other aspects of most Protestant churches. This occurred solely among Orthodox Friends, however. The Conservative or Wilburite Quakers and the Hicksites continued to adhere to the original form of Friends worship. English Friends also maintained this approach.

Some Outstanding Friends in the 19th Century. In any list of prominent Quakers throughout the nearly 400 years of its history, the 19th century should be well represented because there were a large number of outstanding Friends in England and in the United States in that period.

Three of them have already been mentioned in this chapter — Elias Hicks, John Wilbur, and Joseph John Gurney — all religious leaders.

The others who will be mentioned here were primarily social reformers and political leaders whose concerns grew directly out of their Quaker beliefs. For them there was little if any separation between the spiritual and the secular.

Among the English Quakers, Joseph Sturge, John Bright, and Elizabeth Fry were certainly luminaries.

Few Quakers in any period have been involved creatively in so many movements as Joseph Sturge (1793-1860), whom Rufus Jones regarded as "the consumate flower of Quakerism in the nineteenth

century." He was one of the foremost workers for the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, for the repeal of the iniquitous Corn Laws, for the establishment of schools for juvenile delinquents, and for temperance. In addition, as president of the London Peace Society and other similar groups, he devoted himself tirelessly to the cause of peace and improved international relations. For example, he made a trip to Russia in 1854 and talked with Czar Nicholas, hoping thereby to prevent the Crimean War. And he was active in opposing the opium trade with China. In addition he worked diligently to obtain the vote for the working men of England. And he was one of the leaders in the movement to establish religious education programs, primarily for working people, in Quaker meeting houses.

Even more effective was John Bright (1811-1889), one of the great liberal political leaders in England. As a lad of 15, John Bright went to work in his father's mill and for the rest of his life he identified closely with the working people of England. When he entered the House of Commons, about one-sixth of the working men could vote; by the end of his life all of them were enfranchised, due in large part to his eloquence and organizational ability. Furthermore, he was one of the major opponents of the oppressive Corn Laws which were especially hard on the poor. He was likewise outspoken in his opposition to capital punishment.

But John Bright's interests were even broader than that. He stood almost alone in the House of Commons in denouncing the Crimean War. His sympathies were with the people of Ireland and India, too, and he did much to increase their participation in the governments of those areas. Probably his most effective work was in enlisting the support of the working people of England for the northern cause in the Civil War in the United States, even though that meant unemployment, suffering, and even starvation for many of them.

Is it little wonder, then, that Rufus Jones once wrote of John Bright:

> No other Friend since William Penn has put the Quaker peace position to such a public test, and no other Friend has succeeded to the extent he did in carrying Quaker ideals into practice as the sound and stable basis of national policy.

Then there was Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845). Along with Margaret Fell Fox and Lucretia Mott, she was undoubtedly one of the greatest women in the entire history of the Society of Friends. Born

into the famous Gurney family of Quakers and raised at Earlham Hall, she began at the age of 17 to take her Quaker background seriously. Married eventually to Joseph Fry of the well-known Quaker banking family, they raised 11 children. Despite the demands on her time and energy in raising that large group of boys and girls, and her delicate health, she took part in many movements, especially work for the humane treatment of women prisoners. Eventually she became the acknowledged world leader in that field, the outstanding pioneer in prison reform.

In the United States the best known Quaker of the 19th century, both inside the Society of Friends and outside it, was John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) — a champion of democracy, a leader in the antislavery movement, an advocate of women's rights, an opponent of capital punishment, a poet and writer of hymns — in short, an able and concerned Quaker.

Among the many Friends who developed the Underground Railroad to help slaves escape into free territory in the northern part of the United States was Levi Coffin, a Quaker from North Carolina who moved to Indiana, just north of Richmond, and later to Cincinnati. He was a business man with unusual gifts as an organizer and the ability to win the confidence and cooperation of his neighbors in what was a dangerous and illegal enterprise. His home was considered the Grand Central station of the Underground Railroad and so successful was he that people sometimes called him the "president" of the Underground railroad. Altogether it is estimated that 3000 slaves passed through the Coffin home. His move to Cincinnati came as a result of his efforts to organize a depot for goods made by free labor. After the Emancipation Proclamation, he and his friends continued to work for Negroes. He was also instrumental in starting some of the first Sunday Schools among Quakers.

Recently Quakers have begun to rediscover one of the most effective of women Friends — Lucretia Mott. Born into the Coffin family of Nantucket Island, she was educated in Boston and at the Nine Partners School in New York state (now Oakwood School in Poughkeepsie). Later she taught at the Nine Partners school and married one of her colleagues, James Mott. Early in life she was recognized as a recorded Quaker minister and her participation in the women's business meetings gave her experience in speaking in public and in conducting meetings, an experience which few women in those days had. Eventually she used those experiences as one of

the outstanding leaders in both the anti-slavery and woman's suffrage movements. In the latter movement her name is linked with that of Susan B. Anthony who was raised a Friend but who left the Religious Society of Friends because of the conservatism of many Quakers in her day. Nevertheless Susan B. Anthony was motivated to a large extent by the ideals she learned as a young person from the forward-looking members of the Society of Friends.

Some Central Concerns of Friends in the 19th Century. As we have indicated in several parts of this chapter, Friends in the 19th century were involved in a large number of social and political movements. Almost always those concerns started with individuals and eventually were supported by the entire society. All of these will be treated in more detail in Chapters 9 and 10, but they need to be mentioned here in order to place 19th century Quakerism in proper perspective, as it was this aspect of the Society in which Quakers were most successful in that period.

In at least eight different fields Friends provided some or most of the leadership. This is true of the anti-slavery movement and the Underground Railroad, peace efforts, the women's suffrage and women's rights crusades, temperance, prison reform, work with American Indians, and education. In most instances both English and American Quakers were active; in a few it was primarily Friends in either England or the U.S.A.

Some Questions on Chapter Three

1. What idea or ideas strike you most in this chapter? Why?
2. Should any potential separation among Friends threaten the Society, what suggestions would you make to avert such a tragedy?
3. How do you explain the fact that London Yearly Meeting, by and large, escaped the tragic consequences of separations?
4. Does your personal set of beliefs encompass all the points listed on the chart on page 39. Why? Why not?
5. Which of the men and women included as outstanding Friends in the 19th century appeal to you most? Why?
6. Which of the several movements of the 19th century in which Quakers were interested, appeal to you most? Why?

A Brief Reading List on Chapter Three

Readers should consult the books mentioned in Chapter One as good general accounts of the history of Quakerism by Brinton, Newman, Russell, Trueblood, and Vipont. Among the other references dealing especially with this period are the following:

Bacon, Margaret H. *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of Quakers in America.* Basic Books, 1969. 229 pp.

Comfort, William Wistar. *Stephen Grellet: A Biography.* Macmillan, 1942. 202 pp.

Elliott, Errol T. *Quakers on the American Fronter.* Friends United Press, 1969. 434 pp.

Forbush, Bliss. *Elias Hicks: Quaker Liberal.* Columbia University Press, 1956. 355 pp. Abbreviated edition, Friends General Conference, 1984.

Kenworthy, Leonard S. *John Bright: Nineteenth Century Humanitarian.* Friends Bookstore — Philadelphia. 32 pp.

Kenworthy, Leonard S. *Elizabeth Fry Speaks, John Wilhelm Rowntree Speaks,* and *John Woolman Speaks.* 8 pp. each. Also in Kenworthy's *Sixteen Quaker Leaders Speak.*

LeShana, David C. *Quakers in California.* Barclay Press, 1969. 186 pp.

Moore, Floyd. *Friends in the Carolinas.* North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1971 (Third printing). 30 pp.

Chapter 4

Expansion, Service, and the Search for Identity: Quakerism in the Twentieth Century

Because we are living in the 20th century, it is often difficult for us to see the course of Quakerism during that period in proper perspective. In his book on *Friends for 300 Years,* Howard Brinton characterized the 1900s with the single word Modernism. Such a title has the advantage of brevity and indirectly indicates the impact on Quakerism of such factors as the modern interpretations of the Bible, the movement for "a social gospel," the theory of evolution, and the increasing interdependence of nations. But the word modernism covers only one aspect of the Society of Friends in this century.

After considerable mental struggle, we have selected three ideas to characterize this period in Quakerism. They are the expansion of that movement in the United States and in several other parts of the world, the extensive efforts of Quakers in humanitarian causes, and the search for identity, including the increased understanding among American Friends.

Some Effects of Modernism on Quakers. Well into the 20th century the effects of modern thinking racked Christianity. Some parts of Quakerism, especially in the United States, did not escape the discussions and dissensions that accompanied the ideas of evolution and the modern interpretations of the Bible, often caricatured by the famous Scopes Trial in Tennessee, with William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow as the leading stars in that drama.

In many places conservatives and modernists wrestled with the idea and interpretations involved in these new ideas and there were several unfortunate incidents in Quaker circles, especially in Quaker colleges in the midwest. Hicksite Quakers, with their emphasis upon rationalism and their highly educated members, were able to accept the new ideas more easily and so continued largely unscathed by the modernist movement.

The Geographical Expansion of Quakerism in the United States. A map of Friends Meetings and Friends Churches in the U.S.A. in 1900 would show a concentration of groups along the eastern seaboard (as far south as North Carolina), a similar concentration in the mid-western states, and a few groups in the west. A large majority of those Meetings and Churches were in rural areas or in small towns.

A map of Quaker meetings and churches in the 1980s, however, would be quite different. It would show Quaker groups in almost all of the 50 states, with fewer groups than before in rural areas and in small towns and many more in urban areas and suburbs.

In the early decades of the 20th century, thousands of Friends who took part in the migration to the cities, were lost to membership in the Society of Friends, a large percentage of them joining other denominations which were already established in urban areas. Slowly and belatedly, however, new Quaker groups were formed in urban and suburban locations. Some of them were Friends Churches, established by the extension work of various yearly meetings. Even more were Quaker Meetings held on the basis of silent waiting, which were formed in cities, often near colleges or universities.

In the 1900s a few yearly meetings have been "laid down." But several new groups have been formed, starting in the late 40s. Most of them are still small and nearly all are in areas of the United States where there have not been Quaker groups before. Those new yearly meetings or conferences are — Alaska, Pacific and its two offshoots — North Pacific and Intermountain, Rocky Mountain, South Central, Lake Erie, Southern Appalachian, Piedmont, and Southeastern.

This is one of the most encouraging aspects of Quakerism in the United States in the 20th century.

The Geographical Expansion of Quakerism in Other Parts of the World. Even more striking is the extension of Quakerism into other parts of the world in recent times. Much of that growth has come as a result of the missionary activities of English and American Friends. Some of it has come from the establishment of silent meeting groups, especially in Europe.

Altogether there are now 50 yearly meetings of Friends around the world, of which 18 have been formed in the 20th century. Since that topic will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 13, on The World-Wide Society of Friends, it may suffice here to list the yearly

meetings and special associations of Quakers at present, outside the United States and Canada.

In Europe there are now yearly meetings in Denmark, England, France, Germany (one in East Germany and one in West Germany), Ireland,the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden (including a few Friends in Finland), and Switzerland, plus a few worship groups elsewhere.

In the Middle East there is a small yearly meeting, composed primarily of Friends in Ram Allah, in what was once Palestine and now is in the West Bank, where two related Friends Schools, for boys and girls, are located..

In Africa there are now four large yearly meetings in East Africa, a small group in Southern Africa, plus a large group of Quakers in Burundi. Until recently there were several thousand Quakers in Madagasacar, but they decided to join the United Church when it was formed in 1969 by the amalgamation of several denominations.

In the Pacific area and in Asia there are yearly meetings or general associations of Friends in Australia, India (three groups), Japan, New Zealand, and Taiwan.

And in Latin America there is a Central American Yearly Meeting, as well as many Friends in Bolivia and Peru, plus small groups in Costa Rica, Jamaica, and Mexico.

Completing the Organizational Cycle of the 19th Century. Some of the trends of the 19th century continued well into the 20th century. And some derivatives of those trends culminated in the early part of the 1900s.

One of the derivatives of the splintering of American Quakerism in the 19th century was the organization of various national groups in the 20th century.

In the latter part of the 19th century most of the Orthodox yearly meetings joined together in national conferences to further their faith and to foster join efforts in such field as assisting Indians and Negroes, and promoting peace. Those meetings led to the formation in 1902 of the Five Years Meeting, with a common *Discipline* or book of faith and practice. Its headquarters were in Richmond, Indiana, and its concerns many and varied, with boards or committees on education, religious education, peace, Indians, Negroes, and home and foreign missions, Its chief publications were *The American Friend* and *The Messenger of Peace.*

As groups abroad, fostered by the various yearly meetings which

joined the Five Years Meeting, became self-directing yearly meetings, they became a part of that body.

In recent years it was decided to meet every three years and to change its name to the Friends United Meeting. At the same time *The American Friend* was changed to *Quaker Life* and a publications board was established, known as the Friends United Press.

Today the Friends United Meeting is a global fellowship which comprises over half of the Quakers in the world. Its yearly meetings are Baltimore, California, Canada, Cuba, East Africa (three), Indiana, Iowa, Jamaica, Nebraska, New England, New York, North Carolina, Southeastern, Western, and Wilmington.

Meanwhile a similar movement had taken place among Hicksite Friends in the United States. In the 19th century four national organizations had been formed as a result of common interests. They were the First-Day School Conference, the Friends Union for Philanthropic Labor, the Friends Religious Conference (for persons interested in the relation of Friends and various world religions), and the Friends Education Conference (for persons concerned with Quaker schools and colleges). Often those groups met simultaneously. They were the forerunners of the Friends General Conference, which was formed in 1900 as a loose association of Quaker yearly meetings.

Since that time a number of reunited yearly meetings have decided to join both the Friends United Meeting and the Friends General Conference, and several of the newer yearly meetings and associations have joined the General Conference as it is widely known.

Today there are approximately 33,000 Friends in that national body, about a third of whom are also members of the Friends United Meeting. By far the largest yearly meeting in the F.G.C. is the reunited Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, with a little over 13,000 members.

The full list of yearly meetings and associations in this group includes Baltimore, Canada, Illinois, Lake Erie, New England, New York, Northern, the Ohio Valley, Philadelphia, the Piedmont Friends Fellowship, South Central, South Eastern, and Southern Appalachian.

The interests of General Conference Friends are broad, but do not include missions. Its headquarters are in Philadelphia and its

chief publication the *Friends Journal* (formerly the *Friend Intelligencer*), published by an independent corporation.

For many years its conferences were held every two years at Cape May, New Jersey. Nowadays conferences are held alternately in the East and the Mid-West.

When the Five Years Meeting was organized, some Orthodox Friends did not feel it was "sound" theologically, or evangelical enough. Some groups did not join it and others eventually withdrew from it. They continued their close association, however, and in 1965 formed the Evangelical Friends Alliance. The Yearly meetings in that association are the Eastern Region (formerly Ohio), Mid-America (formerly Kansas), Rocky Mountain (a group formerly part of Nebraska Yearly Meeting, plus others), and the Northwest (formerly Oregon).

Since the days of the Wilburite-Gurney split in the 1800s, the various Wilburite groups had maintained contact with each other, chiefly through the exchange of Epistles and through intervisitation, but they had not held any national conferences or attempted to form any overall organization. In 1965, however, a conference of all Wilburite or Conservative Friends was held at Barnesville, Ohio. No formal organization was established, but that meeting did foster firmer ties among that small group of American Quakers.

The Search for Identity and Understanding. Meanwhile a very encouraging movement was slowly emerging in the United States in the 20th century. It was an attempt on the part of some Friends and some Friends groups to understand other Quaker groups better, to heal the wounds caused by past separations, to search for a common past and a common vision of the future of Friends, and to work together on concerns in which all Quakers could cooperate.

Many factors contributed to this development. In his *History of Quakerism,* Elbert Russell pointed out that one of the most important contributing factors was the encouragement by the interdenominational Christian Endeavor movement for young people in every religious affiliation to study their past and to apply pertinent parts of it to the present. Thus many younger Quakers who knew little of the history of the Society of Friends, discovered for the first time their past and began to claim at least a part of their precious inheritance.

As early as 1910 a Young Friends movement was formed,

including the young people of several parts of American Quakerdom.

Then, in 1917, the American Friends Service Committee was formed. All branches of Friends did not support that national organization, but Friends from several groups did cooperate in it and learn to know each other, to understand each other better, and to cooperate on common enterprises concerned with the peace testimony of Quakers during World War I.

After World War I, many of the Quaker groups around the world sent representatives to the first world conference of Friends, held in London in 1920. The study by local groups in many places of the documents prepared for that international meeting, the common experiences of the delegates there, and the reports back home of those attending that historic event, contributed greatly to the movement for understanding among the various groups of Quakers in the United States.

Further momentum was given this movement by the action of a few local meetings in joining two national groups of Friends as a public testimony against existing divisions. Among the earliest of those meetings was the 57th Street Meeting in Chicago, which joined Western (Orthodox) and Illinois (Hicksite) yearly meetings; Chestnut Hill in Pennsylvania, which joined both the Wilburite-Orthodox and Hicksite branches of the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings; and Montclair, New Jersey, which became a member of both the Orthodox and Hicksite groups in New York.

Then came the formation of united yearly meetings, led by various groups in New England which formed an inclusive fellowship in 1945, followed by Canada, Philadelphia and New York in 1955, and then Baltimore in 1968.

Meanwhile three more world conferences of Friends brought representatives of various branches in the United States together at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges in 1937; at Oxford, England, in 1952; and at Guilford College in North Carolina in 1967.

Out of the 1937 international meeting came the formation of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, the first world-wide body of Quakers ever formed. As the name indicates, it is a loose confederation of most Quakers around the world without power to dictate to any yearly meeting.

Likewise, Friends of different backgrounds and persuasions

began to cooperate in the Friends Committee on National Legislation, organized in 1943, and in its regional and state-wide groups.

Perhaps the most encouraging development to date was a meeting of the representatives of all Friends in the United States in St. Louis in 1970 and the formation of the Faith and Life Movement. This led to the historic meeting of individuals from all groups of Friends from the United States and from Latin America at Friends University in Wichita, Kansas in 1977. No attempt was made there at organizational unity; the purpose of that conference was to promote a dialogue among Friends of different persuasions.

Despite these overtures of friendship among the various groups of Quakers in the United States in the 20th century, there are still some major points of difference. We need to be aware of them and yet preserve the right of each group to its own interpretation of Quakerism. As Donald Moon wrote in the booklet on *What Future for Friends,* published as a pamphlet for discussion in conjunction with the St. Louis Conference:

> We must, if we are searching for unity, protect and maintain the distinctive contributions and eccentricities of individual members of the Quaker family.

In that same pamphlet, Edwin R. Bronner pointed out how difficult it is for human beings to respect people whom they expect to be like themselves — but aren't. On this theme he wrote:

> We love the poor; we love the person who has never heard the Christian message; we love minority groups; we love the people of other religious groups — Catholic, Jews, Moslems — but do we really love our fellow Quakers?

Despite this human fallacy, one of the most encouraging aspects of Quakerism in the 20th century has been the search on the part of many Friends for their "roots," a growing tolerance and in some cases understanding and respect for persons and groups with different interpretations of Quakerism, and a revitalization of the broad-based movement of Friends in the United States and around the world.

The Development of Centers for the Quickening of Spiritual Life. Early in the 20th century English Friends had started a unique Quaker center, called Woodbrooke, in Birmingham. It was a dream of John Wilhelm Rowntree and carried to fruition under the leadership of George Cadbury who said once, "We have the theory that every man and woman is to be a priest, and yet we have done nothing to train them for that office." For a long time it had served

as a center for the quickening of the spiritual life of English Friends and other seekers.

Many American Friends had studied there or had visited this remarkable center and felt that American Quakerism would be enriched by a similar institution.

Woolman House, in Swarthmore, near Philadelphia, had served on a small scale in this regard, but it had been closed and nothing had taken its place. So a group of Philadelphia Friends of both branches established an adult Quaker study center in Wallingford, a suburb of Philadelphia. It was opened in 1930 and called Pendle Hill, the place in England where George Fox had had his vision of "a great people to be gathered." As its director, Henry T. Hodgkin, a prominent English Friend who had served many years in China, was named. Following him were Howard and Anna Cox Brinton, as co-directors for many years. At present the "clerk" is Robert Lyon.

Pendle Hill has served now for 50 years as a retreat, a study center for Friends and non-Friends, and as a place for conferences and lectures. Its staff members have also done considerable extension work in many Meetings, primarily in the eastern part of the United States.

In 1960 Friends in New York Yearly Meeting established a similar center in the central part of the state on property given it by Elsa Powell, and named Powell House, in her memory.

More recently the Earlham School of Religion was founded at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, as a place for the training of pastors, religious education directors, and other leaders in religious work. It is intended primarily for the training of such leaders among Quakers, but it has drawn a good many persons from other religious denominations.

Largely through the generousity of Isaac Woodard of Indianapolis, a conference center was also established in Richmond, Indiana, on the grounds of the Friends United Meeting. It, too, has become a very important quickening influence on the spiritual life of many individuals and Meetings, largely in the middle west. Often it cooperates with the Earlham School of Religion in common activities.

What Do the Membership Statistics Say? The study of the statistics of any Meeting, yearly meeting, or the Society of Friends as a whole can be fascinating, even though the reading of such

figures is often a tricky business. For example, one wonders what effect the assigning of yearly meeting budget assessments to local Meetings on the basis of their membership, has had on trimming the membership rolls.

A glance at the total world-wide membership of the Religious Society of Friends is instructive. Here are those figures for four widely separated years in this century:

1935	159,000
1955	188,000
1960	202,000
1973	192,000

There is a sizeable jump in the figures between 1935 and 1960 but a large loss in terms of the rapidly growing world population of that period. Most of the gains in that period were in East Africa and in Bolivia and Peru, where several thousand members were added.

In the period from 1960 to 1973, one needs to remember that approximately 7500 members in Madagascar were subtracted when the United National Protestant Church was formed and Friends there joined it.

During the 20th century London Yearly Meeting has made small gains until recently. When examining the figures for that group, however, one needs to bear in mind the fact that two new yearly meetings have been formed in this century by members of London Yearly Meeting, namely Australia and New Zealand.

Most of the Quaker groups in Europe have made small gains, too, numerically. But in view of their size, their percentage gains have often been large. For example, the membership of the Swiss group in 1959 was 105; in 1973 it was 155.

In the statistics on Quaker membership in the United States, there are some startling facts. A fascinating analysis of much of that material can be found in a pamphlet by Kenneth Ives on *Which Friends Groups Are Growing N Why?* (printed incidentally in the new "economy spelling.")

The Conservative or Wilburite group was losing steadily in this century until fairly recently, when a few new groups were formed in cities and in college communities.

Several of the yearly meetings in the Friends United Meeting have been losing, too. Most conspicuous in that regard is Indiana Yearly Meeting, which rose to a total of over 19,000 and is now

down to a little under 10,000. North Carolina, however, has grown steadily in this century, having a total now of 13,480 members, making it larger than Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, with 13,289 members.

As Kenneth Ives points out in the pamphlet mentioned above, the two groups which are making the most gains are the Evangelical Friends Alliance and the Friends General Conference — the two most divergent bodies of Friends in the United States.

Some Outstanding Friends in the 20th Century. The list of outstanding Friends which this writer has made for the 20th century is longer than those for other periods of Quaker history. That may be due to several factors. Probably we are too close to persons in this century to "sort out" those whose influence has been the greatest. Furthermore, we are including a few Friends from outside the Anglo-American orbit. And finally, it is possible that the enormous amount of social activism in this century warrants the inclusion of more names than in other periods.

Some of the names which should be on such a tentative list will be mentioned in Chapters 9 and 10 on Quaker Concerns. Hence they are omitted here. Also, one needs to remind readers that many Friends who have been or are important locally are not included in this list of nationally or internationally known Quakers.

To indicate the strength brought to Quakerism in the 20th century by some of the very small but very strong groups in other parts of the world, let us begin with the Swiss Yearly Meeting. Undoubtedly the best-known person inside and outside the Society of Friends was Pierre Ceresole, the founder of the international work camp movement and indirectly of the Peace Corps, as the moral equivalent of war, with picks and shovels replacing guns and bayonets. Within the Swiss group, however, it was Helene Monastier who for years was the "mother" of that yearly meeting — a modern Margaret Fell Fox. To those two names should be added Anni Pflueger, who headed a modern "underground railroad" to help Jews escape to Switzerland from Germany.

In Germany it was Hans Albrecht, a sagacious businessman and concerned Quaker, who did more than anyone else to foster the growth of that group and to maintain it even in the days of Naziism. Overlapping with him was Margarethe Lachmund who carried on the leadership of the German Yearly Meeting in the 50s, 60s and 70s — one of the most remarkable women in Quaker

history. Linked with those two persons should be the name of Emil Fuchs, a brilliant Biblical scholar, who contributed much to German Quakerism. Wilhelm Hubben's name might be added, although his contributions were greatest in his adopted home, the United States, as a teacher at Westtown and at George School and as the long-time editor of the *Friends Intelligencer* and its successor the *Friends Journal.*

To cite one more of these smaller groups, mention should be made of a few of the outstanding Friends in the Sweden Yearly Meeting. One was Elin Wagner, one of only two women elected to the Swedish Academy. Another was Emilia Fogelklou Norlind, a prominent writer. A third was Per Sundberg, the founder and director for many years of the famous Viggbyholme experimental school and a leading educational pioneer in that country.

High on the list of outstanding English Quakers in the 20th century is the name of John Wilhelm Rowntree, whom Rufus Jones termed "one of the most remarkable of all the young leaders in our Quaker history." After a period of agnosticism in his adolescence, he became a highly committed Quaker, taking part in the Adult Education movement, launching a new magazine called *Present Day Papers,* outlining a monumental study of Quaker history, and devoting himself creatively to the revitalization of the Society of Friends in England. Although plagued by the onset of blindness, he perservered in his plans until his death in 1905 at the age of 36. A glimpse into the spiritual springs of his life can be sensed by the prayer he gave at the Manchester Conference of Friends in 1895 when he was only 26 years old:

> God grant to our church the spirit of understanding which shall give to her the eye of a seer, the voice of a prophet, the place and power of a leader. Is there indifference to the higher life? Then, O Christ, convince us by Thy Spirit, thrill us by Thy Divine passion, drown our selfishness in Thy invading love, lay on us the burden of the world's suffering, drive us forth with the apostolic fervor of the early church. So only can our message be delivered — Speak to Thy people that they go forward.

In the early part of the 20th century Neave Brayshaw, John William Graham, and Edward Grubb aided English Quakerism by their ministry, their writings on Quakerism, and their teaching at Woodbrooke where Rendel Harris, a distinguished scholar, was the director for many years. Coupled with them should be the name of

Henry T. Hodgkin, much of whose life was spent in China and some of it as the first director of Pendle Hill in the United States. Among the many Friends working in Germany after World War I were A. Ruth Fry and Corder and Gwendoline Catchpool. Several English Quakers spent years in India and were close associates of Gandhi and Tagore. Among them were Horace Alexander, Agatha Harrison, and Marjorie Sykes. In their efforts for peace, Bertram and Irene Pickard should be cited for their years of work for Friends in Geneva for improved international relations. Another valiant worker for peace was Philip Noel Baker, who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1959 for his lifetime endeavors. And Carl Heath's name certainly deserves to be on any list of notable English Friends. Most of his life was spent as the secretary of the National Peace Council. But it may well be that his idea of Quaker Embassies or Quaker Centers around the world was his outstanding contribution. He was also the first chairman of the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

Without doubt Rufus M. Jones (1863-1948) has been the most influential Friend of modern times. In addition to more than 40 years as a teacher at Haverford College, he was the author of 56 books and hundreds of pamphlets and articles on philosophy, mysticism, and Quakerism, and a popular speaker in college chapels and religious conferences. His talks and writings were always enriched by his "down-East" humor from his Maine background and by especially apt illustrations. Coupled with these remarkable talents was his gift in organizing groups. He was one of the founders of the American Friends Service Committee and the creator of the Wider Quaker Fellowship, as well as the first editor of *The American Friend.*

In addition to their influence as professors of philosophy at Earlham and Haverford Colleges, respectively, D. Elton Trueblood and Douglas Steere have had a deep impact inside and outside the Society of Friends as speakers and writers. Thomas R. Kelly was also associated with Earlham and Haverford but is best known for his moving account — *A Testament of Devotion,* already a devotional classic.

Meanwhile Howard and Anna Cox Brinton were serving Friends in many capacities as professors at Earlham and elsewhere, as the catalysts behind the formation of the Pacific Yearly Meeting, as co-directors of Pendle Hill, and as writers.

Henry Cadbury was another unique leader in 20th century Quakerdom, best known for his work in translating parts of the Bible, his teaching at Harvard University, his chairmanship of the American Friends Service Committee, his historical writings, and his dry humor.

Then there was Clarence Pickett, a Quaker pastor, Earlham College professor, and long-time executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

Many Friends have been influential in peace work in the 20th century but Frederick J. Libby and Raymond E. Wilson stand out especially. Fred Libby was the founder and for many years the executive secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War; Ray Wilson the long-time director of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. Meanwhile several women Friends were prominent in the work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, serving as national and international presidents. Among them were Emily Greene Balch, Hannah Clothier Hull, and Dorothy Hutchinson. Recognition of Emily Greene Balch's outstanding work came with the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to her.

Of course there are scores of other Friends whose names could well be included here if space permitted.

Some Major Concerns of Friends in the 20th Century. No overall account of Quakerism in the 20th century would be complete without at least a quick mention of some of the areas of social concern, even though these will be dealt with in more detail in Chapters 9 and 10 on Quaker Concerns. Five general areas will be highlighted at this point.

Despite the uneasiness of some Friends about the existence of Quaker schools, they seem to have had a new lease on life in recent years. One college, Nebraska Central, was closed, but two new ones have been formed — Malone in Ohio and the Friends World College in New York state. Also, 20 new schools, primarily at the elementary level, have been started. In addition the adult study centers of Woodbrooke, Pendle Hill, Quaker Hill, and Powell House have been established, plus the Earlham School of Religion. Furthermore the Friends Education Council has been set up in England and the Friends Council on Education in the United States to strengthen the bonds among Quaker schools. And in almost all Friends educational institutions the search has been intensified to

find and accent the distinctive Quakerly aspects of those schools and colleges.

Closely related to those trends is the concern for the religious education of boys and girls in various yearly meetings by the appointment of full-time religious education directors, the establishment of Quaker youth camps, and the starting of junior yearly meetings.

Far better known outside the Society of Friends has been the many-sided and far-flung work of Quakers for peace, culminating in the award in 1949 of the Nobel Prize for Peace jointly to the Friends Service Council of England and the American Friends Service Committee.

The work of these and related organizations has sometimes been in caring for the rights of conscientious objectors during wars — World Wars I and II, the Korean War, and the war in Viet Nam. At other times it has been concern about the feeding of people in such places as Germany, Poland, and the U.S.S.R., or relief and reconstruction in Korea, Viet Nam, Bangladesh, and Nigeria.

Often such concern has been the voicing of protests against war — as in Viet Nam, or against the misuse of nuclear energy.

More positively, it has been the work of the Quaker centers in many parts of the world, the holding of peace institutes, the convening of seminars for young international diplomats, the Quaker Program at the U.N., or the work of the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Closely linked with these concerns has been the work of Friends in prisons. Much of that work has connected with the Quaker conscientious objectors in prisons in England and the United States. Recently there was has been a renewed interest in men and women in prisons and the establishment of Indulged Meetings in a few of them in the United States.

With the increasing longevity of people has come an increased interest in the welfare of older Friends. Particularly worthy of note is the increase in the number of retirement homes or communities in such places as the Quaker Gardens and the Quaker Retirement Center in California, Friendsview Manor in Oregon, the Friends Fellowship Community and the Friends Apartment Homes in Indiana, the Quaker Apartments in Ohio, Friends Homes in North Carolina, Friends House and Broadmead in Maryland, Kendal and Crosslands and Foulkeways in Pennsylvania, and Medford Leas in New Jersey.

Despite the positive aspects of such movements, some Friends have been disturbed lest the social service activities of Quakers in this generation mean an undue emphasis upon the social as opposed to the spiritual emphasis of Quakerism, and lest too much stress is being placed upon the professional organization of Friendly concerns, with too many of them emerging from the top rather than from local Meetings.

Some Questions on Chapter Four

1. What idea or ideas strike you most forcefully in this chapter? Why?
2. Which of the Quaker concerns mentioned in this chapter have been highlighted by your local meeting or yearly meeting in recent years?
3. What other outstanding Quaker men and women would you add to the list given in this chapter? Why?
4. How do you react to the danger expressed by some persons in recent years about the emphasis upon social concerns surpassing the accent on spiritual development?
5. How do you react to the danger some Friends see in concerns arising from Quaker organizations rather than from individuals and/or monthly meetings?
6. Is your yearly meeting or Quaker association growing? If so, why? If not, why not?
7. In what efforts to increase understanding and cooperation among different kinds of Friends has your local and/or yearly meeting taken part? What else could you do?

A Reading List on Chapter Four

Readers may well consult the various histories of Quakerism as cited earlier, such as those by Brinton, Newman, Russell, Trueblood, and Vipont. Materials prepared for the world conferences in Oxford, England, and at Guilford College in North Carolina are important and interesting. There are other references in different chapters, such as the two chapters on Testimonies and Concerns.

Among the special accounts of Quakerism in the 20th century are the following:

Bacon, Margaret H. *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of Quakers in America.* Basic Books, 1969. 229 pp.

Elliott, Errol T. *Quakers of the American Frontier.* Friends United Press, 1969. 434 pp. On Quakerism in the midwest and far west.
Jacob, Caroline Nicholson and Greenleaf, Sue. *Quakers Discover the Southeast: In the Past: The Meetings Today.* Southeastern Yearly meeting, 1981. 44 pp.
LeShana, David C. *Quakers in California.* Barclay Press, 1969. 186 pp.
Moore, J Floyd. *Friends in the Carolinas. North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1971. (Third Printing). 30 pp.*

Autobiographical and Biographical Materials on 20th Century Quakers

The most comprehensive accounts of 20 century Quakers are contained in two volumes edited by Leonard S. Kenworthy on *Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century.* Volume I is on 21 men and women in the U.S.A.; Volume II in on 17 men and women from other parts of the world. Both are paperback books.

Among the other materials available are the following:

Bacon, Margaret Hope. *Let This Life Speak: The Legacy of Henry. Joel Cadbury.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987. 253 pp.
Elliott, Errol T. *Quaker Profiles from the American West.* Friends United Press, 1972. 172 pp.
Jones, Mary Hoxie. *Rufus M. Jones.* Home Service Council, 1970 edition. 70 pp.
Jones, Mary Hoxie (ed.). *Thou Dost Open Up My Life.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1963. 36 pp. Selections from the writings of Rufus M. Jones.
Jones, Thomas E. *Light on the Horizon: The Quaker Pilgrimage of Tom Jones.* Friends United Press, 1973. 225 pp.
Kelly, Richard M. *Thomas Kelly: A Biography.* Harper and Row, 1966. 125 pp.
Kenworthy, Leonard S. *Worldview: The Autobiography of a Social Studies Teacher and Quaker.* Friends United Press, 1977. 262 pp.
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Kerman, Cynthia E. *Creative Tension: The Life and Thought of Kenneth Boulding.* University of Michigan Press, 1974. 380 pp.

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Pickett, Clarence E. *For More Than Bread.* Little, Brown, 1953. 420 pp.

Russell, Elbert. *Elbert Russell — Quaker: An Autobiography.* Harper and Row, 1974. 170 pp.

Tritton, Frederick J. *Carl Heath: Apostle of Peace.* Friends Home Service Council, Undated. 32 pp.

Trueblood, D. Elton. *While It Is Still Day: An Autobiography.* Harper and Row, 1974. 170 pp.

Vining, Elizabeth Gray. *Friend for Life — The Biography of Rufus M. Jones.* Lippincott, 1958. 347 pp.

Viking, Elizabeth Gray. *Quiet Pilgrimage.* Lippincott, 1970. 410 pp. An autobiography.

Wahl, Albert J. *Jesse Herman Holmes: A Quaker's Affirmation for Man.* Friends United Press, 1979. 447 pp.

Wilson, E. Raymond. *Thus Far On My Journey.* Friends United Press, 1976. 308 pp.

FRIENDS FOR OVER THREE HUNDRED YEARS: AN OVERVIEW

	1655-1700	*1700-1800*	*1800-1900*	*1900 to the Present*
	Heroic or apostolic	*Consolidation: Cultural Creativeness; and Conservatism*	*Conflicts and Decline: Yet Social Concerns*	*Expansion; Service; and The Search for Identity*
General Characteristics	Fox's experiences. Attempts to revive first-century Christianity. Totality and balance in the message. Zeal in spreading the message; travelling ministers. Clashes with authorities and persecutions. Organization of the Society. Starting schools. To the American colonies.	Influence in several Am. colonies — Pa., R.I., the Carolinas, etc. Cultural creativeness in rural, American communities. Further migrations to American colonies. Migrations within the American colonies. Quietism in later part of this century.	Further inroads of Quietism: discipline, disownments. Dividing the Inheritance; mystical versus evangelical. Hicksite-Orthodox split and Gurneyite-Wilburite. Migrations to middle and far west in the U.S.A. Anti-slavery work. Secondary schools and colleges in U.S.A. Missionary work abroad by English and American Quakers. Introduction of the pastoral system in the U.S.A.	Conflicts of science and religion. Formation of the Five Years Meeting (now F.U.M.) and the Friends General Conference as national bodies. First-Day Schools and Sunday Schools introduced. Expansion in the U.S.A. and in other parts of the world. Great Social Concern A.F.S.C. and later the Friends Committee for Nat. Legislation formed. Growth of mystical and evangelical wings in U.S.A. Friends World Comm. formed.

Some Major Concerns	Equality Religious liberty Women Education Indians First anti-slavery protest Peace	Mentally ill Indians and Blacks Education Banking and industry; single price system and honesty.	Anti-slavery movement Women's rights Temperance Indians Education: Secondary Schools and Colleges Peace	Peace and conscientious objectors Education Civil rights — Blacks World relief efforts Renewed interest — prisons Sharing world resources Search for identity and unity.
Some Leading Persons	Fox Penn Penington Barclay Nayler Margaret Fell Fox	Tuke Fothergill Whitehead Woolman Benezet	Bright Fry Gurney Sturge Hicks Wilbur Whittier L. Mott L. Coffin (S. Anthony)	Rowntree C. Heath N. Brayshaw Harvey Eddington Ceresole M. Lachmund H. Sein The Chetsinghs R. Jones C. Pickett H. Cadbury The Brintons Ray Wilson E.G. Balche (Jane Addams) T. Kelly D. Steere E. Trueblood

Part Two

Some Distinctive Features of Quakerism

Chapter 5
The Quaker Meeting for Worship

The two most unusual practices of the Religious Society of Friends are the Meeting for Worship and its twin — the Meeting for Worship to Conduct Business. These are unique contributions of Quakerdom to Christendom, and to the wider world of many faiths.

Of these the Quaker Meeting for Worship is the better known, at least in theory. In practice, however, less than half of the Friends in the United States and around the world still use this extraordinary approach. A lengthy account of the Quaker Meeting for Worship is included here because it is so distinctive and because this section is devoted to the unusual features of Friends.

On the surface the Meeting for Worship is simple. In reality, it is simple only for those persons who are attuned to it from the outset. For others such seeming simplicity is deceptive, for when they try to practice The Presence of God in this way, they find the Quaker Meeting complex, confusing, and baffling.

In some ways learning to worship on the basis of silence or of individual and group expectancy is like learning to swim. Some people need no instruction. They seem to grasp intuitively this rare form of worship. As soon as they enter the silence, they sense what to do. They relax physically, stretch themselves out spiritually, and feel The Power in and around them. They revel in their experience and leave the the Meeting spiritually refreshed, better able to lead truly Christian lives.

Others have more difficulty learning to worship in this way. They seem to fight the silence as an inexperienced swimmer fights the sea. They feel as if they had been carried out to where the water is deepest and thrown overboard, without any idea as to what to do. Only the handshake at the close of Meeting saves them from "drowning."

In this chapter we intend to examine several facets of this rare way of worshipping and examine what some people do to make Quaker Meetings more meaningful.

Some Aspects of Quaker Meetings at Their Best. Perhaps no one has caught the spirit of the Quaker Meeting on the basis of silence better than the English painter, J. Doyle Penrose. In his painting, The Presence in the Midst, he portrays a Quaker Meeting of the early days, with the men in their broad-brimmed hats on one side of the meeting house and the women in their plain bonnets on the other. Through the lattice windows between "the facing benches" streams the sunlight. In the sunlight appears a figure in dim outline, the Spirit of Christ. That is the essence of Quaker Meetings at their best. As Howard Brinton once wrote:

> As Catholic worship is centered in the altar and Protestant worship in the sermon, worship in the Society of Friends attempts to realize as its center the Divine Presence revealed within.

Such worship is not silent worship. It is worship on the basis of silence or of expectant waiting.

Such worship is unplanned, unprogrammed, unhurried, and spontaneous.

Such worship is entering the Holy of Holies to listen to as well as talk with God.

Such worship is a Quaker confessional, with God, rather than a priest, hearing our sins and shortcomings.

Such worship is direct communion with God — not just the symbolic act of the bread and the wine. It is not primarily thinking, cogitating, meditating, because "Thinking about God is not the same as communing with God", as Thomas F. Green pointed out in his Swarthmore Lecture to London Yearly Meeting in 1952 on *Preparation for Worship.* It combines the rational and the mystical, thinking and feeling.

Such worship is the rekindling of the light within each of us — the light which the Gospel of John says "lighteth every man (person) that cometh into the world."

Such worship is the recharging of our spiritual batteries, the refilling of our spiritual reservoirs with Living Water, the creation of spiritual power from The Eternal Source.

And such worship is carried on in a very simple environment so that the worshippers will not be diverted or distracted from direct, personal communion with the Divine by sermons or songs, by

responsive readings or set prayers, by an altar, or by incense or stained glass windows.

Testimony on the centrality of such worship has been given over and over by Friends for more than 350 years. Here is what Howard Collier, an English doctor and Quaker, said in his Pendle Hill pamphlet on *The Quaker Meeting*:

> . . . the Meeting for Worship is, to use a medical analogy, the heart of the Religious Society of Friends, and the source and support of its practical activities.

Or, as Geoffrey Hubbard, another English Friend, wrote in his book, *Quaker By Convincement*:

> The Meeting for Worship is the Society's most vital and creative activity.

But why, you may ask, judge such Meetings by their best? Aren't you aware of the depths to which they can descend as well as the heights they can attain? Don't you know that they often fall short of the ideal and are mundane and mediocre? Yes, we are. But we judge daVinci and Degas, Mozart and Mahler, Shakespeare and Schiller by their best, not their worst. In a similar way perhaps we ought to judge Quaker Meetings at their best. Later in this chapter we will comment on some of the shortcomings in this extremely difficult but highly rewarding way of worship.

Preparation for Meetings for Worship. In a sense our entire lives are preparation for Meetings for Worship. This is especially true of our reading, our thinking, our praying, and our living during the previous week, as the Meeting for Worship is the culmination of the past few days as well as the introduction to the days ahead.

Elton Trueblood has written cogently on this idea of preparation, saying:

> That preparation for worship and for effective ministry is necessary can hardly be said too often or too strongly. Though the meeting for worship is indeed the workshop of the ministry, the worker cannot be a good craftsman if he has not already provided himself with materials from which to make his finished product. The thoughts that come in the hour of worship are often new creations, but novelty requires background.

As to the more immediate preparation, some find it helpful to read something of a devotional nature before going to Meeting — a poem, a story, an essay, or a section of the Bible. Perhaps they have their own notebook of favorite quotations which they pick up and glance through. Others find it helpful to take a walk outdoors,

if that is possible, feeling that this helps them physically, mentally, and emotionally as preparation for a period of silent meditation. Then, as they enter the room where they are to worship, they are partially prepared for that experience. As the expert diver considers his approach on the springboard a part of the divine, so worshippers consider these moments immediately preceding a Meeting, an integral part of worship.

There are many "materials" we can bring to such Meetings for Worship. We can — and should — bring our joys — how little praise, adoration, and thanksgiving there is today in most Meetings. We can — and should — bring our personal problems, to let the Divine Light illuminate them. We can and should — bring our selves (our best selves and our worst selves) to be sandpapered and polished by The Master Carpenter, to reveal the fine grain that is in all of us at our best. We can — and should — bring our concerns for others and our concerns for society, asking for guidance as to what we should do about them.

What We Do Early in the Meeting. Visitors are often perplexed as to what to do when they first come to a Quaker Meeting. They see people sitting in silence and wonder what is going on in their minds.

After taking their seats quietly and reverently, most persons find it important to make themselves comfortable physically. They become relaxed in order that they can forget their physical beings and concentrate on their spiritual selves. Many bow their heads and close their eyes so that they may shut out the outside world and concentrate upon the world within themselves. As the swimmer finds it easier to progress if his body is completely in the water, so the worshipper finds it easier to progress if his mind and body have cast off the outer world and he is completely surrounded by silence. Others keep their eyes open and think about their fellow worshippers as they enter the Meeting, praying for them in intercessory prayer.

Individuals differ as much in the way they use the silence as swimmers do in the strokes they employ. In most cases the more advanced person has a variety of methods which he can use interchangeably without much thought as to what he is doing. Some people find it helpful to repeat a prayer at the beginning of their silent devotions. It may be the words of someone else, like the famous lines of Edwin Hatch:

Breathe on me, Breath of God,
Till I am wholly Thine.
Till all this earthly part of me,
Glows with Thy fire divine.

It may be a brief prayer, like that of the Breton fishermen — "Help me, oh God. My boat is so tiny and Thy ocean so wide." It may be a part of the Lord's Prayer — or all of it, Or it may be a personally fashioned prayer, — "Be Thou with me — and us — in this period of worship today."

The worshipper is now alone with God and in the intimacy of the silence can reflect on the past day or week, being thankful for those parts which were commendable, and penitent for those parts which were not so praiseworthy. The worshipper can also plan ahead — for a week or longer — holding up possible alternatives to The Light.

Some persons find their meditation more fruitful if they think at times of a broad theme — justice, compassion, faith, or prayer — considering what those words mean, and how they could have more relevance.

Some worshippers find it helpful to ferret out the meaning of a hymn or play. Songs like Ralph Harlow's Oh Young and Fearless Prophet, the Welsh hymn — My Faith It is An Oaken Staff, Fosdick's God of Grace and God of Glory, or Whittier's Dear Lord and Father of Mankind, may be extremely useful. Similarly some play, like Ibsen's Enemy of the People or Marc Connelly's Green Pastures, can be helpful.

Often the recollection of experiences which have raised the level of a worshipper's life at some time in the past can be useful in one's meditations upon the present and the future. To discover what qualities there were in a person whom the worshipper admired or a book he or she enjoyed, and to pray for those qualities, can bring added joy and power in this period of worship.

The Gathered Meeting. As an individual meditates and prays, it should be remembered that worship is the meeting of the Divine and the human and it should be a dialogue rather than a monologue. In the silence one discovers that God, too, speaks, if we are still and listen. Just as God has spoken to people of all ages and classes and nations in the past, so God speaks to us today, telling us wherein our lives have approached the ideal as exemplified by Jesus, where they have failed to approximate that ideal, and how we can find the sources of spiritual power for

Christian living today. When one has had the experience of hearing God speak, the worshipper has pushed aside the curtain and entered into the Holy of Holies. This is the height of spiritual experience, but a height everyone can attain.

To continue the analogy to swimming, the swimmer now is quiet rather than stirring; he or she is floating.

When a group reaches this point, a rare sense of worship pervades the Meeting. The deep or vibrant silence can be felt. This does not happen in every Meeting for Worship, but when it does occur, Friends call it A Gathered Meeting. In the opening paragraph of his essay on The Gathered Meeting, Thomas Kelly described this atmosphere in these words:

> In the Quaker practice of group worship on the basis of silence come special times when an electric hush and solemnity and depth of power steals over the worshippers. A blanket of divine convering comes over the room, and a quickening Presence pervades us, breaking down some part of the special privacy and isolation of our individual lives and blending our spirits within a super-individual Life and Power — an objective, dynamic Presence which enfolds us all, nourishes our souls, speaks glad, unutterable comfort within us, and quickens in us depths that had before been slumbering. The Burning Bush has been kindled in our midst, and we stand on holy ground.

The Ministry of the Spoken Word. Out of this silence of the early part of a Meeting, a message or messages may emerge. Occasionally this is very early; more often it is not until several minutes have elapsed.

This message, or these messages, may come from anyone present — old or young; men or women — or occasionally children; members or attenders. That is as it should be, for the Quaker belief is that everyone is potentially a minister.

Often the message will be from an older Friend whose long life experience and years of practicing the Divine Presence, has made that person a particularly useful channel of God. But some of the most moving messages are the insights shared by persons who speak rarely and only under a strong feeling that they must do so.

Whether the phrasing of the message is polished, matters little; it is the message that counts. Sometimes a brief, unpolished sentence, blurted out in utter sincerity, can have a strong impact on a worshipping group. As Thomas Kelly once wrote:

> Brevity, earnestness, sincerity — and frequently a lack of polish — characterize the best Quaker speaking.

Often a theme seems to be on the minds and hearts of several present and several messages are offered on this concern.

Always there needs to be silence in between messages so that people can consider them and incorporate them in their own private devotions.

When someone speaks, or prays, the other worshippers must decide whether they will listen or not. If they are already having a rich personal experience in worship, they may continue. Ordinarily the entire group pauses in its individual worshipping to hear the vocal message or messages.

Occasionally a message will come like a bolt of lightning out of the blue. It may be delivered in a burst of anger or with a deep sense of frustration. Worshippers should try to think of such a message as a cry for help, a plea for a lifeline. Someone should feel moved to offer a prayer for Divine Guidance or to utter words of compassion, understanding, or helpful advice. Moreover, one or two Friends should also feel called upon to sit down quietly after Meeting with such a disturbed person and counsel with him or her.

Friends have always cautioned against coming to Meeting with a message prepared in advance. But most Quakers would agree with Jean Toomer's comment, in his booklet on *An Interpretation of Friends Worship,* that:

> I never go to meeting with "an itch" to speak, though it sometimes happens to me, as to others, that I am moved to speak before arriving at the meeting house.

Every Meeting for Worship does not have to have vocal messages. In fact an hour of worship on the basis of silence may be A Gathered Meeting. But no Meeting lives if there is not some vocal ministry. Actually there is something wrong with the worship if there is never any speaking, for such worship is based on the conviction that God communicates with us and sometimes through us to others.

The Ministry of Vocal Prayer. As Howard Brinton pointed out:

> The highest vocal expression in a meeting for worship is spoken prayer. . . . nothing so effectively lays a covering over the meeting.

Such a vocal expression may come at any time in a Meeting. Actually it seems most often to come near the beginning, plunging the group into deeper worship, or near the end, something like a

worshipper in a Quaker Meeting. Even if the worshipper has grasped quickly and easily this approach, he or she will need to spend long hours in perfecting this art. And if the worshipper has had difficulty at first in getting the most good from this type of worship, he or she is likely to derive a great deal of help from it after much practice.

Long-time worshippers also need to remember that there are likely to be "dry periods" in one's life and that fresh approaches as well as persistence in using formerly successful approaches are needed.

When the swimmer glides along in the water without worrying about breathing or the use of arms and legs, the swimmer really begins to enjoy swimming. Similarly with the worshipper. When the worshipper begins to sit in silence and to worship spontaneously, without thinking about the next steps in this process, he or she will derive the most satisfaction from it. The worshipper will then feel the power in this procedure and will be helped in becoming a better person, a better Quaker, a better Christian.

The End of the Meeting is the Beginning. There is no set length for a Meeting for Worship in this manner, although Friends today generally consider an hour about the right time. It is up to the persons designated to sit on the facing benches or "at the head of Meeting" to determine when to bring the period of worship to a close.

Those persons clasp each other's hands and everyone in the room does the same with his or her neighbors. Jeanne Bohn has said "the handshake is the way Friends say 'Amen' to the group silence."

This unusual custom has an added advantage. It means that people reach out to others, especially visitors.

Many Meetings then ask visitors or persons who have not attended for some time to stand and introduce themselves so that the entire group may know who they are — and welcome them. Announcements are then given in many Meetings. Some observe the commendable practice of having them prepared in writing and read by those at the head of the Meeting, thus avoiding long announcements or pleas to attend this meeting or that or to give generously to this cause or that.

In an increasing number of Meetings there is a Coffee Hour where people can enjoy a time of fellowship. This is especially

important in groups where people come from long distances and seldom see each other during the week.

In a sense, the end of the Meeting for Worship is not the end; it is the beginning. People should emerge from it revived and refreshed and with new resolves. Thus the spirit of the Meeting should continue throughout the coming days.

Why Worship in Groups? People sometimes ask why they should worship in a group rather than alone. It is not a question of one or the other; both are necessary to the person who wants to become a fully-developed Christian.

One reason is to provide fellowship and support, so needed in a secular age by those who believe in the importance of the life of the spirit. There is strength in having companions on the often rugged journey of life or of being bound with others in scaling the mountains, with God as the expert Guide.

Somehow worshipping together also adds another dimension to the practice of individual devotions. Many years ago Robert Barclay, the great Quaker theologian, described this experience in these words:

> As many candles lighted and placed in one place do greatly augment the light and make it more to shine forth, so when many are gathered together in the same life there is more of the Glory of God and His Power, and His Power appears to the refreshment of each individual for that he partakes not only by the light raised in himself, but in all the rest.

To use another figure of speech, a violin or a harp or a tuba are often beautiful alone. But when many such instruments are played together, they are likely to produce even more beautiful music. In that sense a Quaker Meeting for Worship is an orchestra, under the baton on The Invisible Conductor.

The Size of Quaker Worship Groups and the Proper Environs. The promise of Jesus was that "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Quakers know that is true. There have even been a few instances where one person has worshipped alone in a meeting house week after week, month after month, year after year, to keep the Meeting alive, hoping that some day others would join him or her. At the other end of the continuum, hundreds of Friends have worshipped together in various Quaker conferences, national and international.

Neither extreme seems satisfactory over any extended period of time, for Quaker meetings can be too small and they can be too

large. British Friends prefer small Meetings, with a group "swarming" if it consists of over 30 or 40 on most Sundays or First Days. American Friends who worship on the basis of silence often express a preference for slightly larger groups, with approximately 70 or 80 in attendance on an average. That permits members of the group to know each other fairly well and it ensures variety in the ministry of a Meeting, without too many messages rising out of the silence. But many smaller groups are caring communities, rich fellowships, vibrant societies of friends.

Meetings can and do vary in the places they are held, too. Some of the best Meetings this writer has ever attended were composed of conscientious objectors in World War II, huddled around a pot-bellied stove in a Civilian Public Service camp early each morning, and Meetings in Berlin during the Nazi regime when the boots of the soldiers could be heard as they marched just outside the room in which we worshipped.

Most Meetings thrive when they have their own meeting place, whether it is a small Meeting House or a former home. More activities can be carried on throughout the week in such places, and many people will come to Meetings in such places, whereas they do not feel comfortable in the living room of a Friend's home.

Hopefully the place for worship will be relatively quiet, attractive, and comfortable, even though simple, with provisions for a Sunday School or First Day School and some simple meals together. Hopefully it will be used by community groups during the week, too.

But it is primarily the people and the process rather than the place that counts in determining the effectiveness of a Quaker Meeting for Worship.

Some Questions on Chapter 5

1. What idea or ideas struck you most forcefully in this chapter? Why?
2. If you are accustomed to worship on the basis of silence or expectant waiting, what appeals to you most about it?
3. If you do not worship regularly according to the practices described in this chapter, have you ever worshipped in this manner? What appealed to you about it? What reservations did you have?

4. If you worship as a Friend on the basis of silence, how effective is the ministry in your Meeting? What have YOU done to improve it? What have others done?
5. Is prayer an essential part of your Meeting?
6. If you worship in a so-called pastoral Meeting, do you have a period of silent waiting upon the Lord? How effectively is it used? What might be done to have more people use it more effectively?

A Brief Reading List on The Quaker Meeting for Worship

1. Brinton, Howard. *Friends for 300 Years.* Harper, 1952. 239 pp. Chapter 4 The Meeting for Worship.
2. Collier, Howard E. *The Quaker Meeting.* Pendle Hill, 1944. 40 pp.
3. Hinshaw, Seth B. *The Spoken Ministry Among Friends: Three Centuries of Progress and Development.* North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1987. 145 pp.
4. Kelly, Thomas R. *The Gathered Meeting.* Friends General Conference, Various editions. 19 pp. Also found in his *Testament of Devotion.*
5. Kenworthy, Leonard S. *Going to Meeting.* Friends General Conference, 1951. 11 pp.
6. Steere, Douglas V. *Friends and Worship.* Friends General Conference, undated, 10 pp. Also published as *A Quaker Meeting for Worship.*

Chapter 6
The Quaker Meeting for Business

The Meeting for Business is another of the unique contributions of Quakerism to the world. In fact it may even be more unprecedented than the Meeting for Worship. It is a rare form of democracy, especially suited to a religious fellowship, based on the belief that Divine Guidance is as available in transacting group business as it is in conducting group worship. It is a way of doing business in which the collective wisdom of the group is illuminated by The Light. It is a Meeting for Worship to do business.

Nothing like it exists anywhere in Christendom or in any of the other world religions. It is uncommon, unusual, unparallelled, unique.

The Origins of the Quaker Business Meeting. In its first few years the Religious Society of Friends was an unstructured fellowship, bound together by the experiences of individuals and groups seeking the will of God, by the sharing of the insights which came from such searching, and by the persecutions to which Quakers were subjected.

But Friends soon learned that they needed to conduct some business as a group. There were fellow seekers in prison who needed to be looked after and their families cared for. There were couples to be married. There were Friends to be buried. There were people with concerns which needed to be discussed, and Quakers whose journeys in the ministry needed to be approved or disapproved — and financed. And there were children for whom an education needed to be provided.

Even more serious was the problem of individuals whose supposed "leadings" caused such an episode as the one in which James Naylor rode through rode through the streets of Bristol while some of his adoring followers strewed branches in his path (imitating the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jersualem) — an incident which brought disrepute to the entire Quaker movement. Clearly something had to be done to curb such excesses and salvage the new Society from anarchism.

So, in a stroke of genius or divine revelation, Fox established the Meeting for Business as the basic unit in the Religious Society of Friends. It was intended for local groups and everyone in the fellowship was to participate in it. Since these meetings eventually were held monthly, they came to be called Monthly Meetings.

Then, in another revolutionary move, Fox recommended the setting up of separate business meetings for women, thus giving them an opportunity to participate more fully in business than they would have done in those days in joint sessions with the men.

There were people who opposed those innovations, finding them inconsistent with the existing spirit of an open fellowship. Others decried the prominent place given to women. So strong was the opposition of some people to those new practices that they withdrew from the movement.

But the creation of the business meeting solved many of the problems of the new Society. It was especially helpful in curbing the excesses of individuals, by actions of the group. In his pamphlet on Principles of the Quaker Business Meeting, George A. Selleck has written:

> Quakerism has always had within it a strong centrifugal force of individualism, but likewise there has always been a centripetal force of corporate life in tension with it; and from the fruitful interaction of these two have come the decisions of the Society. The visions and concerns of individuals prevent the Society from being over-traditional and static; the insights of a gathered group prevent it from moving over-hastily in unconsidered enthusiasm.

The development of this simple structure for the Society of Friends probably saved it from extinction, too. Most of the sects which rose in 17th century England died, the Society of Friends survived because it had a special method of transacting business as well as a special message.

Furthermore, the creation of the business meeting added a new and amazing institution to the world, a model so missing in everyday life.

Perhaps we who are Quakers need to review from time to time the meaning of this important aspect of our Society, to remind ourselves of its importance and the conditions under which it works best, to reevaluate our own part in such sessions, and to reeducate ourselves and others on its proper functioning. Perhaps we have taken our Meetings for Business too much for granted. Let us look, then, at some phases of this part of our Society.

The Need for an Atmosphere of Worship. Fundamental in the Quaker way of conducting meetings for business is the spirit of seeking and the atmosphere of worship.

George Fox commented on this when he wrote:

> Friends are not to meet like a company of people about town or parish business, . . . but to wait upon the Lord.

One of our contemporaries, Thomas S. Brown, has expressed this same idea beautifully and cogently in his pamphlet on *When Friends Attend to Business.* There he wrote:

> The basis upon which we hold our Meetings for Business . . . is that this is God's world, that He has unfinished business for us to do, and that it is possible for us to ascertain His will for us in this world.

Any business meeting (or committee meeting) should open with a period of silent waiting. If the business session follows a Meeting for worship, the period of worship can be short. But it should always be longer than the perfunctory "moment of silence" which is prevalant in so many places today. That introductory period of silence is important as a means of clearing the minds of Friends of mundane matters and developing a spirit of searching for group wisdom under Divine Guidance.

From the opening period of worship until the closing Minute and brief pause at the end, the meeting should move along on a conveyor belt of silence or float along on a stream of silence. Short periods of quiet waiting may be observed at various points in the session, especially if the meeting becomes tense or someone becomes contentious. There may even be a prayer or a brief message at some point in a Meeting for Business.

The Importance of Widespread Participation and Lively Concerns. A Quaker business meeting should be as inclusive a

Day, although that may mean it is conducted in a hurried way. It may be after a slightly more elaborate Coffee Hour that day, after the regular Meeting for Worship. Or it may be sometime during the week, often after a pot-luck supper to promote fellowship.

Equally salient is having enough vital business to attract wide attendance. Here is what Rufus Jones once wrote on that subject:

> A monthly meeting ought to have live and quickening interests. Few things are more deadening than perfunctory performances, dull routine wheezing occasions, which everybody, especially those under forty, dreads. Either such meetings ought to be freshened by bringing in new creative interests, or the number of meetings should be reduced. . . . There is no reason why to the end of time functionless meetings should be carried on just because they have always been carried on.

If the Meeting for Business is held during the week, with short and simultaneous committee meetings preceeding it, some persons may stay for the regular sessions. If various committees report on a rotating basis, their members are more likely to attend at least the session where their report is read and discussed. But time for the discussion of live concerns is even more likely to attract people.

Important, too, is the way in which the business at hand is conducted. It is essential to have widespread speaking to some items, and time for reflection and worship. But the Meetings for Business need to be carried on as effeciently as possible, and be as brief and non-argumentative as the clerks and the group can make them. Some Meetings have even "read back" salient parts of former business meetings in discussion groups or panels, trying to figure out how near-ideal conditions could be maximized and poor examples of Quakerly procedure be minimized in the future. Such a "study" needs to be handled with great sensitivity so that it is an

gifted. Consequently a clerk, or the clerks, can destroy the atmosphere of worship, delay decisions unduly or rush them prematurely, and tamper in other ways with this wonderful but delicate instrument — the Quaker Meeting for Business.

This writer has seen hundreds of profiles or job descriptions in his life, but never one on clerks in Quaker Meetings, even though their qualifications are discussed (sometimes ad nauseum) in Quaker circles. Perhaps no such job descriptions are written because different groups need persons of different characteristics at different times in their Meeting's history.

Here, however, are six characteristics which seem essential in the position of clerk or the positions of clerks. One is the ability to organize. A second is sensitivity to human beings and to the mood of a group, as well as the ability to help create the right atmosphere. A third is timing. A fourth is the ability to gather and record quickly and deftly "the sense of the Meeting." A fifth is patience. And a sixth is a secure or healthy ego. More will be written later on the ability to gather and record the "sense of the Meeting."

In fact, so numerous, so broad, and so varied are the qualifications for the clerkship of a Friends Meeting that most groups have two clerks. Usually they are selected to complement each other, thereby constituting a capable team. Often they are designated as the presiding clerk and the recording clerk or the clerk and the assistant clerk.

As in other positions of responsibility, the clerk (sometimes aided by the assistant clerk) can add much to the potential success of a business session by adequate preparation. That includes the rereading of the Minutes of the previous meeting to see what items need to be handled as "old business," the preparation of a suggested agenda to be read early in the coming session, and the selection of queries and advices to be read aloud at an appropriate time. If there are committee reports to be given, they need to be collected ahead of time and read carefully, with special attention to what the committee wants the Meeting to do. If someone comes to the clerk with a personal concern, he or she needs to listen sympathetically and inquire if the idea could be tested by a small group before it comes before the larger body. Routine Minutes can be written in advance and thus save valuable time in the regular Meeting. At each session the clerk needs to have the Minutes of several previous meetings available and a copy nearby of the *Discipline* or *Faith and Practice* of the yearly meeting.

In the Meeting for Business itself, there are several duties the clerks need to keep in mind. They need to be sure that the Meeting starts on time and that the opening period of worship is adequate for establishing a tone of worshipful consideration of the items on the agenda. A tentative agenda should be read very early in the session, with new items added and possibly some items deleted. An advice and query, or advices and queries, also need to be read, probably near the beginning of the meeting. The presiding clerk needs to be especially concerned with the "tempo" of the session, trying to achieve a delicate balance between adequate time for the deliberation of any item and a rapidly-moving meeting. Occasionally the clerk will have to prod the participants to address the clerk for permission to speak, to talk to the entire group rather than to engage in dialogue with another member, to speak so that everyone will hear them, or to speak directly to the business at hand. The presiding clerk needs to recognize as many different people as possible, making sure that no one monopolizes the discussion of any item. Sometimes the clerk will have to remind the group, also, to designate clearly where the responsibility for carrying out a decisions rests.

On many of these points those in "the body of the Meeting" can be helpful to the clerks as we will point out in a later section in this chapter on the The Responsibilities of the Participants.

Even though this list of responsibilities of the clerks is long, it does not include the most important role of the clerk — or clerks — the gathering of "the sense of the Meeting," which we will now take up in a separate section as it involves the entire group, not just the clerks.

Gathering the Sense of the Meeting. Just as the Meeting for Worship on the basis of expectant waiting is shorn of the non-essentials of altar, sermon, choir and congregational singing, responsive readings, incense, candles, and stained glass windows, so the Meeting for Business at its best is shorn of the paraphanelia of legislative groups — lobbying, speeches and debates, applause, majorities and minorities, yeas and nays.

The Quaker Meeting for Business is as simple — and as difficult — as the Quaker Meeting for Worship. It is not a collection of methods or techniques; it is a mood, an atmosphere, a spirit. It is a quest for the Divine Will in reaching decisions. It is a Meeting for Worship — to do business. Whereas the Meeting for Worship tends

to accent our aspirations, the Meeting for Business tends to accent our actions. As Howard Brinton wrote in his pamphlet on *Reaching Decisions:*

> From another point of view, the meeting for worship concerns *being*, while the meeting for business concerns *doing*. What is implicit in worship becomes explicit in action.

In the Meeting for Business, at its best, we do not eliminate the rational side of our lives but we do open the feeling aspects of our selves; we feel as well as think; we worship as well as ponder.

Sometimes Friends should think ahead of time about an item which they know will be on the agenda of the next business session, testing various alternatives. But Friends should also pray about the courses open to them and the possibility that new insights will come to the group. They should not come to any business meeting with a fixed position, daring others to budge them from that point of view. Openness, a spirit of searching, and a certain amount of humility are benchmarks of a good Quaker Meeting for Business.

As a result of such a spirit in a group, something greater than the sum of the individual parts often emerges. It doesn't always occur because we are fallible human beings, arrested in our spiritual development. But it happens often enough, and in such mysterious ways, that Friends know from experience that their way of doing business is a remarkable one, a spiritual quest rather than a secular method.

Listen to that wise Quaker thinker and practicioner of recent times, Howard Brinton, as he says:

> The synthesis of a variety of elements is often obtained by a kind of cross-fertilization, and the final result is not, therefore, or at least it ought not to be a compromise. Given time and the proper conditions, a group idea, which is not the arithmetical sum of individual contributions nor their greatest common deviser, but a new creation or mutation, finally evolves.

How does all this happen? It is difficult to describe but it often goes something like this. A committee submits a report on a controversial topic or a Friend presents a concern on a potentially explosive theme. One Friend speaks feelingly in favor of the proposal. Another expresses a similarly strong view. Then a "weighty Friend," (described by Thomas Kelly as a person "with a delicate attunement both to heaven and earth") wonders aloud about the wisdom of this course of action. Frantic lest their point of view be defeated because of the general respect people have for

this wise and weighty Friend, two people rise quickly and without waiting for recognition by the clerk, speak simultaneously in favor of the idea. The Meeting becomes tense.

Then the clerk, or someone in the "body of the Meeting" suggests a period of quiet, a time of worship, a search for Divine Guidance. A hush settles over the Meeting for a considerable time. Out of the silence another Friend rises and wonders if another quite different approach might be taken, one which had not been suggested before. The clerk pauses a moment before recognizing anyone else, letting the group ponder this idea. Then one of the original speakers rises, is recognized, and in a more subdued tone of voice apologizes for her abrasive manner earlier and says she is willing to accept the new proposal. Others here and there say, "I approve," or "That Friend speaks my mind." The clerk tries to write a Minute while another hush comes over the group. It is read but is not quite what the group thinks it should be. A few minor changes are suggested and the clerk revises the Minute. Then it is read again and approved.

Of course the impasses are not always broken in this way. Sometimes further consideration is postponed until a future meeting. Often a new concern is sent to an appropriate committee or to an ad hoc group for their counsel.

And there are times when a decision has to be made immediately. If so, Friends continue to wrestle with the question until they find a solution on which all or nearly all can agree. In such cases it may be necessary for a couple of individuals to concede to the wisdom of the group without being completely convinced. Ideally this should not happen; actually it sometimes does. But it should be resorted to only in the most pressing circumstances.

Some Friends maintain that the "sense of the Meeting" implies unanimity. In this writer's previous book, *Toward a Fourth Century of Quakerism,* he equated those two terms, something he now regrets. Nor is "the sense of the Meeting" consensus, a term used frequently these days by non-Friends, because that implies a purely intellectual exercise. "The sense of the Meeting" is a unique Quaker expression which means an agreement reached by nearly all members of a group in a spirit of searching for Divine Guidance. Hopefully the few who cannot go along with the group's decision, will not stand in the way of its implementation.

From time to time there will be a person or a few persons who

feel they cannot go along with the group's decisions, but a very few individuals should not thwart the carefully considered "sense of the Meeting." That would be a form of veto, a type of tyranny by one person or a very few individuals in a larger group. Certainly every single Friend in yearly meeting after yearly meeting, in the days of slavery, did not agree with the decisions of those groups to forbid slave-holding by Quakers. If those yearly meetings had accepted the veto of a very few Friends, Quakers would never have moved forward in their anti-slavery efforts. It was "the sense of the Meeting" that prevailed.

This process — and it is a process rather than a method or technique — often seems painfully slow, especially to younger people who want no postponements, no delays, no shilly-shallying, no dilly-dallying, but a decision *now*, action *now*.

But Quaker history has proved over and over that when decisions are reached in this way, often slowly and sometimes painfully, splintering and fragmentation do not occur. Instead the group moves ahead as a united body, with no triumphant majority and no disgruntled minority.

The Significance of Size. Since the aim of the group is to develop a sense of belonging on the part of each participant and to have everyone share in the decision-making process, the size of a Quaker business meeting should be small. And hopefully the members will know each other well. That, too, aids in this unique and difficult but rewarding approach.

It is impossible to set a figure for the size of a group, but Quakers seem to work best in groups of around 50 or 60 at the most. Of course many yearly meetings and other Quaker gatherings are much larger than that and the "sense of the Meeting" can be reached even in those larger assemblages. But it takes more time and effort and energy. And it is successful there largely because Friends have had training in the smaller Monthly Meetings and Quarterly Meetings.

Some of the Responsibilities of the Participants. In legislative bodies, competition prevails; in Quaker Meetings for Business cooperation should predominate. Important as the clerks are, they serve more as recorders than presiding officers for the group, although they perform both functions. But they are not the only ones responsible for the proper functioning of business sessions; everyone present is responsible. Since the atmosphere of such

meetings is so important, it is incumbent on all the participants to help create such a searching mood.

In a comprehensive and interesting study of this process, entitled *Decisions by Consensus: A Study of the Quaker Method,* Glenn Bartoo combined his expertise as a sociologist with his experience as a Quaker. In a section on Qualities of Participants, he concluded:

> The most helpful participants have well developed spiritual sensitivities and have an open mind. The other two qualities strongly favored are much experience among Friends generally and much experience in this (particular) Meeting.

There are several ways in which members and attenders can contribute to the proper functioning of such sessions. They can come on time and settle down quickly in the silence, thus creating a worshipful atmosphere. When they wish to speak to an item on the agenda, they can indicate that fact to the clerk, usually by standing and saying "Clerk, please." Then, when they do speak, it should be briefly, sincerely, and as convincingly as possible without being dogmatic or coercive. Likewise they can speak to the entire group and not engage in dialogue with one person. Also they can try to keep the best interests of the Meeting in mind, rather than their own personal interests.

From time to time participants may suggest a period of silence or help in the creation of a Minute on a given item. When it is time to come to a conclusion on any item, they can help the clerk (and the group as a whole) by indicating their agreement or disagreement with an item, by an expression such as "I agree" or "I approve," or the opposite of those terse statements.

Perhaps a further word is needed here about the suggestion that participants stand when they speak. This may seem rather formal and may not be necessary in all groups, but it does help avoid the discussion group atmosphere which can prevail in some small Quaker groups, with people talking back and forth informally rather than carrying on business in a spirit of worship.

The Use of The Quaker Process by Non-Quaker Groups. Over the past several years there has been increasing interest by non-Quakers in the Friendly way of doing business, stimulated originally by Stuart Chase's book *Roads to Agrement,* an article in the *New York Times Magazine Section,* and other publications.

Several corporations, some commissions of the United States government, and several parts of the United Nations system have

found that they can work better by trying to achieve what is called consensus than by relying on the system of voting. Commendable though that is, it is important to note again that the Quaker process of reaching agreement is far more than an intellectual exercise; it is a spiritual quest based on the belief that God can speak to people in their business sessions as well as in their periods of worship.

Conclusion. The Quaker Meeting for Business is a precious heritage. It is a unique contribution of Friends. It is a rare form of group experience for which we should be extremely grateful to our forebearers.

It should be studied by all Friends today and become a part of the experience of every Quaker group rather than becoming an heirloom or museum piece. It needs to be practiced to be preserved.

Some Questions on Chapter 6

1. What idea or ideas in this chapter struck you most forcefully? Why?
2. Is the time when your business meeting is held a suitable one? Have you considered other possibilities?
3. Who do you consider one of the most able clerks you have seen in action in any Quaker group? What qualities did that clerk have which contributed to his or her success in that position?
4. How wide is the participation of the members and attenders in your Meetings for Business? How might more people be persuaded to come to such sessions?
5. How would you evaluate the spirit of worship in your monthly meetings for business? How might that spirit be improved?

A Brief Reading List on Quaker Meetings for Business

1. Bartoo, Glenn. *Decisions By Consensus: A Study of the Quaker Method.* Progresive Publishr, 1978, 48 pp.
2. Brinton, Howard. *Guide to Quaker Practice.* Pendle Hill, 1955, 64 pp.
3. Brown, Thomas S. *When Friends Attend to Business.* Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Undated. 7 pp.
4. Selleck, George A. *Principles of the Quaker Business Meeting.* Friends United Press. Undated. 14 pp.
5. Sheeran, Michael J. *Beyond Majority Rule: Voteless Decisions in the Religious Society of Friends.* Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1983. 153 pp.

Chapter 7

The Queries, the Advices, and the State of the Society Reports: A Triad of Quaker Practices

Many Friends and some non-Friends are aware of such unique Quaker contributions to the world as the Meeting for Worship, the Meeting for Business, and several testimonies — such as those on peace, prisons, intergroup relations, and education.

But few Quakers and far fewer non-Quakers are aware of the significance of the Queries, the Advices, and the State of the Society reports in the life of the Religious Society of Friends.

Taken collectively this cluster of practices are intended to encourage Friends, individually and as groups, to hold up their lives to the Light. They are meant to prick our consciences, to prod us in our day-to-day practices, and to promote the kind of God-directed lives worth living.

The Queries and Advices prepared by individual yearly meetings and published in their *Disciplines* or books of *Faith and Practice* are not catechism replies to be memorized, nor rules to be rigidly followed. They are questions and suggestions to promote contemplation, reflection, and evaluation. The Queries, in particular, are suited to the searching mood of Friends at their best, as they are broad, open-ended questions to promote self-examination under the leadership of the Spirit. They are non-dogmatic, non-hortatory, and non-threatening. They are not intended to discourage, but to encourage; not meant to put down individuals or groups, but to lift them to new levels of living. They are primarily positive rather than negative in tone.

The History of the Queries. Very early in the history of the Society of Friends, probably in 1682, the Queries were introduced. At first they were limited to three or four, intended primarily to gather data about the regularity of holding Meetings, the deaths of ministers and elders, and the condition of Friends suffering

persecution. But the earliest Queries did include one which was broader in scope and which we still retain today, although worded differently. That was a question about "the spread of Truth" in local groups.

Soon, however, the number of Queries increased and their scope broadened. They also became more like guides for self-examination than means for collecting information. Hence they were cast more and more as questions.

By 1696 the number of Queries had risen to eight and in 1700 a new one was added on the education of Quaker children "in the way of Truth and plainness of habit and speech." By the time the first *Discipline* was published, in 1783, there were 15 Queries. Included, for example, were questions about the care of the poor and the bearing or arms.

The Status of the Queries Today. Gradually the Queries came to include questions about all the major religious and social testimonies of Friends. Every few years they are revised in most yearly meetings, reflecting the changes in emphasis with the passing of time, or merely in wording.

A study of the Queries in any yearly meeting over a long period can reveal much about the history of Friends in that geographical area. And a comparison of the Queries in different yearly meetings can be instructive in indicating their major points of emphasis and the language in which they are couched. For example, do they inquire about total abstinence or about discouraging the use of intoxicants, tobacco, and drugs? Do they refer to The Light Within, the Christ Within, or the Lord Jesus Christ?

Despite differences in emphasis and therefore in wording, the queries among all groups of Friends stress the inward and the outward states. Commenting on this, William W. Comfort, wrote in his book *Quakers in the Modern World*:

> As they stand today the Queries are the lineal descendants of many earlier ones which show the concern of the Society from early times for two things: the purity of the spiritual source and the faithfulness with which the leadings of the Spirit are carried into the business of life here and now.

Some Samples of Queries. For those who are not acquainted with the Queries, let us cite a few selected from the 12 which are included in the current *Faith and Practice* of New York Yearly Meeting, a group with a very broad and inclusive membership, representing many points on the spectrum of religious beliefs. For those readers

who are familiar with the queries these samples may serve as reminders of their content, approach, and significance. Here is the first query:

> Are meetings for worship and business held in expectant waiting for divine guidance? Are we regular and punctual in attendance? Are we willing and faithful in the service of our meeting and in financial support of its activities?

And here is the fourth query:

> Are love and unity fostered among us? If differences arise, do we endeavor to reconcile them in a spirit of love and truth? Do we avoid talebearing and are we careful of the reputation of others?

A fifth is about our homes and family life:

> Do we keep to moderation and simplicity in our standards of living? Are our homes places where the presence of God is felt by those who live there and those who visit there? Do we choose such recreations as are wholesome and consistent with Christian character? Are we careful in our choice of ways to use our time and energy?

And here are three queries relating to political matters, civil rights and race, and peace. They are queries 9, 11, and 12:

> Do we participate actively and intelligently in the political life of our country? Are we conscientious in fulfilling all obligations of state and society which are not contrary to the leading of God? Do we do all in our power to secure the civil rights for all of our citizens? Are we free from the use of oaths?
>
> Do we acknowledge the brotherhood of mankind and foster a loving spirit to members of all races, religions, and nations? Do we work to make these ideals a reality?
>
> Do we maintain Friends' testimony against war? Do we "live in the virtue of that life and power which takes away the occasion of all wars?" Are we exerting our influence in favor of settlements of all differences by truly non-violent methods? Do we strive to transmit to our fellowmen an understanding of the basis of our peace testimony?

An example of the way in which words sometimes get in our way is the fact that such words as "fellowmen" "brotherhood" are being eliminated in the recasting of the above queries, as the result of a recent concern to avoid discriminating phraseology in the New York Yearly Meeting *Faith and Practice.*

Some Values of the Queries. In an article on The Quaker Confessional, published in the *Friends Intelligencer* (now the

Friends Journal), in 1944, Gilbert Kilpack summarized the value of the queries in this powerful statement:

> The Queries as they have developed in the Society of Friends are, I believe, a stroke of divine wisdom. At their best they are a regular occasion for self-examination and renewal of the heart in the way of Truth. They are the healthiest system of confession that the Protestant Church has devised.

More specifically, they have value to individuals and to groups in considering them and in answering them from time to time. They also have value to individuals and groups in preparing such questions.

For individuals there is the catharsis or purification that can come from quietly considering one's sins or shortcomings in regard to the ideals expressed in these questions. And such confessions can be to God alone, without any mediation by others. Often a query will remain with a person long after it has been read in Meeting, and the process of purification can continue or be renewed at that time.

One can also be proud of his or her achievements in regard to a query without plunging into the pitfall of self-pride. Why not? Sometimes Quakers are self-lacerating and that seldom encourages growth.

Or one can smile at one's fall from grace. Why not? Sometimes Quakers are too serious, too hard on themselves, too much the perfectionists. A little humor is not likely to do any harm; it might even help us to face the future better.

So much for the value of the queries to individuals.

If considered together in a spirit of worship, the reading and consideration of a query, or a couple of them, can produce similar results for a group. Friends can be supportive of each other in recognizing their shortcomings; often it is reassuring to know that other people have fallen short of the ideal and are also determined to do better in the future. Wherever possible, however, affirmative action should be suggested rather than allowing the group to be content with pious pronouncements. In some instances a standing committee or special group can be asked to make specific suggestions and submit them to a future Monthly Meeting. For example, if the Meeting has been devoting undue attention to the ministry and/or the pastoral care of its members and attenders, the Monthly Meeting may urge the Peace and Social Action Commit-

tee, or some similar group, to intensify work on shared social concerns. Conversely, if too much time and energy have been devoted to its social testimonies, the Committee on Ministry and Oversight, or some similar body, can be asked to develop suggestions for strengthening the spiritual aspects of the total life of the Meeting, submitting them to a future Monthly Meeting for deliberation.

There is value, also, in writing queries. In fact the process of doing so may be even more important than the end product. The author of this book has seen queries written by boys and girls, by a family life committee, by a group of feminists, by the staffs of Quaker schools and colleges, and even a set of queries prepared by a group in the Morningside Meeting in New York City, called "the devil's queries," to bring people up short. One of them is: "Am I careful to come late enough to Meeting so that I disturb the maximum number of people?" Another is: "Do I bolster my ego each day by putting someone else down?"

Many of the phrases in the queries have been handed down from generation to generation and are like burnished silver. But sometimes those phrases are more like tarnished silver. So the fresh wording of queries is sometimes as important as the right questions. Turn a group of young people loose on such a project and you may be amazed by their insights — and the freshness of their vocabulary!

Another appropriate way in which to use the queries is to read one, or at most two, of them, at the beginning of the quiet period in a Friends Church, thereby giving persons unaccustomed to the silence, a start in their meditations or worship.

In a similar way a few Meetings, held on the basis of silence, read a query or two at the beginning of the hour of worship, occasionally, although some Friends object to that practice as lacking in spontaneity and/or provoking discussion rather than worship.

In many Meetings one or two of the queries and one or two of the advices are read at the beginning of the Meeting for Business, and are "considered in silence." Occasionally such consideration of them will move someone to speak briefly about them. That can be a remarkable experience and help greatly in setting the tone of worship for the ensuing business.

The Advices. The preference of the author of this book has always been for the queries as opposed to the advices, believing that

the former are more open-ended and conducive to personal searching than the latter.

However, a recent re-reading of a pamphlet by the well-known English Quaker, Harold Loukes, on *Seeking and Finding in the Society of Friends,* has been helpful in deepening my appreciation of the advices. Loukes considers these two aspects of Quakerism complementary. Whereas the advices ask the persons to whom they are addressed, to listen; the queries ask them to act. The advices place a spiritual road map in front of Friends; the queries urge them to find their own way by consulting that map. The advices say — "we say;" the queries ask, "What say you?"

In a sense the Advices are a record of the accumulated experience of Quakers over many decades. They are broad enough to record the general practices Friends recommend, yet not so specific that they hobble seekers of The Way.

Some Examples of Advices. Here, then, are some samples of Advices, taken from those of London Yearly Meeting. The first is a general one on the cultivation of spiritual resources. It reads:

> Take heed, dear Friends, to the promptings of love and truth in your hearts, which are the leadings of the Holy Spirit of God. Resist not His striving within you. His light shows us our darkness and leads to true repentance. It is God's love that draws us to Him, a redemptive love shown forth in Jesus Christ in His life and above all on the cross. He is the Way, the Truth, the Life.

Paralleling it is a more specific Advice on daily devotions:

> Seek to know an inward retirement even amid the activities of daily life. Make a quiet place in your daily life wherein you may learn the full meaning of prayer and the gladness of communion with your Heavenly Father. Be constant in the private reading of the Bible and other spiritually helpful writings. Gather daily in your families for united worship.

An Advice on work and the social order is couched in these words:

> In your daily work and in your social and other activities, be concerned for the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. Live not for yourself but for others. Remember your responsibility as citizens for the government of your town and country. Study the causes of social evils. Work for an order of society based on mutual service and directed beyond all material ends to the true enrichment of human lives.

Then, an Advice on the Quaker testimony on active pacifism:

> Be faithful in maintaining our testimony against all war as in-

consistent with the spirit and teaching of Christ. Live in the life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars. Seek to take part in the ministry of reconciliation between individuals, groups, and nations.

And their 18th Advice, out of 20 such admonitions, is one not found in the Advices of American yearly meetings. It says:

> Let the law of kindness know no limits. Show a loving consideration for all God's creatures.

The State of the Society Reports. The third aspect of this triad of Quaker practices is the State of the Society report which local Meetings prepare annually. In reality they are intended to take the spiritual pulse of the local group or survey the spiritual landscape. In a sense they are spiritual inventories.

Probably the most characteristically Quaker aspect of those reports is the fact that they are made by members of the Monthly Meeting and eventually approved by the entire local group in its business sessions. In the language of most Protestant Churches, they are reports by lay persons.

Usually a small committee, probably three persons, is named to draft such a report. Ordinarily the same people are not named to such a committee each year, so that many persons can be involved over a period of time and many points of view brought to the final statements.

The suggested report of the drafting committee is then brought to the Monthly Meeting, where it can be accepted, revised in a minor way by the group, or returned with suggestions to the drafting group.

Eventually the report is forwarded to the Quarterly Meeting and then on to the Yearly Meeting. Usually a State of the Society summary is then compiled for this larger group, using statements from the various constituent monthly meetings.

The stress here, as in the Advices and Queries, is on the spiritual climate. New York Yearly Meeting even includes a brief list of topics to consider in preparing such reports. They are

The quality of worship and spiritual ministry
Efforts to foster spiritual growth
Stands taken on Friends principles
Personal and family relations
Relations with community and other religious groups
Participation in general activities of Friends
Significant activities or concerns of the local Meeting

Here, again, the process of preparing such a State of the Society report is probably even more important than the product.

Practices of All Friends Groups. Even though the Advices and Queries vary from yearly meeting to yearly meeting, all groups of Friends carry on these Quaker practices. And all the different branches of the Religious Society of Friends encourage State of the Society reports. All three are a precious part of our common Quaker heritage.

Some Questions on Chapter 7

1. What idea or ideas in this chapter had the most impact on you? Why?
2. Do you have a preference between the Advices and the Queries? If so, which do you find more helpful? Why?
3. Which Query in your yearly meeting list do you find most provocative? Why?
4. Which Advice do you find most helpful? Why?
5. Have you ever helped to draft your Monthly Meeting's State of the Society report? If so, how would you describe your experience? If not, would you like to volunteer for such an assignment? Why or why not?
6. What Query would you like to see added to the list which your yearly meeting now uses? Why?

A Brief Reading List on the Queries, Advices, and the State of the Society Reports

Loukes, Harold. *Seeking and Finding in the Society of Friends.* Friends Home Service Committee — London, 1974. 34 pp. On the Advices.

Loukes, Harold. *The Uncomfortable Queries.* Friends Home Committee — London, 1972. 36 pp.

Watson, Elizabeth. *Asking the Right Questions.* The Quaker Lecture at Western Yearly Meeting in 1976. Includes material on the Queries.

The *Discipline* or *Faith and Practice* of your yearly meeting should be consulted on this chapter.

Chapter 8
The Unique Role of Women in Quakerism

The story of the role of women in the Religious Society of Friends over a period of nearly 400 years is a remarkable one and one on which very little has been written or said until quite recently. This aspect of the Quaker movement deserves to be better known, cherished, and cultivated as one of the distinguishing features of the Society of Friends.

In fact few other religious groups have accorded women the place that Friends have given them or, in turn, been so enriched by their talents. But Quaker women have been important far beyond the boundaries of the Society of Friends, providing many of the leaders and a large proportion of the rank and file support of such movements as women's rights, prison reform, the abolition of slavery, education, and peace.

The Role of Women in the Early Quaker Movement. From the beginning of the Quaker movement in 17th century England, women were extremely important, especially in the ministry in Friends Meetings and in the travelling ministry. In fact the first minister in the Society of Friends was Elizabeth Hooten, and at least a dozen of the Valiant Sixty were women. That is even more remarkable when one realizes how radical it was for women to travel in those days beyond the confines of their local communities.

Furthermore, many of those early women ministers were persecuted on their trips abroad. The most famous of them was Mary Dyer, who was one of the four Quakers hanged in Massachusetts in colonial times.

If many people in 17th century England were shocked by the fact that Quaker women were ministers, they were even more startled that Quaker women took part in the decision making process of Friends Meetings. That was true as early as 1656. By 1671 George Fox had written all the Meetings in England, urging them to establish women's meetings for the transaction of business.

Today such an arrangement might seem like an act of discrimination. In that time, however, it was felt that in joint meetings the

men would dominate or even monopolize such sessions. Therefore it was important for the women to meet separately, thus giving them experience in speaking, clerking, and decision making.

When Meeting Houses were built, shutters were installed inside. They were not noticeable during the Meetings for Worship when the women and younger children sat on one side of the room and the men and older boys on the other. But, once a month, when the Meeting for Worship concluded, the shutters were pulled down (often to the delight of the children), and the separate meetings for business took place, with messengers taking reports back and forth between the two groups. (It needs to be noted, however, that on items like the care of property, only the men made the ultimate decisions.)

It was in such separate sessions that Quaker women came into their own, speaking freely and frankly, and learning how to conduct meetings. Such experiences gave many of them opportunities for leadership training which stood them in good stead in various movements outside the Society of Friends, as well as within it.

No one has ever explained how that extraordinary practice came about among early Friends. There are at least three possibilities. One is that it was adopted from the few sects in 17th century England in which women were active. A second is that Margaret Fell Fox and other early Friends women influenced Fox in this regard. The third possibility is that George Fox developed this concern for the nearly equal status of women as an outgrowth of his conviction that there was that of God in every human being.

Another radical innovation among early Friends was the establishment of schools for girls. At first those institutions were separate from the schools for boys, but Friends very early espoused coeducation, especially with the establishment of boarding schools.

As already indicated, those were very unorthodox practices in 17th century England and they were attacked vehemently by non-Friends as contrary to the Scriptures and therefore to the will of God. Because of such opposition, Fox felt impelled to write two books defending the participation of women in the affairs of the Society of Friends. Margaret Fell also wrote a tract on that topic.

There was even opposition among the early Quakers to the equality of women with men. In her Pendle Hill pamphlet on *Women and Quakerism,* Hope Elizabeth Luder points out that:

It is indicative of how unorthodox Fox's position was, that apparently more people left the radical new religion because of their disagreement over the issue of female participation than from any other cause.

Margaret Fell Fox. Of all the Quaker women in that formative period, it was undoubtedly Margaret Askew Fell who was the most influential. At 17 she had married Thomas Fell, who inherited Swarthmore Hall, a manor house, from his wealthy and prominent family. Thomas Fell was a lawyer and later a judge who was widely respected as a business man and advocate.

In 1652 Fox was in the vicinity of Swarthmore Hall and was invited there by Margaret Fell. Soon she and her children joined the new movement. Although Thomas Fell did not become a Quaker, he was sympathetic to his wife's activities and sometimes attended Friends Meetings in their home. Furthermore, he was very active in defending Quakers and the Quaker movement, probably doing more as a non-Friend than he could have done as a Friend.

Soon Swarthmore Hall became a Quaker Center, a retreat for the physical and mental refreshment of travelling ministers, and a communications center, with Margaret Fell corresponding with many of the ministers about their journeys, and with Quaker Meetings. She also organized the Kendal Fund to assist the new movement, and served for many years as the unofficial treasurer of Quakerism.

But she did far more than that. She travelled a great deal in the ministry and in the promotion of the women's meetings and wrote many epistles and tracts, including the one on *Women's Speaking Justified.*

Nor did she escape the persecutions which were so common to Friends in those days. Three times she was imprisoned, once for four and a half years.

After the death of Judge Fell, she married George Fox, when she was 55 years old. Contrary to the custom of the times, he stipulated that no part of her estate should come to him in the event of her death before him.

Hers was an incredible life, ending in 1702, when she was 88 years old. Little wonder that she is sometimes called "The Mother of Quakerism."

Quaker Women and the Abolition Movement. After the first few decades of Quakerism, many Friends women became deeply involved in several social and humanitarian movements. That was

true in England; it was even more true in the New World where changes were easier to make and therefore more frequent.

Thus Quaker women became indefatiguable workers in the antislavery movement, in work for women's rights, in efforts to promote temperance or total abstinence, in many types of education, and in the reform of prisons and institutions for the mentally ill.

Frequently individuals were interested in two or more reforms. That was especially true of persons involved in the anti-slavery and women's rights causes.

In the abolition of slavery the untiring work of John Woolman is widely known, but it is doubtful if very many readers know about the efforts of Sarah Harrison, a Quaker woman minister who travelled widely. As she went on her journeys, she spoke in Friends Meetings and sought out Quakers who owned slaves. With such owners she would plead for the freeing of blacks. And, like Woolman, she was often succesful in her efforts.

Laura Haviland is another person whose name should be better known. She was raised a Friend, her father being a recorded minister and her mother an elder. But the entire family eventually left the Society of Friends, in part because of its failure to take a strong stand for abolition. Later in life, however, she rejoined Friends and was made a minister. Levi Coffin of Indiana and Ohio is generally regarded as the President of the Underground Railroad, but Laura Haviland is often designated as the Superintendent of that daring, difficult, and illegal enterprise. With her husband, she also founded Raisin Institute in 1837 for black as well as white students, four years after Oberlin College had pioneered in that regard.

Then there were the Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina. They were born and raised in a wealthy, slave-owning family in South Carolina but both came to abhor slavery. As young women they moved to Philadelphia and there joined the Society of Friends. Knowing about conditions on plantations from first-hand experiences and often speaking eloquently, they were popular speakers in meetings in the homes of abolitionists. Then they began to address public gatherings and a storm of protest arose, largely because they were women and such speaking was considered unseemly. Consequently the anti-slavery movement was torn by the question of whether to complicate its task by adding the issue of

women speaking in public to its main concern. Among the leaders opposed to supporting both issues were John Greenleaf Whittier and Theodore Weld (to whom Angelina Grimke was engaged). But the Grimkes persisted in their work, despite the opposition.

Furthermore, there were scores of other interesting women Friends in the anti-slavery movement. Quaker women were in a particularly advantageous position to contribute to the women's rights or women's suffrage movement. The general equality accorded them in the Religious Society of Friends, the experiences they had gained in speaking in Meetings for Business, and the high level of education they had attained as a result of Quaker coeducation, thrust them into the forefront of that movement. For years they played a prominent part in it, far out of proportion to the size of the Quaker group in the United States.

This is quickly evident by mentioning the names of the chief leaders of that movement in the 19th century. Of the four persons who are generally cited as leaders in that cause, two were brought up as Friends. They were Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony. The other two were greatly influenced by Friends. They were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was affected by Lucretia Mott; and Lucy Stone, who was inspired by the Grimke sisters. And as Elizabeth Hope Luder points out in her pamphlet on *Women and Quakerism,* "Most of the women who organized the Senecca Falls Convention (in 1848) were members of the Society of Friends."

In addition to those outstanding Quaker leaders, there were scores of lesser-known women Friends who took part in the women's rights movement. Often they helped to organize local groups. Of course all Quaker women in that day were not yet ready for such a radical departure from the status quo. Nor were all Quaker men ready yet to see women participate fully in political life localy or in larger units of society.

Nevertheless Quaker women, and to some extent Quaker men, contributed as much to the women's rights movement as to any cause in American history. Theirs is an illustrious record.

Quaker Women and Education. From the early days of Quakerism, women played an important part in the small elementary schools developed by local Meetings, thus providing girls as well as boys with a good education for those times. Eventually a large number of academies were founded in England and in the United States so that the children of Friends could obtain

a secondary education, before the days of free and compulsory schools. Especially in the United States Quaker families often moved to communities where there was such an academy so that their children might profit from such a superior education. Often children from a distance boarded in the homes of local Friends during the school term so that they could avail themselves of this special opportunity.

In 1865 it was reported that there were approximately 8700 boys and girls in Indiana Yearly Meeting between the ages of five and 20. Of them 3700 attended Quaker schools. The teachers were not always Quakers but monthly meetings tried to hire members of the Society of Friends if at all possible.

Then came the founding of Quaker colleges, until they stretched from the east coast to the west coast — from Haverford, Swarthmore, and Guilford to Whittier and Pacific (later called George Fox College). In every instance except one they were coeducational institutions. That exception was Haverford, and Bryn Mawr was founded as its counterpart nearby. Thus Quakers led in the movement for coeducational colleges. And many of the professors in those institutions were Quaker women.

Meanwhile many young Quaker women had taken part in a movement which has not received enough attention in the history of Friends in the United States. Following the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation, American Quakers saw an opportunity to assist Negroes (the term commonly used in those days) in a variety of ways, especially in helping them to obtain a basic education. Thus young Quaker women from the north went south to start schools. For Quaker young people that was the equivalent in those times of the recent Peace Corps.

Quakers also started a few boarding schools for Blacks. Some of them lasted well into the 20th century. One was the Schofield School in Aiken, South Carolina; another was Southland College in Helena, Arkansas.

Many Quaker women were also active in the post Civil War period as teachers on various Indian reservations.

With so many Quaker women receiving an unusually good education for that period, it is not surprising that some of them pioneered in several professional fields. In an interesting and comprehensive account of *The Quaker Struggle for the Rights of Women,* Margaret Bacon mentions several such persons. She

points out that of the first eight women doctors in the United States, five were Quakers. Marie Mitchell of Nantucket was the first woman astronomer and Anna Comstock is still remembered as an early naturalist. Hannah Whitall Smith was one of the best-known writers of the 19th century and two Quaker women were pioneers in the field of library science. In a very different domain, Rebecca Lukens was a famous manufacturer of boiler plates for steam engines. Margaret Bacon cites several others but those mentioned here should be enough to indicate the variety of occupations which educated Quaker women entered.

Quaker Women and Prison Reforms. It was primarily due to the efforts of Elizabeth Fry of England that Quaker women there and in the United States became concerned about improving conditions in the prisons of those two countries. Visiting the infamous Newgate Prison at the behest of Stephen Grellet, she was shocked by the conditions there and began her life-long work to bring about changes.

Inspired by her work, many women Friends launched similar crusades in other institutions. In Philadelphia and New York, for example, half-way houses were started to help women who had been released from prisons. And Eliza Farnham volunteered for the job of matron at Sing Sing where she initiated several reforms, including the outlawing of the inhumane rule of silence. These are but samples of the many activities along this line in the 19th century.

Quaker Women in More Recent Times. In the 20th century there have been several movements in which Quaker women in different yearly meetings have been or are now active. In some cases those activities have been carried on with the sanction and support of Friends as a group; in others they have been conducted by Friends individually. The mention of a few outstanding Quaker women in recent years should serve to illustrate that statement.

In the work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, women Friends have been especially prominent, providing many of the leaders of local and national units, as well as some of the presidents of the world-wide body. Among those presidents of the international unit have been Hannah Clothier Hull, Dorothy Hutchinson, and Emily Greene Balch, to whom the Nobel Prize for Peace was awarded in 1946.

In efforts to improve conditions for children, four persons might

be mentioned. One was Geraldine Cadbury in England, whose work with juvenile delinquents earned her the citation as Dame Cadbury. A second was Grace Abbott, a Friend who became head of the Children's Bureau in the United States government. A third is Alice Shaffer, who was director for many years of UNICEF projects in Latin America. A fourth is Elise Boulding, a prominent sociologist with a special interest in children and family life, as well as in peace education and research.

Two pioneers in work with children and adults have been Rachel Davis DuBois in intercultural education and Mary Calderone in sex education.

In recent years a small group of persons interested in counselling and the relation of psychology and religion have organized as a national group in the United States, meeting annually and publishing a newsletter. Many of that group have been followers of Carl Jung of Switzerland. Although not limited to Quaker women, many of them have been active in that pioneering group.

The number of Quaker women who have written either for Friends or for non-Friends, or for both, is amazing. Mention of a few of them should suffice to make this point.

Elizabeth Gray Vining is probably best known for her volume on *Windows for the Crown Prince,* telling about her years after World War II as tutor for the heir to the throne of Japan. But she was well known as a writer for children long before that assignment, including the winning of the coveted Newberry Award. She has also written for Friends, including a biography of Rufus M. Jones, titled *Friend for Life.*

Cornelia Spencer is the pen name of Grace Yaukey, a Washington Friend and sister of Pearl Buck, who has written scores of books for children and young people, primarily on Asia.

Undoubtedly most non-Friends know Jessamyn West best among Quaker writers because of her volume on *The Friendly Persuasion,* which was widely read and then seen by hundreds of thousands as a movie. Among Friends she is well known for her volume *The Quaker Reader.*

Among the many writers on Quakerism such names come to mind as Anna Cox Brinton, Carolina Nicholson Jacob, Carol Murphy, Daisy Newman, and Mildred Young. Among English Quaker authors there is Elfrida Vipont Foulds and Janet Whitney (who was born in Britain but spent much of her life in the United

States). Elsewhere reference is made to two Swedish Quaker writers — Emilia Fogelklou Norlind and Elsa Cedergren.

Quite recently women have been appointed to two of the most important positions in the Society of Friends in the U.S.A. — Kara Cole as administrative secretary of the Friends United Meeting and Asia Bennett as the national executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

And Others. To the names of those who have been mentioned in this chapter, thousands of others could be added. They are the inconspicuous rather than the conspicuous — the Quaker women who have helped to raise fine families, served on a wide variety of committees locally and in larger bodies of Friends, taught Sunday School or First Day School classes, sewed for the American Friends Service Committee, or served in other ways. Their name is legion.

Quaker Women Integrating the Different Facets of Their Lives. One extremely important dimension of the role of Quaker women has been almost completely neglected in written accounts in the past and that is the way in which many Quaker women, known and unknown, have been able to integrate the different facets of their lives in a remarkable way. In a recent talk to the adult discussion group of the Brooklyn Friends Meeting, Nancy Black commented in a very perceptive way on this fact, pointing out that such persons have been "liberated women" in the best sense of that term — helping to raise their families, taking part in Meeting activities, and participating in humanitarian movements and/or working at a job.

She attributed such integration or wholeness in living to a number of factors, such as the right ordering of their priorities, with spiritual values uppermost; their view of marriage "under the Meeting as a shared undertaking; the spiritual and psychological support of the larger group; and the accent on living a life rather than merely earning a living.

In these times, when so many persons are struggling to redefine the roles of men and women and of family life, perhaps there is much in the Quaker way of life at its best which can speak to our condition.

Some Questions on Chapter 8

1. What idea or ideas struck you most forcefully in this chapter? Why?
2. What other names of outstanding women would you add to this chapter?
3. In what social and humanitarian movements are Quaker women in your Meeting and/or yearly meeting most active now?
4. In what contemporary movements do you think Quaker women should be active now? Why?
5. How do you react to the section of this chapter on the integration by some Quaker women of the several different facets of their lives?
6. How many women have served in recent years as clerks of your monthly, quarterly, and yearly meeting?

A Brief Reading List on the Role of Women in the Society of Friends

Bacon, Margaret H. *As Way Opens: The Story of Quaker Women in America.* Friends United Press, 1980. 132 pp.

Bacon, Margaret H. *Valiant Friend: Lucretia Mott.* Walker and Company, 1980. 265 pp.

Bacon, Margaret H. *The Quaker Struggle for the Rights of Women.* American Friends Service Committee, 1974. 21 pp.

Barbour, Hugh. *Margaret Fell Speaking.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1976. 32 pp.

Calderone, Mary S. *Human Sexuality and the Quaker Conscience.* Friends General Conference, 1973. 22 pp. A Rufus Jones Lecture.

California Yearly Meeting. *Margaret Fell Fox: Quaker Activist.* Undated, 3 pp.

Leach, Robert J. *Women Ministers: A Quaker Contribution.* Pendle Hill, 1979. 29 pp.

Luder, Hope Elizabeth. *Women and Quakerism.* Pendle Hill, 1974. 36 pp.

Chapter 9
Some Quaker Testimonies and Concerns

Individuals and groups, including those religiously oriented, have at least four alternatives from which to choose in determining their relationships with the world: (1) they can withdraw from it and live in isolation or comparative isolation; (2) they can accept the existing economic, social, and political order as it is; (3) they can work for minor modifications of the status quo; or (4) they can strive for major and sometimes radical changes which they feel will help create better conditions for everyone locally, nationally, and globally.

Individually and in groups Quakers have taken all these positions at some point in time or in some place. For example, during the 18th century many Friends in the United States lived in rural Quaker communities, in comparative isolation from the world. Over the centuries, however, many Friends have accepted the existing economic, social, and political order without much criticism. Probably most Friends today, as well as in times past, adhere to the third alternative, helping to bring about minor changes in their communities, in their nations, and/or in the wider world. However, there have always been some Friends who have developed strong individual concerns about major modifications in conditions at home and/or in a larger geographical area. They have pursued these concerns patiently and persistently, and sometimes they have been successful in persuading larger groups of Friends to support such changes.

One of the best statements on Quakers and the attitudes they should take on the world around them was made by William Penn when he wrote:

> True religion does not draw men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavors to mend it.

Some Friends would edit Penn's remark to read "to change it radically," rather than merely to mend it.

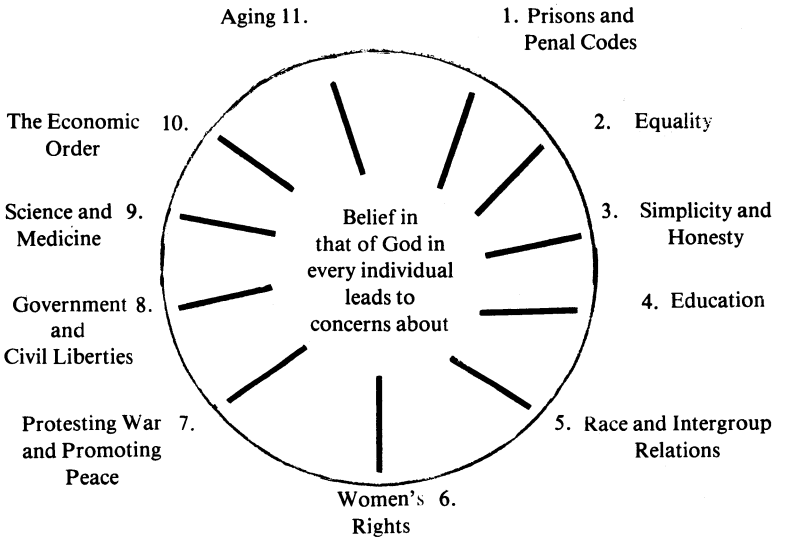
Public appreciation and praise for the role of Quakers in "mending" the world, or even at times in trying to change it radically, probably reached its peak in 1947 when the Nobel Peace

Prize was awarded jointly to the American Friends Service Committee and its British counterpart — the Friends Service Council.

Unfortunately, however, most non-Friends do not know why pioneering in a variety of causes has been characteristic of Quakers at their best. All too often non-Friends, and even some Friends, think of Quakerism as a service organization, a peace association, or an alternative to the Red Cross.

Only when one understands the importance of the idea of The Inner Light can one fully appreciate the activities of Friends in so many movements for human betterment. At the core of Quakerism is the belief that in every individual is something of the Divine. That is a revolutionary doctrine, with tremendous implications for every aspect of life. It is like the hub of a wheel, with many spokes emanating from it. And the greater the circumference of the wheel, the stronger the hub must be. That is why it is so important to bear in mind the fact that the 200,000 Quakers in the world today do not belong to a Society of Friends; they belong to a RELIGIOUS Society of Friends.

This deep-seated belief of that of God in every individual has led and still leads to a wide variety of concerns for the betterment of human beings everywhere. In a simple visualization, it might look like this:



Writing a few years ago about *Friends and Service,* Dorothy Hutchinson pointed out that there are at least seven characteristics of Quaker social concerns: (1) a Quaker concern requires a prepared individual, (2) the concerned individual makes direct contact with the evil, (3) the concerned individual establishes empathy for the object of his or her concern, (4) such an individual is willing to work for any minor, unspectacular, partial solution of a big problem, (5) that person does not rest until he or she has penetrated through the superficial evil to its roots, (6) the concerned individual eventually becomes more sensitive to all social evils, and (7) the concerned individual is willing to accept censure and ridicule. Implied but not stated is the involvement of others in the same search.

In carrying out their concerns, individuals and groups have at least four major methods of change from which to choose. One is to influence individuals, institutions, and movements. A second is to work for change through mediation and arbitration. A third is influence legislation, especially through an organization like the Friends Committee on National Legislation. A fourth is to serve as legislators or administrators in government.

Let us look, then, at some of the major economic, social, and political concerns of Quakers over the more than 300 years of the existence of the Society of Friends. There are others, particularly more specific religious concerns, but these 11 categories demonstrate some of the evils in the world against which many Friends, in many places, and at many points in history, have contended. In this chapter we will consider six of them, with the other five developed in Chapter 10.

(1) Friends and Prisons and Penal Codes. The conditions of prisons and the treatment of prisoners was an early concern of 17th century Quakers. It was a field in which they were experts — an estimated 8000 of them being incarcerated in such institutions in one year alone — 1661. Fox himself spent six years in various prisons and from them wrote to many government officials about the unbelievable conditions in them and the way in which they served as "schools" for future crimes.

Penn, too, was imprisoned and his experiences there helped him to formulate a radical new penal code for the colony of Pennsylvania. In it the 200 crimes which were punishable in England by death were reduced to two — murder and treason, and

work programs were inaugurated in order to prevent idleness and give prisoners some useful skills which could be used when they left those institutions.

Perhaps the first time Quakers became interested in a movement for penal reform was in 1776 in Philadelphia when Friends took part in the establishment of the Philadelphia Society for Relieving Distressed Prisoners. Later that association was entrusted with the administration of the Walnut Street Prison. In that jail, work was introduced and each cell opened on to a small garden in which the prisoners could walk. Some changes were also made in the state prisons of Pennsylvania, changes which were radical in those times.

The wider involvement of Friends in prison work really got under way, however, early in the 19th century as a result of the efforts of a French Quaker, Stephen Grellet, who was living in the United States and made a visit to the infamous Newgate prison in England. Appalled by conditions there, he enlisted the interest of Elizabeth Fry. After her initial visits to the women and children in that institution, she devoted much of her time, energy, and talents to the improvement of conditions in English prisons, arousing a keen interest on the part of many Quakers and others in prison reform. That work spread later to other countries and Elizabeth Fry is usually accorded credit for the world-wide interest in prison reform.

Meanwhile Quakers gradually began to oppose the death penalty, maintaining that it was immoral for society to kill individuals. Friends said that in doing so, people were killing some part of the Divine. Henry van Etten, a 20th century Friend in France, long interested in prison reform, once pointed out that "The first of all associations for the abolition of capital punishment was founded in 1808, mostly by Quakers." The Minutes of London Yearly Meeting for 1818, 1830, and 1847 report the unity of Friends in this regard.

In more recent times many individual Friends have been outstanding in their contributions to the improvement of conditions in prisons or in work with juvenile delinquents. Among them have been or are J. Hoge Ricks of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, Curtis Bok and Francis Bacon of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Fay Honey Knopp and Robert Morton of New York Yearly Meeting, and Geraldine Cadbury of London Yearly Meeting.

During World War II many conscientious objectors were in

federal prisons in the United States and some of them became intensely interested in prisons and prisoners, an interest which has persisted since that time.

In very recent years Quakers interest in prisons has taken a new turn, with many Meetings encouraging their members to visit in such institutions. From those visits Quaker Meetings have been started in several state institutions, with one Preparative Meeting being established in the Auburn Prison in New York state. Friends in New York Yearly Meeting have also conducted training courses in a few prisons, on nonviolence.

(2) Friends and Equality. Another concern of early Friends was in equality. Living in a world which was highly stratified economically, socially, and politically, they strove to correct this caste system.

Instead of addressing their family members and friends in one form of speech and government officials and others in another, they used the common form of thee and thou to everyone.

Instead of taking off their hats to government officials, as was the custom in those times, they took off their hats only in Meetings for Worship when praying to God.

And instead of placing women in an inferior role, they accorded women equality or near-equality with men, a very radical innovation in 17th century England.

When Quakers migrated to the American colonies, they carried this concern about equality with them, becoming pioneers in the fair treatment of Indians and later of Negroes or Blacks.

So influential was their testimony on equality that Charles Woodman, in his book *Quakers Find A Way,* asserted that:

> The Quaker testimony seemingly had its effect in hastening the day when a new nation in the process of its birth pangs could write among the first sentences of its Declaration of Independence the statement "all men are created equal."

In fact Quakers went further than that statement, maintaining that all human beings are created equal.

For more than 300 years the idea of equality has remained a central concern of Quakers, taking various forms at different times and in different places. It was the basis of the concern of British Friends over a long period of time about the widening of the franchise. It was the basis of the concern of American Friends about slavery. It was the basis of the concern of Friends in Germany and in other places about the plight of the Jews under

Hitler and his cohorts. It was the basis of the concern of American Friends for the Japanese-Americans who were placed in detainment camps during World War II. And it was and is the basis of the concern of Australian Quakers for the aborigenes of that continent and of Southern African Friends regarding apartheid.

In several parts of this chapter and the succeeding one, there will be other references to this fundamental tenet of Quakers.

(3) Friends and Simplicity and Honesty. From the earliest days of the Quaker movement Friends were concerned about simplicity and honesty. Those closely-related priorities arose for several reasons. One was the revulsion against the excesses, sham, and superficiality of the Elizabethen period; views shared by many Puritans in 17th century England. A second was the realization by Friends that if there was to be time for inner refreshment and for outward concerns, their lives would need to be simplified. Closely related was the feeling that one's time, energy, money, and other resources should be devoted to The Good Life. As Penn once wrote, "The very trimmings of the vain world would clothe all the naked ones."

Hence, Friends stressed simplicity in dress, simplicity in their homes and meeting houses, simplicity in their recreation, and even simplicity in weddings and funerals.

Such practices have sometimes been called The Simplicity of Truth. Today we might refer to them as the right ordering of our lives or our priorities.

Some interesting correlaries of the concern for simplicity also developed. Occasionally Friends turned down business in order to be free to carry out personal concerns or Meeting business, as in the case of John Woolman and his tailoring business. Sometimes Quakers retired from business relatively early in life in order to pursue Friendly activities, such as travelling in the ministry.

However, some unfortunate developments stemmed from the testimony on simplicity. One was the perpetuation of the simple garb of the 17th century rather than the wearing of simple clothing of later times. Another was the use of the thee and thou or "plain language" long after its initial meaning had disappeared. Still another was the shunning of the arts — especially music and art — rather than a sensible use of those important aspects of enhanced living.

During most of the 20th century, Friends in the United States did not give a high priority to the testimony on simplicity. But in recent

years more and more Friends have raised this concern to a new level of consciousness. This has been especially true among younger Friends. One of the more recent developments in this regard has been the establishment of small communities based on simple living, in both rural and urban areas.

To early Friends honesty and forthrightness were also highly important. For example, they took literally the Biblical injunction "Swear not at all." And so they refused to take the oath in courts, maintaining that their word was as good as their bond. And they tried to lead lives in which their yeas were really yeas and their nays actually nays.

In business that meant that early Quakers were pioneers in espousing the single price system rather than the custom of that day of haggling over prices. And because of their reputation for honesty, people were glad to entrust their money to Quakers. Hence the beginning of banks run by Quakers — such as the Barclays, Frys, Gurneys, and Hoares.

(4) Friends and Education. From almost the beginning of the Quaker movement, education was a concern of high priority. Except for Fox, the outstanding leaders of that new movement (such as Penn, Penington, and Barclay) were men with a superior education who recognized the importance of formal schooling. And even though Fox had very little formal education, he pressed early, contnuously, and strenuously for the establishment of Quaker schools. In fact, it was largely due to his initiative that such schools were established.

Schools were particularly important to Friends because they had no trained clergymen. They were likewise needed because the Quaker movement was a form of religious democracy and needed educated citizens. Furthermore, Quaker schools were necessary to educate the young in the unique Friendly way of life — preparing them for the world as Quakers thought it should be rather than the secular world as it was.

And because girls and women were to be equal with boys and men in the Quaker world, education was provided for both sexes. At first the schools were separate, but any education for girls in those days was radical. Soon, however, they became coeducational and Friends have long been known for such schools at all levels of learning.

Friends also became well-known for their emphasis upon practical subjects, for nature study, and for the development of a

sense of community, with the Meeting for Worship at the center. Thus Quaker schools stressed the four r's, adding religion to readin', ritin', and 'rithmetic.

As Quakerism spread to the American colonies, Friends schools were established in connection with many Meetings. Scores of those schools existed for a long time, prior to the development of public education in the United States.

In the 19th century, in both England and the United States, Quakers were pioneers in the establishment of secondary schools. Some of them were boarding schools, often under the care of a yearly meeting. In both nations those schools contributed enormously to an educated elite. A few such institutions still exist in England and in the United States but many of them have disappeared as public education has expanded.

Meanwhile many Friends had become interested in promoting free public education. A large number of Quakers taught in those schools; others acted as administrators or as members of local Boards of Education. Much has been written about Quaker Schools; far too little on the contributions of Quakers in England and in the United States to public education.

Two other movements in education took place among Quakers in the United States in the 19th century. One was the establishment of several colleges under the care of Friends. Almost all of those institutions are still in existence, plus a few more recent ones, spanning the continent from the Friends World College in New York State to Whittier College in California and the George Fox College in Oregon. Friends and friends of Friends also played a significant role in the establishment of other institutions of higher learning, such as Brown University, Cornell University, Johns Hopkins University, and Lincoln University.

The second movement in education in which Quakers in the United States were interested in the 19th century was education for Indians and Negroes or Blacks, about which comments will be made later in this chapter.

Then, when the missionary movement began in the 19th century, Friends continued their interest in education, almost always linking the establishment of Quaker schools abroad with their more obvious religious work. Hence Quaker schools were established in such places as Cuba, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, and Palestine.

Believing that education was too important to limit to the young,

English Friends in the late 19th and early 20th centuries developed several programs for adults, with adult schools, study groups, and conferences. In 1903 they established Woodbrooke, in Birmingham, as a center for the study of religion, the Bible, and Quakerism. Friends in the United States developed similar programs for adults, although it was not until 1930 that Pendle Hill was established near Philadelphia as an American counterpart of Woodbrooke.

In the 20th century several new Quaker schools and colleges have been started and many older institutions have reexamined their Quakerly dimensions.

Education is a broad term and it is possible that the "largest Quaker school" in a sense has been the American Friends Service Committee. At least that is the interesting proposal made several years ago by Eric W. Johnson to the Westtown (School) Alumni Association.

Although never satisfied that their institutions are truly "Quaker," individuals connected with these schools were heartened in the 1970s when a survey of independent schools in the U.S.A. stated that:

> By far the most productive of the denominational schools are those sponsored by the Society of Friends. While some of the productivity . . . may be attributable to their selecting students of high academic aptitude, and while only a minority . . . are Quakers, these schools are so superior in productivity . . . that it seems probable that a specific Quaker influence is at work.

Meanwhile Quakers as individuals have continued to contribute to public education through such outstanding persons as Clark Kerr, the one-time President of Cornell University and then of the gigantic university system of California; and Ernest Boyer, one-time commissioner of education in New York state and more recently the head of the United States Office of Education.

(5) Friends and Race and Intergroup Relations. In many ways 17th century England was a relatively homogeneous society. Consequently Friends were not confronted with the problems of dealing with people of other races. However, as many of them moved to the American colonies, they often came into close contact with Indians and Negroes or Blacks.

Their relations with the Indians is one of the most commendable stories in Quaker history. For 100 years Friends lived peacefully with the Indians in Rhode Island and for 70 years in Pennsylvania.

Then, when Quakers withdrew from the Pennsylvania legislature because they would not support the French and Indian War, they organized associations to continue their work with the Indians, especially in defending their rights.

Eventually, however, government policy herded the Indians into reservations in the middle and far western parts of the United States. But Friends maintained their interest in the Indians in those new locations, especially for the tribes with whom they had had contact back east.

Aware of the keen interest of Friends in Indians and of their reputation for fair dealings with them, President Grant asked for a list of Quakers who could be appointed as government agents on the Indian reservations, and he appointed several Friends to such posts. Quakers soon became teachers, clerks, doctors, and other employees in Indian Schools. By 1889, however, Friends asked to be relieved of such positios, due to the lack of cooperation on the part of the federal government.

Since that time, however, some Quakers have continued their interest in Indians and there is still an Associated Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs. In recent years Quakers have been especially active in defending the rights of that group when the federal government has sought to break treaties when it felt, for example, that dams needed to be built on Indian land.

Quaker concern about slavery dates back to 1688 when a group of Friends in Germantown, in the Philadelphia area, issued a Minute protesting that commonly-accepted practice. It was many years afterward, however, before Friends in general denounced slavery and urged members to free their slaves and not to take part in any way in that iniquitous practice.

As recorded elsewhere in this book, Friends played a leading role in the anti-slavery movement and the Underground Railroad. Then, after the Civil War, many Friends went south to establish schools for Negroes and to work in other ways to assist the newly liberated people.

Meanwhile English Friends had taken action to abolish the slave trade in the British Empire, a practice which was brought to a halt in 1833.

Later, several Quakers in the United States helped to form what are now the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In the 1940s the American Friends Service Committee started two innovative programs in race relations. One was the establishment of Visiting Professorships by which outstanding Blacks were "loaned" to American colleges as lecturers in the fields in which they were preminent, thus exposing hundreds of white students and professors to some of the most learned Black professionals. The A.F.S.C. also sought employment for skilled Blacks in business and stores, dealing directly with the owners of such establishments in an attempt to open up wider employment possibilities for qualified Blacks. Then, in the 1960s many Friends were active in the Civil Rights movement.

Meanwhile American Quakers played a leading role in aid to the Japanese-Americans who were rounded up and placed in detention camps after Pearl Harbor, despite their outstanding record of loyalty to the United States.

Friends in other parts of the world have likewise defended other minority groups and promoted improved intergroup relations. This was especially true of Friends when the persecution of Jews broke out in Germany and other parts of Europe, fanned by the Hitler movement. Canadian Quakers have long championed the rights of Indians in their country, Australian Quakers have worked valiantly for the aborigenes in that land, and Southern Africa Quakers have long sought to improve conditions for the Blacks of that nation.

In the United States a few Blacks have joined the Society of Friends and added their talents to the Quaker movement. Among them have been such well-known persons as Barrington Dunbar, Ira Reid, and Bayard Rustin. Although their number has increased in recent years, there are still very few Black members of the Religious Society of Friends.

(6) Friends and Women's Rights. Over the years many Quakers have also been pioneers in various efforts to secure equal rights for women, not only in the Society of Friends but in the wider world. Because of the importance of that movement in our contemporary world and because the record of Friends is outstanding in this regard, a separate chapter has been devoted in this book to that topic. Therefore it is merely mentioned here as another of the many Quaker concerns and testimonies.

Some Questions on Chapter 9

1. What idea or ideas struck you most forcefully in this chapter? Why?
2. In which of these testimonies are you most interested? Why?
3. In which of these testimonies or concerns is your local Meeting most interested? Why?
4. Is there any testimony or concern mentioned in this chapter in which your local Meeting is not interested? If so, why?
5. In the opening paragraph of this chapter four alternatives for action were mentioned. Which of these approaches do you favor? Why?

For references, see pages 135-137, at the end of Chapter 10.

Chapter 10
Other Quaker Testimonies and Concerns

In addition to the six testimonies and concerns cited in Chapter 9, there have been other problems in which Quakers have been interested for more than 300 years. Five of those topics will be delineated in this chapter. They are numbered here as a continuation from Chapter 9.

(7) Friends Protesting War and Promoting Peace. From the earliest days of the Quaker movement to the present, the peace testimony has been one of the Society's chief concerns.

Important as other considerations have been and are to Friends, the peace testimony has always been basically a religious one. It grows out of the fundamental belief of that of God in every human being. Hence, if you kill anyone, you are destroying a part of the Divine. It is also supported by the Bible, from the commandment in the Old Testament that "Thou shalt not kill," to the admonition of Jesus in the New Testament to "love your enemies" and his statement that "Blessed are the peacemakers." Consequently Quakers at their best have always been religious pacifists.

Individual Quakers have not always adhered to the pacifist position but the official posture of the Religious Society of Friends has been against participation in wars and for a variety of activities for peace.

Steadfastness in this testimony has often resulted in suffering. As a result of following the leadings of Truth, many Friends have gone to prison. Others have lost their property and/or their jobs. Still others have lost the support of their families and friends. Nevertheless they have persisted in their belief in the sacredness of human lives and in the importance of constructing paths to peace.

In the history of the Society of Friends there have been several approaches to this testimony. They include the following: (1) attempts to prevent wars and protests against wars; (2) relief, reconstruction, and reconciliation; (3) work through peace organizations; (4) examination of basic issues and statements on them; (5) provision for alternative experiences to war for young

people; (6) fostering education about conflicts, conflict resolution, and world affairs; (7) attempts to influence legislation in a nation against war and for peace; (8) efforts to create and/or strengthen international governmental organizations; and (9) peace research.

The life of George Fox provides us with examples of both the negative and positive elements of the broad-based peace testimony. When offered a captaincy in the army by Oliver Cromwell, Fox declined. That was his veto of war as a method of bringing about changes. His more positive approach was summarized in the following crisp and comprehensive statement:

> I told them that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that takes away the occasion for wars.

As early as 1660 Friends in England recorded a Minute which stated:

> We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fighting with outward weapons for any end or under any pretence whatever. . . . the Spirit of Christ which leads us into Truth will never move us to fight and war against any man . . . neither for the Kingdom of Christ nor for the kingdoms of this world.

And throughout Quaker history, various groups of Friends have tried to avert wars or to protest participation in them once they arose. For example, Quakers in Rhode Island tried to prevent what became known as King Phillips War in the 1670s, between the Indians and the colonists. Before the American Revolution such English Friends as Dr. John Fothergill and David Barclay (the grandson of Robert Barclay) pled with British officials to take measures which would prevent the outbreak of war with the American colonies. In the 1840s the Meeting for Sufferings in London sent Joseph Sturge and two other Friends to Russia to try to persuade Czar Nicholas I to avert what became the Crimean War.

So one could continue to enumerate the many conflicts which Friends through the centuries have tried to prevent, or against which they have protested once war started, up to and including the recent conflicts in South Asia.

Once wars have broken out, however, Friends have often been helpless to do much until the end of the conflicts. Then they have attempted to provide relief to those who have been hurt, to assist in reconstruction, and to foster reconciliation between the opposing sides. In fact Friends have become famous for such efforts. Examples can be cited from many places and at many times in the

past 300 years — such as the work of Friends in Ireland in the 1840s, in the Civil War in the 1860s in the United States, in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, in both World War I and World War II, and more recently in such places as Germany, Vietnam, India and Pakistan, and Nigeria.

Some Friends and some non-Friends have even been disturbed by the reputation of Quakers for relief, reconstruction, and reconciliation, saying that Friends are far better at providing band-aids to conflict situations than in diagnosing the ills of Planet Earth and taking measures to eradicate the causes of national and international malaise.

However, Quakers have been outstanding in their support of many organizations formed to promote peace. Two of these have been the National Peace Council in England and the Peace Association in the United States. As mentioned in the chapter on The Unique Role of Quaker Women, many individuals have been active in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in national chapters and in the international organization. The same is true of both men and women Friends in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, nationally and internationally. In this regard special mention should be made of the almost life-long work of A.J. Muste, a Friend, as the executive secretary of the F.O.R. in the United States.

Another important approach of Friends to peace has been the study of basic issues in an attempt to understand them better and to support ways of averting conflicts and promoting the conditions in which peace, justice, and equality can be promoted. Sometimes such studies are carried on in Friends Meetings or Friends Churches. Often they are carried on in yearly meeting sessions and/or in national meetings of Quaker groups. Particularly outstanding in recent years have been the study groups or task forces of the American Friends Service Committee, involving a small group of experts in a given field. After months of study they have issued publications on broad issues. Among them have been such books and pamphlets as *Meeting of Minds, Steps to Peace: A Quaker View of the U.S. Foreign Policy, Toward Security Through Disarmament, Search for Peace in the Middle East, The United States and the Soviet Union: Some Quaker Proposals for Peace,* and *Speak Truth to Power: A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence.* Such publications have been widely read by experts in

world affairs as well as by others. Occasionally they have served as study guides for discussion groups.

Occasionally Friends have also tried to provide opportunities for young people in particular, in the field of peace or international affairs. One example of such alternative service would be the peace caravans in the United States. Another would be the work camp movement, started by the Swiss Quaker, Pierre Ceresole, and fostered by the A.F.S.C. and the Friends Service Council, as "the moral equivalent of war."

Friends, too, have long fostered the education of their members and many non-Friends on world affairs. Such efforts have ranged from study groups and public forums in local Meetings to the summer international institutes of the American Friends Service Committee. Several Quaker schools and colleges have also made a distinct contribution in the education of their students in world affairs. Along this line one might mention particularly the peace education departments of Earlham College and Wilmington College and the innovative overseas program of the Friends World College.

A particularly effective program is carried on today in many schools by the Center for Global Perspectives in New York City, with Robert Gilmore as its guiding light. Originally started by the New York Friends Group, this organization is now the leading independent sponsor in the U.S.A. for education on world affairs in American schools.

An especially innovative program was developed several years ago by the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Service Council in the convening of conferences or seminars of young diplomats from many countries. Today many of those young diplomats are in positions of authority in their home countries or in international organizations.

Quakers, too, have tried in many countries to influence legislation which would protest the escalation of the world-wide armaments race or promote better economic conditions in various countries, thus contributing indirectly to the push for peace. Sometimes local Friends Meetings have written the President of the United States, their Senators, or their Representatives. Occasionally they have sat down and talked with their Congressional representatives. Often they have worked through the headquarters of the

Friends Committee on National Legislation in Washington or through its regional and state offices.

Realizing the importance of international organizations, some Friends have supported efforts to create such bodies and/or to strengthen them. It is amazing, for example, to realize that William Penn proposed a Federation for Europe, thus antedating the formation of the European Community by approximately 200 years.

In more recent times many Friends and Friends groups supported the creation of the League of Nations and made valiant efforts to make it an effective institution. Special mention should be made of the fact that a Japanese Quaker, Dr. Inazo Nitobe, was the under-secretary of that organization.

Another Friend active for many years in the field of world affairs, especially in disarmament, was Philip Noel-Baker, an English Quaker, to whom the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in 1959.

Many individual Quakers and some Quaker groups also supported the establishment of the United Nations at the end of World War II and have been active in attempts to strengthen that broad-based, far-flung, world-wide organization. In addition, several individuals have held important posts in various parts of that many-faceted institution. For example, James Read served for several years as the High Commissioner for Refugees. Alice Shaffer was a top official of the United Nations Childrens Fund in Latin America over a long period. And the author of this study guide was the first director of the division on Education for International Understanding of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Another American Friend, Lloyd Bailey, has served and is still serving as the executive secretary of the closely allied United States Committee for UNICEF.

Extremely important work has been carried on, too, in the Quaker Centers in New York City and Geneva, largely behind the scenes, in bringing diplomats from many nations together for full and frank discussions which could not be held in the more political atmosphere of the U.N.

In the relatively recent field of peace research several Friends have also been active. Foremost among them was Lewis Fry Richardson, an English Friend, who pioneered in such efforts as far back as the close of World War I. Worth mentioning, too, is that fact that the International Peace Research Association grew

out of a conference in Switzerland, arranged by the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Service Council.

(8) Friends and Government and Civil Liberties. From the earliest days of the Quaker movement to the present, Friends have been involved in government. At times and in certain places they have been active as legislators and administrators, but they have been far more active and successful as lobbyists. In fact, a recent survey of the lobbying movement in England, conducted by a non-Friend, came to the conclusion that the fullest and first examples of lobbyists were Quakers.

This was especially true in the early years of Quakerism in the field of civil rights and civil liberties, with Friends insisting upon the right to affirm in courts rather than to swear; to wear their hats rather than to take them off to officials; to free trials, without pressure on juries; and to marry "in Meeting" rather than before civil authorities or ministers.

One of the most important trials in the history of civil liberties took place in 1670, involving William Penn and William Meade, with the jury standing firm against the pressures of the judge to punish these outstanding Quakers.

But Friends were interested in a wider range of problems than civil rights and civil liberties. For example, George Fox pled with members of Parliament very early in his career for work for the unemployed, both as a means of averting increased crime and of maintaining the self-respect of the unemployed.

Early in the history of the American colonies Friends played another role, that of colonial administrators. As noted elsewhere, there were ten Quaker governors, serving 32 terms, in Rhode Island. Friends were also important in North and South Carolina and in New Jersey. Of course their leading role was in Pennsylvania, the Quaker Utopia or Holy Experiment.

After their withdrawal as legislators in Pennsylvania, Quakers took little part in government in the colonies or in the new government of the United States when it was formed. But they did press for decades for the rights of conscientious objectors in wartime, for the abolition of slavery, for better conditions for the Indians, and for the extension of the suffrage to women, as well as other concerns.

For a very long time most Quakers in the United States were Republicans because of the association of the Democratic party with the support of slavery. But Friends have never agreed with

each other on supporting any single party. For example, two members of the Religious Society of Friends have run for President of the United States as Republicans; one has run for President as a Socialist — Darlington Hoopes of the Reading, Pennsylvania, Meeting.

In Great Britain Friends have been far more active as legislators and administrators than in the United States.

In the history of Friends in the U.S.A. as lobbyists, two organizations have been outstanding. The first was the National Council for the Prevention of War, founded by a Quaker, Frederick J. Libby, and vigorously supported by many Friends, although it was not a Quaker organization. The other is the Friends Committee on National Legislation, founded in 1944 and headed for many years by E. Raymond Wilson and then by Edward Snyder. The F.C.N.L. is a Quaker organization and has supported a wide range of Quaker concerns, such as civil rights, the abolition of the death penalty, reduced spending for military purposes, and aid to developing nations. The story of the F.C.N.L. has been written recently by Ray Wilson in an important book entitled *Uphill for Peace: Quaker Impact on Congress.* It is also important to mention that several state-wide committees have been formed by Friends, similar to the national committee.

(9) Friends and Science and Medicine. A fascinating aspect of Quakerism is the tremendous interest in and success of Friends in various aspects of science. Research in England has ascertained that a Quaker has had 20 to 30 times the chance of election to the Royal Society (the highest scientific honor that can be bestowed in Great Britain), as their fellow countrymen or countrywomen. And when Richard M. Sutton, a prominent chemist and professor at Haverford College, prepared his 1962 Ward Lecture at Guilford College on *Quaker Scientists,* he assembled a list of 300 such outstanding persons.

Three explanations are possible for this phenomenon. One is that Quakers in the early days were not likely to be involved in the arts and certainly not in the army, navy, or the established church. With those fields eliminated, they were likely to turn to science. Also there was an affinity between the Quaker attitude toward authority and experience in religion, and the scientific method. Both involved searching for Truth. And as a new science developed, it did not disturb Friends at their best, especially in regard to evolution. For

Quakers God was always at work; creation was never completed. And so with revelation; it has never ended, it is always opening new insights. In the third place, Quaker schools very early emphasized science.

Perhaps a brief Who's Who of some famous Quakers in science would be of interest to some readers; others will be mentioned in the section of this chapter on medicine.

Certainly one of the earliest Quaker contributors to science was John Dalton (1760-1844), the father of modern theories of atomic structure and chemical combinations. Then there was Joseph Lister (later Lord Lister), the father of modern antiseptic surgery. John Fothergill was a woolen draper by profession but his hobby was tropical species and he was able to collect more than 3000 species in his hothouses, making him one of the foremost collectors. In early America John Bartram stands out as one of the most famous botanists. Much later, Maria Mitchell was an eminent astronomer, a Vassar College professor, and the first woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

In more modern times two English Friends have been accorded high honors for their contributions to science. One was Arthur Eddington, who was made Sir Arthur S. Eddington for his work as an astrophysicist. Of particular interest to Quakers is his memorable Swarthmore Lecture on *Science and the Unseen World,* which attracted world-wide attention. The other is the famous chemist, Kathleen Lonsdale, the first woman selected in England as a Fellow of the Royal Society and the first woman to be knighted for scientific work.

In very recent times several American Quaker scientists were instrumental in establishing the Society for the Social Responsibility of Science as their positive reaction to the horrors of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In a similar way Quakers have made a distinct contribution to medicine, with a remarkable record for their concern for the mentally ill. The unusual number of Quakers in medicine probably is accounted for by the same reasons as their entrance into the broader field of science. In the case of mentally ill individuals, Quakers have undoubtedly been influenced by their core belief of the Divinity in every person, including those afflicted by mental troubles.

Fortunately summaries of some of the outstanding contribu-

tions of Quakers to medicine and psychiatry were made in papers read in 1976 at the Friends Medical Society in Philadelphia by Dr. Robert A. Clark and Dr. J. Russell Elkinton, and then printed as a pamphlet in 1978 with the title *The Quaker Heritage in Medicine,* from which most of the information which follows, was taken.

One facet of the life of George Fox that has not been known until recently was his belief in faith healing. Due to the sleuthing of Henry Cadbury, Fox's *Book of Miracles,* long suppressed by well-meaning Friends, was found and published. So, from the earliest days until now, with the Friends Fellowship of Healing — in England, there have been a few Friends who carried their belief in the healing powers of The Spirit to this final point.

Throughout the more than 300 years of Quaker history there have been a great many Friends who have served with devotion and distinction in a wide range of fields in medicine, from work with children to work with older people, and from research to teaching and writing.

The mention of a few such persons may help to document this broad statement. Elkinton characterizes John Fothergill (1712-1780) as the outstanding Quaker doctor of that century. A student at the Universities of Leyden and Edinburgh, he was an eminent physician and a man who was interested in such widely separated fields as sanitary water supplies and prison reform, as well as his hobby of tropical species, already mentioned. In the next period, Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911), a cousin of Charles Darwin, was well-known. Among his many contributions was his work as founder of the statistics of eugenics or genetics and his discovery of fingerprints as a means of identification. In the next period Sir George Newman (1870-1948) stands out as the first chief medical officer in the newly formed Ministry of Health in England in 1919. And then there was Lord Lister, already mentioned in this chapter.

In the late 19th century and on into the 20th century several Quaker doctors served with distinction abroad as a part of the missionary movement. Then, in World War I and in World War II, a large number of Quakers, many of them young persons, served in the Friends Ambulance Unit, especially in China. More recently Quaker doctors have been used by the Friends Service Council and the American Friends Service Committee in a wide range of projects, from Finland to Ethiopia to Vietnam.

Quakers have had a special concern for people with troubled minds. As early as 1671 London Quakers were establishing a place

for people who were disturbed, lest they be set loose to roam the streets. But the greatest strides for the care of the mentally ill came with the establishment in Philadelphia in 1751 of the Pennsylvania Hospital, in which Friends took part, and then of the Friends Hospital, opened in Philadelphia in 1817 — and still in existence. Meanwhile The Retreat, a special place for the loving care of disturbed persons, was opened in York, England, in 1796.

From those early times until today there have been many Quaker doctors interested in the mentally ill. During World War II many conscientious objectors in the United States served in mental hospitals as their alternative service and became interested in those institutions. Then, during the Vietnam war, many conscientious objectors served in the Friends Hospital in Philadelphia and in the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospitals in Baltimore.

In recent years a related interest has developed among American Friends, namely The Conference on Religion and Psychology, a group which meets yearly and has an official journal, *Inward Light.* Many of the members of that group are followers of Carl Jung.

(10) Friends and the Economic Order. Throughout the history of Quakerism there has been some concern for the economic order, although that concern has been aimed chiefly at reforming the existing economic structure rather than reconstructing it.

In the beginning of the Quaker movement most of the economic efforts of Friends were for their own members who were destitute. But there was some concern for others. For example, Fox recorded in his *Journal* several incidents where he tried to right wrongs. One was when a group of impoverished travellers asked for help from the local church people and were denied assistance. But Fox came to their rescue with a small gift of money. On another occasion he walked eight miles to a neighboring town to protest against the unfair wages set by the local judge. On still another occasion he protested to the members of Parliament about the unemployment in England. Laudable as these isolated incidents were, they do not indicate any deep concern of Fox for the economic order of his day.

However, early Friends were credited with bringing about the substitution of the single price system for the practice of haggling over prices. And because they were known to be honest, people often left their money with Friends for safekeeping, thus bringing about the banking system which is studded with Quaker names, such as Barclay, Gurney, and Hoare.

Undoubtedly the most radical proposals of a Friend in economics in the early days were those of John Bellers. Today he would be known as a socialist. His chief concern was unemployment and his constructive plan, contained in his Proposals for a College of Industry, was for the establishment of new communities which would spread the population more evenly over the country, open waste land for cultivation, increase the wealth of the nation, and assist the poor. One such community was eventually established by Friends and lasted for a few years before it was abandoned.

As Kenneth Boulding, a distinguished Quaker economist, pointed out in a chapter on Economic Life in John Kavanaugh's book on *The Quaker Approach,* the great contribution of Friends in the 18th century came in the technical changes in such industries as iron and steel, lead and zinc mining, porcelain, and railroads. Many of the technical changes in those fields were the inventions of Quakers.

In the 19th century many Friends were active in business, including some who were involved in the manufacture of liquor. Some of them had uneasy consciences on that score and turned to the production of candy, especially chocolates. Hence the prominence of such Quaker names in that industry as the Cadburys, Frys, and Rowntrees. A later generation then became disturbed by the conditions in their factories and in the living accommodations for their employees. From that uneasiness arose a concern for better working and living conditions and the establishment of model communities, spearheaded by the Rowntrees. Today such an approach would be considered by many as paternalistic, but it was a great advance in its day and influenced many other company owners.

One of the most radical suggestions concerning the economic order was a statement approved by London Yearly Meeting in 1915, known as The Foundations of a Just Social Order. It called upon Friends to take more drastic steps to bring the economic and social order into line with Christian and Quaker principles. Since that time the eight principles enunciated in that document have been discussed at several yearly meetings but no unity has been reached in their implementation.

Within a few years after that Minute, both Philadelphia Yearly Meetings recorded similar views. The Arch Street Yearly Meeting even went to far as to assert that the profit motive was inconsistent

with the Sermon on the Mount. But little has ever been done to implement that Minute.

In recent times many English Friends have been active in the British Labor Party and some have formed an association of Quaker socialists. Most Friends in other countries, however, have been less likely to be associated with any movement endorsing socialist principles in economics and government.

Quaker concern about the right sharing of the world's resources led London Yearly Meeting in 1968 to urge its members to tax themselves voluntarily an additional 1% of their incomes, after regular government taxes, and to devote that money to capital development in economically needy nations. That same year the Germany Yearly Meeting wrote a similar Minute. Since that time several yearly meetings in various parts of the world, have taken similar action.

An especially promising development started in 1970 when Friends on an international scale organized an experimental program, called Partnership for Productivity, headed by David Scull, a member of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. In that program individuals and groups are aided in setting up small companies to increase production, a type of self-help. In the late 1970s that program was active in Kenya, Liberia, Botswana, Upper Volta, and Malawi.

In recent years Friends in several places have also been concerned about their investments in companies which are contributing to the war industry and/or to racial injustice, especially in South Africa. This has been especially true of the endowment funds of Quaker schools and colleges.

Despite these examples of concern, most Friends have not distinguished themselves over the centuries in the radical reconstruction of the economic order.

(11) Friends and Aging. Quakers have long maintained an interest in the problems of older persons. This concern has widened and intensified in recent years, especially in the United States, as a result of the increased longevity of so many individuals.

So far that concern has taken two directions. One is the establishment of committees or commissions to determine ways in which older Friends can be helped, and the setting up of seminars or study groups locally, in yearly meetings, and on a national scale.

The other approach has been the establishment of yearly meeting

homes and retirement communities for elderly Friends. A few such places have existed in the past in such places as New England, New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings. Others have been established more recently in such widely separated places as Greensboro, North Carolina, and Newberg, Oregon.

Other such retirement communities are run by corporations, composed solely or largely of Friends, rather than by official Quaker bodies.

So far this concern has been largely confined to Quakers rather than extended to other individuals in this category.

Conclusion. One of the most felicitous phrases in Quakerism is the title given to the book of discipline of many yearly meetings — *Faith and Practice*, thus indicating the close connection of these two aspects of our Society. And as Seth B. Hinshaw has pointed out in his recent volume on *Walk Cheerfully, Friends:*

> Our basic Quaker testimonies are not being made obsolete by the revolutionary changes and developments occurring in human life today. Each is becoming increasingly relevant. The rapid and violent convulsions which are shaking the world are actually creating unprecedented opportunities for the kinds of service which Quakers are especially qualified to render.

Some Questions on Chapter 10

1. What idea or ideas struck you most forcefully in this chapter? Why?
2. In which of these testimonies or concerns are you personally most interested? Why?
3. In which of these testimonies or concerns is your local Meeting most interested? Why?
4. Is there any testimony or concern mentioned in this chapter in which your Meeting is not interested? Why?
5. Do you see any relatively new concerns arising among Friends in the next few years or older concerns being revived? If so, what are they and why do you feel they will become prominent in the next decade?

A Reading List of Quakers and Social Concerns for Chapters 9 and 10

Some General References: Leaflets

Boulding, Kenneth E. *Friends and Social Change.* Friends General Conference, Undated. 4 pp.

Hutchison, Dorothy H. *Friends and Service.* Friends General Conference, Undated. 12 pp.

Marwick, William H. *Quaker Social Thought.* Friends Home Service Council-London, 1969. 48 pp.

Some General References: Books and Pamphlets

Some material on the social concerns of Quakers may be found in such general histories as those by Howard Brinton, Elbert Russell, Elton Trueblood, and Elfrida Vipont, as cited in the opening chapters of this volume. More specialized accounts occur in such materials as the following:

Bacon, Margaret H. *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of Quakers in America.* Basic Books, 1969, 229 pp. Brief sections on such concerns as Indians, prisons, the mentally ill, and poverty and equal rights.

Break the New Ground: Seven Essays by Contemporary Quakers. Friends World Committee, 1969. 138 pp. Includes chapters on peace in a revolutionary world, new dimensions in missions and service, the right sharing of the world's resources, and racial crises.

Bruyn, Severyn T. *Quaker Testimonies and Economic Activities.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1980. 35 pp.

Jonas, Gerald. *On Doing Good: The Quaker Experiment.* Scribner's, 1971. 177 pp. Primarily on recent concerns, interpreted in the light of Quaker history. Sections on conscientious objectors, community, housing in city ghettoes, medicine to Viet Nam, and other topics.

Kavanaugh, John (ed.). *The Quaker Approach to Contemporary Problems.* Putnam's, 1953. 243 pp. Although published in the 1950s this book contains much valuable information on a wide range of topics, such as civil liberties, crime and prisons, economic life, education, race relations, etc., with chapters by several prominent Quakers.

Newman, Daisy. *A Procession of Friends: Quakers in America.* Doubleday, 1972. 460 pp. Reprinted in a paperback by the Friends United Press in 1980. An unusually well-written

account with lively descriptions of various social concerns of Friends in the United States.

Aging

Allman, Wayne and Tollefson, Harold (eds.). *Guides to Creative Living.* Friends United Press, 1978. 41 pp.

Andrews, Elsie M. *Facing and Fulfilling the Later Years.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1968. 31 pp.

Hall, Pearl C. *Long Road to Freedom.* Friends United Press, 1978. 138 pp.

Crime and Prisons

Six Quakers Look at Crime and Punishment. Quaker Social Responsibility and Education, 1979. 46 pp.

See the sections in the Kavanaugh volume on *The Quaker Approach to Contemporary Problems* by Curtis Bok on Crime and Punishment, and by Henry Van Etten on Prisons and Prisoners.

Education: Quaker Schools and Colleges

Brinton, Howard. *Quaker Education in Theory and Practice.* Pendle Hill Publications, Undated. 135 pp.

Brown, Thomas S. *A Theology of Quaker Education.* An issue of *Quaker Religious Thought,* Winter 1968-1969.

Dorrance, Christopher A. *Reflections from Friends Education.* Friends Council on Education, 1982. 70 pp.

Heath, Douglas. *The Peculiar Mission of a Quaker School.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1979. 31 pp.

Heath, Douglas H. *Why a Friends School?* Pendle Hill Publications, 1969. 48 pp.

Hole, Helen G. *Things Civil and Useful: A Personal View of Quaker Education.* Friends United Press, 1978. 148 pp.

Peace and Lobbying

Brinton, Howard H. *Sources of the Quaker Peace Testimony.* Pendle Hill Publications, Undated. 46 pp.

Kenworthy, Leonard S. *The Friends Peace Testimony.* Friends United Press, 1975. 25 pp.

Libby, Frederick J. *To End War: The Story of the National Council for the Prevention of War.* Fellowship Publications, 1969. 188 pp.

New Call to Peacemaking: A Challenge to All Friends. Friends World Committee. 1976. 86 pp.

Wilson, E. Raymond. *Uphill for Peace: Quaker Impact on Congress.* Friends United Press, 1975. 432 pp.

Sex

Barnett, Walter. *Homosexuality and the Bible: An Interpretation.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1979. 32 pp.

Blamites, David. *Homosexuality From the Inside.* Social Responsibility Council — England, 1973. 45 pp.

Calderone, Mary S. *Human Sexuality and the Quaker Conscience.* Friends General Conference, 1973. 22 pp.

Calderone, Mary S. and Johnson, Eric W. *The Family Book About Sexuality.* Harper and Row, 1981. 330 pp.

Simplicity

Best, James S. *Another Way to Live: Experiencing Intentional Community.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1978. 29 pp.

Foster, Richard S. *Freedom of Simplicity.* Harper and Row, 1981. 200 pp.

Peck, George. *Simplicity: A Rich Quaker's View.* Pendle Hill Publications, 1973. 32 pp.

Prevallet, Elaine M. *Reflections on Simplicity.* Pendle Hill, 1982. 28 pp.

Women's Rights. See the bibliography at the end of Chapter 8.

Part Three

Some Other Aspects of Quakerism

Chapter 11
How the Religious Society of Friends Is Organized

In keeping with the basic outlook of Quakers, the organization of the Religious Society of Friends is very simple and extremely democratic. Participation in decision making and in administration is widespread and the leadership is composed largely of lay people rather than paid professionals. Much of the work of the Society is carried on by committees.

There are five levels of organization, determined primarily by geographical areas and by the frequency with which they meet. Hence there are monthly meetings, quarterly meetings, yearly meetings, and in the United States, national groups or associations. Then there is the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

Despite theological differences and modes of worship, all Friends groups follow this general pattern of organization. It is one of the common features of Quakerism everywhere.

Monthly Meetings

The basic unit among Friends is the Monthly Meeting. Ordinarily it consists of one worship group which carries on its business together. But it can be more. When that is the case, the subordinate groups are called Preparative Meetings.

It is the Monthly Meeting which receives members and is responsible for their spiritual care. In some instances it also assists members with material aid. And when members fail to live up to the ideals of the Society, it is the Monthly Meeting which deals with them in a spirit of chastening and love.

Most property is also owned and controlled by Monthly Meetings, including trust funds.

Since the local Meeting is the spiritual home of Quakers, it is to the Monthly Meeting that couples turn when they wish to be

married in this group, or in Quaker language, "under the care of the Meeting."

And when Friends die, they are often buried "under the care of the Meeting," with a fitting memorial service or funeral conducted by their family, their friends, and their fellow worshippers.

In some Quaker groups children are recorded at birth as members of the local Meeting; hence the term "birthright Friends."

The Meeting for Business. Ordinarily the members of a Monthly Meeting gather once a month to conduct their common business, in the manner described in more detail in Chapter 6 on The Quaker Meeting for Business. In such a gathering they seek Divine Wisdom to illuminate their own group wisdom regarding practical matters and common concerns.

Under Divine Guidance and the sensitive guidance of a clerk or clerks, Friends seek "the sense of the Meeting," rather than lobbying for special points of view, splitting into blocs, and voting, with a victorious majority and a disgruntled minority.

Members are not required to attend such business sessions but they are urged to do so as this is a vital part of any Friends group. Attenders may be encouraged to attend, also, and to take part, especially if they are thinking of joining the Society of Friends.

As noted earlier, routine business needs to be carried on, but Monthly Meetings are more likely to be meaningful if some time is devoted to the consideration of individual and group concerns.

When there is urgent business to be carried on, a "called Meeting" may be held, often immediately following the regular weekly Meeting for Worship.

Much of the work of any Meeting is carried on by committees and it is in the Monthly Meeting that committees are appointed, usually after previous careful consideration by a Nominating Committee. Let us turn, then, to a brief description of some of the committees which exist in most Meetings.

The Committee on Ministry and Counsel. Since the Society of Friends is a religious fellowship, concerned with both the inward and the outward states of its members, the central tasks of any Meeting are the cultivation of the religious life of its members and assistance to those in trouble.

Originally there were two groups who were charged with those two important and related tasks. One was the Committee of Ministers and Elders, whose chief responsibility was the Meeting

for Worship and the spiritual growth of members. The other was the Committee of Overseers, who were entrusted with the pastoral care and counselling of individuals in the fellowship.

All Meetings still provide for both of these central functions, although the names given to their committees differ. In some places there is a Committee on Worship and Ministry and a separate Committee of Overseers. In other places the two functions are combined in a Committee on Ministry and Oversight or a Committee on Ministry and Counsel. In still other places the Pastoral Committee is entrusted with the more specifically religious aspects of the Meeting's work.

Whatever the names, these two special needs of every Meeting should be kept in tandem, with neither neglected.

Much of the work of this central committee or these two committees is highly sensitive and confidential and needs to be kept in the strictest confidence.

In all committees there needs to be some continuity of membership, as well as occasional changes. In the Committee on Ministry and Counsel, or its equivalent, particular attention needs to be given to the selection of persons with considerable life experience and personal sensitivity. Such persons may need to serve several terms because of their special qualifications. But newer persons need to be added from time to time in order to bring fresh points of view and varied life experiences to this group, as well as to train people in its work.

Two cautions seem to be in order here. One is to make sure that the Committee on Ministry and Counsel does not become the Executive Committee for the Monthly Meeting. The other is to be extremely careful lest the committee members try to perform as professional psychiatrists or psychologists. Sensitive individuals, almost always in teams, can perform much needed pastoral care and counselling, but they need to be careful not to work beyond their qualifications.

Usually applications for membership and clearness in marriage are also considered by the Committee on Ministry and Counsel, prior to final consideration by the Monthly Meeting.

Other Monthly Meeting Committees. Of course the work of the Nominating Committee also involves sensitivity in placing members where they can contribute the most and at the same time learn a great deal. Sometimes Meetings coopt attenders for committee work, thus utilizing the talents of such persons.

However, most Meetings try to rely largely on members for their committees.

Quakers do not always appreciate how much the Property and Finance Committees add to the functioning of a Monthly Meeting. Often they are the unsung servants or stewards of the Meeting, carrying out mundane but highly important matters.

Then there are other important groups, such as the First Day School or Sunday School Committee, the Peace and Social Action Committee, the Literature and Library Committee or the Communications Committee.

Every Meeting needs a capable and careful Recorder, too, in order that the records of the group are maintained in tip-top fashion. In a few Meetings there is also an historian. The State of the Society Report may be written by the Committee on Ministry and Counsel, but it is often prepared by a special and small ad hoc group appointed annually for that sole purpose.

Clearness Committees. Clearness Committees were originally used almost exclusively to meet with individuals proposing to be married under the care of the Meeting. But there has been a broadening of the uses of Clearness Committees in some places in recent years to assist individuals or families with special difficulties.

Sometimes a Clearness Committee is needed when there are conflicts in a family, with a separation or a divorce imminent. Sometimes an individual seeks help on a problem of a personal nature. Occasionally someone seeks help in finding a sense of vocational direction or life purposes.

Often a member or attender in a Meeting asks for a Clearness Committee and may even suggest the names of persons he or she would like to have named to such a group. In other instances the Committee on Ministry and Counsel may decide to appoint a Clearness Committee, using members of their own committee and/or persons coopted for this ad hoc group.

Membership Matters. One of the marks of a vital Meeting (see Chapter 12) is its ability to attract people who want to share in the fellowship of a particular group, seeking with them for enriched living.

Eventually this should mean that an individual applies for membership in a local Meeting which he or she can attend fairly regularly. Before a letter of application is submitted to the Monthly Meeting, that individual should be encouraged to talk with someone about membership and begin a reading program or take

part in some kind of study group on Quakerism, sponsored by the Meeting.

The wording of a letter of application for membership should be a very personal one in which the potential member states his or her reasons for wanting to join the Religious Society of Friends and tells a little about his or her spiritual journey to date. The actual wording of such a testament of faith, however, is less important than the frankness and sincerity of its message.

When the application is received, a small committee is appointed to meet with that person and engage in a dialogue with him or her on the request for membership. Usually this is a sub-committee from the Committee on Ministry and Counsel. The word dialogue is used here because this interview should be an enriching experience for all those involved, providing an opportunity for an exploration together, in a relaxed atmosphere, of Christian living and the meaning of membership in the Religious Society of Friends.

If the group representing the Meeting believes this person is ready for membership, they so report to the Committee on Ministry and Oversight, which forwards its recommendation to the Monthly Meeting for a final decision.

Meetings will differ on what they consider essential for membership. There are probably two extremes to avoid-narrowness in interpreting the central beliefs of Friends, and permissiveness in accepting any individual as a Quaker. Friends have had some very sad experiences in the past in limiting membership to people who wore certain clothes, used the "plain language," and married only Quakers. Today there is the opposite danger that any pleasant person with a commendable way of life can become a Friend.

Certainly there ought to be room in the Society of Friends for a wide range of theological beliefs. Thomas R. Bodine wrote sympathetically on that topic in a leaflet on The Meaning of Membership in the Religious Society of Friends. Writing about "the astonishing variety" of Friends in New England Yearly Meeting, he said:

> The remarkable thing about New England Friends in view of this variety is that since 1945, when we united in one Yearly Meeting, we have learned to live and work and worship together without surrendering or watering down our differences of belief and practice. We are like a family with different points of view, but with a love and caring for one another that underlies all our

differences and permits us to unite in worship.

The Committee on Ministry and Oversight in Brooklyn Meeting of New York Yearly Meeting recently wrestled with the problem of the meaning of membership in an all-day Retreat. The Minute they agreed upon incorporated some of the topics which Friends should explore with prospective members. The Minute was for their own clarification rather than a statement of the Monthly Meeting. Among the points mentioned were the following:

> . . . commitment to a spiritual search, individually and as a part of the Meeting, and acceptance of the broad spectrum of beliefs represented in the Meeting.
>
> . . . familiarity with the history and practices of Friends, including the New York Yearly Meeting *Faith and Practice.*
>
> . . . attendance at Meetings for Worship and valuing of this type of worship.
>
> . . . attendance at several Meetings for Business and an understanding of the spirit and procedures of such meetings.
>
> . . . familiarity with Friends' testimonies and ongoing concerns, and support of most of them.
>
> . . . willingness to participate in the life of the Meeting in regard to (a) the Meeting for Worship, (b) the Meeting for Business, (c) committee work, and (d) financial support, according to one's means.
>
> . . . willingness to give and to receive support as a part of a seeking, growing, loving religious community.

As in so many instances, the process by which that group arrived at those guidelines was probably as important as the final list. Obviously that statement was prepared for a Meeting with a wide diversity of theological beliefs. Many Quakers would not find it acceptable because of its lack of a Christocentric emphasis.

Another quite different statement of the qualifications for membership in the Religious Society of Friends appears in the *Faith and Practice* of Western Yearly Meeting. It reads as follows:

> Friends receive into active membership those whose faith in Christ as a personal Savior is manifest in their lives and who are in unity with the teachings of Christian truth as held by Friends.
>
> On the basis of the above statement, accepting Jesus Christ as my Savior, declaring it to be my purpose to devote my life to His service and to follow His teachings, and to be loyal to the interests of this Meeting, I do hereby make application for membership in . . . .

In some groups, as has been mentioned, children become members of a Friends Meeting at birth because their parents want them identified immediately with the Quaker community. But at some age, usually 18, they are asked whether they want to become full-fledged Friends. Many people think that that age is a poor time to ask young people to make a decision, as they may be in a period of adolescent revolt against all religions; they urge that the age be raised to 21 or even higher. This is not the place to enlarge upon this controversial issue, but it needs at least to be stated in any consideration of membership.

Then there is the question of membership in the Society of Friends for persons who do not live near any Meeting or who want to maintain their membership in another church, while having strong links with Quakers. Readers are reminded that the Wider Quaker Fellowship, under the sponsorship of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, can serve well in such situations.

Readers are also reminded that the *Discipline* or *Faith and Practice* of their yearly meeting contains many passages on the important and sometimes difficult questions of membership in the Religious Society of Friends.

Marriages in the Meeting. Another appealing aspect of the Quaker way of life is the fact that couples can be married "under the care of the Meeting," thus continuing the sense of community by pledging themselves to each other "in the Presence of God and these our friends."

In order to do this, the couple who intend to marry present their intentions to the local Meeting and a Clearness Committee is appointed to meet with each of them separately. As the *Faith and Practice* of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting comments:

> The term "clearness" referred originally to clearness from other marriage commitments. The concept has broadened so that now the considerations of the committee include the positive aspects of the intended marriage.

Some Meetings still adhere fairly closely to the question of legal impediments to an intended marriage. Others go far beyond that point.

In a stimulating article in the *Friends Journal* for April 1, 1973, on Clearness for Quaker Weddings, Robert Blood, a member of the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Meeting, and a long-time marriage counsellor with his wife Margaret, suggests some of the impediments which a Clearness Committee may wish to explore.

They include whether they are sufficiently well-matched to have a reasonable likelihood of success (such a psychological compatability and shared values), the attitudes of both sets of parents, the maturity of the couple, and the length of their acquaintance. These are not all the points which the writer makes in this splendid article, but it does give some indication of the types of topics the representatives may wish to pursue with the intending couple.

In a booklet on Marriage prepared by the Friends at Wellesley Friends Meeting in New England Yearly Meeting, there is a valuable section on Some Things to Think About. They include the following major questions:

Why do you want to get married?
Why do you want a Quaker wedding?
How well do you know yourself?
How well do you know each other?
Are you both willing to put abundant effort into adjusting to married life?
How do you see your marriage "role"?
Are you prepared for outside pressures intruding on your relationship?

Serving on a Clearness Committee is not easy, if one takes this assignment seriously. But it can also be rewarding if the channels of communication with all parties involved are opened.

This is a topic which needs to be explored in depth by Committees on Ministry and Counsel or whatever group is responsible for this important but potentially explosive work of the Monthly Meeting.

Considerable help may be obtained from the book of *Faith and Practice* of some yearly meetings or from the *Discipline* of others, but most members of Clearness Committees will also find other literature extremely useful.

The Role of Quaker Pastors and Pastoral Committees. In many Friends Meetings or Friends Churches, some of the responsibilities mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs are assumed in large part by the pastor. He (or she) usually performs marriage ceremonies, almost always without the appointment of a Clearness Committee by the Monthly Meeting. He (or she) usually conducts funerals or memorial services for members and attenders. And much of the counselling of persons is carried on by the pastor, sometimes with the help of the spouse, and/or with the assistance of a member or members of the Friends group.

Some other tasks are assumed by the Pastoral Committee rather than by the Committee on Ministry and Oversight or Ministry and Counsel.

Quarterly Meetings

Historically Quarterly Meetings were established so that Friends from several Meetings could worship together and work together on common concerns. Friends lived too far apart to meet more often than that between the sessions of the yearly meeting.

Also such quarterly sessions were social times, with Friends often staying overnight in the homes of Quakers where the meetings were to be held. And in some instances they were special occasions for non-Friends at well as Friends, with special trains despatched to take people to these meetings. Hundreds and even thousands of people would attend these Quaker gatherings and prominent recorded ministers of the Society of Friends would be invited from long distances. The last such gatherings that this writer knows about were the sessions of the Virginia Quarterly Meeting of Baltimore Yearly Meeting in the 1920s. Today one is pleased if a small group of people extend themselves enough to attend the Quarterly Meeting sessions in most places.

Their primary function as outlined in the New York Yearly Meeting *Faith and Practice* is as follows:

> Quarterly Meetings are designed to bring together for inspiration and counsel Friends from a larger area and in greater number than in separate monthly meeting. They are thus enabled to consider wider and more varied interests than the monthly meetings and to coordinate activities where cooperative effort among meetings is desirable.

They also receive reports from their constituent monthly meetings, summarize them, and forward them to the yearly meeting, establish quotas for the yearly meeting budget — and collect them from the monthly meetings, appoint representatives to the yearly meeting, and sometimes hold property and trusts.

More and more they are used for religious education purposes or social concerns, with lectures, panels, discussion and listening groups on issues and problems of interest to Friends in a wider geographical area. Where Meetings are small, a Quarterly Meeting Young Friends group may be formed. And among non-pastoral Friends a few Quarterly Meetings have a secretary who works with a cluster of local Meetings.

A recent innovation is to change the name"Quarterly Meeting" to one which describes it better, either geographically or by the frequency of its gatherings.Hence there are now Area Meetings, Half-Yearly Meetings,and Regional Meetings in some places.

At present such Quarterly (or Area) Meetings are probably the weakest link in the Quaker organizational chain and continued exploration needs to be encouraged to determine their future roles.

Yearly Meetings

How does one describe a yearly meeting in the Religious Society of Friends? There are approximately 50 such groups in the world, 30 of them in the United States. Yet they vary tremendously in size and geographical area, and to a lesser degree in functions.

Obviously they are groups of Quakers who come together annually to worship, to explore common concerns, to do business, and to enjoy fellowship and fun.

Historically they have been composed of two or more Quarterly Meetings. But today there are yearly meetings which consist of only one Monthly Meeting, plus numerous isolated Friends and families, in a nation. Such is the case of the Denmark Yearly Meeting, with one regular Monthly Meeting(in Copenhagen),plus other Friends in various parts of the country. It is also true of France Yearly Meeting, with one regular Meeting in Paris,four worship groups in other cities,and several isolated individuals and families.

In size they vary, too. The Denmark Yearly Meeting has 56 members,the Sweden Yearly Meeting 129 (including a few members in Finland), and the Switzeralnd Yearly Meeting 132. But London Yearly Meeting has approximately 19,000 members and the four East Africa Yearly Meetings approximately 200,000.

In geography there are tremendous differences, too. For example, Wilmington Yearly Meeting is concentrated in a small section of southwestern Ohio plus a few meetings in Tennessee, but Canada and Australia Yearly Meetings extend over a distance of thousands of miles.

In the United States yearly meetings vary in size from a few hundred members to several thousand. In the past they have often been named for a city(such as Balitmore or Philadelphia Yearly Meetings) or for a state(such as North Caroline,Illinois,Kansas,

or California) even though there may have been Meetings in several states. For example, there are Meetings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in Delaware and New Jersey as well as in Pennsylvania.

Recently, however, regional names have come to the fore in the naming or renaming of yearly meetings, such as Lake Erie, Ohio Valley, Southeastern, Intermountain, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific.

For many of these groups the annual sessions, lasting a week or so, and held on a college campus or a camp site, are the chief gatherings. Some of the smaller yearly meetings have no paid staff and very few on-going committees, in order to keep organizational structure at a minimum and worship and fellowship at a maximum. Most of the larger yearly meetings have a small paid staff, a yearly meeting newsletter, and several standing committees. Several own a camp (primarily for their young people), a college, and other property.

Then there are today a few associations of Friends in the United States which have not yet become full-fledged yearly meetings. Two of them are the Piedmont Friends Fellowship in the North Carolina area and the Missouri Valley group.

Obviously, then, the old pattern of yearly meetings in the United States is being modified in regard to size and geography.

National Groups in the United States

As mentioned previously, there are four national associations of Quakers in the U.S.A. By and large they are loose federations of yearly meetings, with no authority over local monthly, quarterly, or yearly meetings.

The largest of these is the Friends United Meeting, with headquarters in Richmond, Indiana. It includes Friends abroad, too — in Cuba, Jamaica, and East Africa. It publishes the magazine *Quaker Life* and a growing list of books and pamphlets from the Friends United Press. It has several standing committees and carries on mission work in a few parts of the world. It also has a small staff of paid personnel. It meets every three years.

Then there is the Friends General Conference, with headquarters in Philadelphia. The largest group within that conference is the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The F.G.C. has a small paid staff. Although a separate corporation is responsible for the publication of the *Friends Journal,* that magazine serves as a special outreach

of the Friends General Conference.

Today five yearly meetings belong to both the Friends United Meeting and the Friends General Conference.

A third national group is the Evangelical Friends Alliance. It is a loose association of yearly meetings in the United States, plus several groups abroad. It publishes *The Evangelical Friend.*

Conservative or Wilburite Friends keep in touch with each other but are not organized formally on a national scale.

The Friends World Committee for Consultation

Finally, there is the Friends World Committee for Consultation, with its chief headquarters in London, England and with offices in a few other places, including Plainfield, Indiana, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It is merely a consultative body whose chief functions are to foster fellowship and understanding among Friends around the world, coordinate some common concerns, arrange intervisitation, hold international conferences, and publish the *Friends World News.* More will be said about the Friends World Committee in Chapter 13 on The World-Wide Society of Friends.

Some Questions on Chapter 11

1. What idea or ideas struck you most forcefully in this chapter? Why?
2. What would you consider the greatest strength of your Monthly Meeting? Its greatest weakness?
3. How would you briefly describe the yearly meeting to which you belong as to its size, geographical area, and functions?
4. Have you or someone you know attended another yearly meeting? If so, how would you or they characterize it?
5. Were you or someone you know, married "under the care of the Meeting"? How would you — or they — describe this experience?
6. Has your Monthly Meeting discussed recently the general qualifications for membership in your local group? What qualifications were suggested?
7. Does your Monthly Meeting have special Clearness Committees from time to time? How would you describe their work?

A Brief Reading List on Chapter 11

The best source of materials on this topic is found in the *Discipline* or *Faith and Practice* of various yearly meetings. See also the bibliography for Chapter 6.

Two leaflets are available on membership, as follows:

Bodine, Thomas R. *The Meaning of Membership in the Religious Society of Friends.* New England Yearly Meeting Advancement Committee, 1964. 9 pp.

How to Become a Member of the Religious Society of Friends. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, undated. 5 pp.

Kenworthy, Leonard S. *The Meaning of Membership in the Religious Society of Friends.* Quaker Publications, 1983. 36 pp.

NATIONAL GROUPS OF QUAKERS IN THE U.S.A.
(with some outreach abroad)

1. Conservative Friends and Unaffiliated

Type of worship: All silent meetings.

No formal organization, but a loose confederation of historic Wilburite yearly meetings — Iowa, Ohio (Barnesville), and North Carolina.

New and unaffiliated groups: Intermountain, Northern Pacific, and Pacific.

2. Friends General Conference

Type of worship: Predominately silent meetings; some pastoral meetings.

Founded: 1900.
Headquarters: Philadelphia.
General Secretary: Meredith Walton.
Yearly Meetings: Central Alaska Friends Conference, Illinois, Lake Erie, Ohio Valley, Northern (Wisc. and Minn.), Philadelphia, Piedmont Friends Fellowship (N.C.), South Central, and Southern Appalachian.

3. Friends United Meeting

Type of worship: Predominately pastoral; many silent meetings.
Founded: 1902.
Founded: 1902.
Headquarters: Richmond, Indiana
Administrative Secretary: Kara Cole.

Yearly Meetings: California, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, North Carolina, Western (Ind. and Ill.), Wilmington (Ohio and Tenn.) plus Cuba, East Africa, and Jamaica.

4. Evangelical Friends Alliance

Type of worship: All pastoral.
Founded: 1965.
Headquarters: Denver, Colo.
Headquarters: Denver, Colo.
President: Stanley Perisho

Yearly Meetings: Evangelical Friends Church - Eastern Region, Mid-America Northwest, Rocky Mountain, plus Bolivia, Burundi, India, and Taiwan.

Yearly Meetings in both the F.G.C. and F.U.M.
Baltimore, Canadian, New England, New York, and Southeastern.

Membership: 6,000.

Membership: 35,000.
Meetings: Alternate years in the east and midwest.
Publications: Friends General Conference Quarterly, The Friends Journal (independent), and other literature.

Membership: 60,000 in the U.S.A. and 40,000 abroad
Meetings: Every three years

Publications: Quaker Life and many books and pamphlets from the Friends United Press.

Membership: 26,500 in the U.S.A. plus 20,000 abroad
Meetings: Every three years.
Publications: Evangelical Friend and other materials from the Barclay Press.

Joint Religious Education Materials of F.G.C. and F.U.M.
Living Life

Committees and Commissions: Advancement, Christian and Interfaith Relations, Finances Development, Life Enrichment, Long Range Conference Planning, Meetinghouse Fund, Nominating, Personnel, Religious Education and Religious Life.

Committees and Commissions: Wider Ministries, Meeting Ministries, General Services, Aging, Education, and Social Concerns
Affiliated Organizations: National Quaker Men, United Society of Friends Women, Natl. Council of Churches and World Council

Committees and Commissions: Christian Education, Evangelism, Missions, Social Concerns, Publications, and Youth.
Affiliated Organization: National Association of Evangelicals.

American Friends Service Committee; Friends Committee on Natl. Leg.; Friends World Committee

Chapter 12
Pastoral Friends

At its best Quakerism is a many-sided movement, encouraging freedom in the search for meaningful living, individually and collectively, under God's guidance.

Availing themselves of this freedom, individual Friends and groups of Friends for more than 300 years have emphasized various aspects of Quakerism, stressed different testimonies or concerns, and even developed different types of worship.

These differences are often baffling to persons outside the Religious Society of Friends, as well as to many within the movement. People seem to expect uniformity and believe that in uniformity lies strength. Seldom do they realize that there can also be strength in diversity.

In many accounts of Quakerism only one part of the current movement is portrayed and that is almost always the so-called "silent Meeting group." Often it comes as a shock to non-Friends, and even to many Friends, to discover that a substantial majority of Quakers in the United States and in other parts of the world today are so-called "pastoral Friends."

Because of the size of this group, its strengths and weaknesses, and its search for a meaningful identity in the latter part of the 20th century, this chapter on pastoral Friends is included here, even though it duplicates some material found elsewhere in this volume. It is hoped that this account will enable some non-Friends, as well as many Friends, to understand better this important segment of Quakerism.

Actually there is no term which describes this large proportion of present-day Quakers adequately and fairly, or covers the wide range of their beliefs and practices. Some would call them evangelical Friends. But in the best sense of that word, all Quakers should be evangelical. Some would refer to them as evangelistic,

but only some pastoral Friends use evangelistic methods. In his volume on *Quakers on the American Frontier,* Errol T. Elliott wrote about "programmed Friends" and "unprogrammed Friends," but in this day of computers that designation seems inappropriate; most Quakers are far too individualistic to be "programmed."

Unsatisfactory as they are, the terms "pastoral" and "non-pastoral Friends" will be used in this chapter, inasmuch as the introduction of the pastoral system in the 19th century in the United States marked the appearance of this group as a distinct part of the total movement.

Some Reasons for the Rise of the Pastoral Movement. As we pointed out in the opening paragraph of this book, persons and movements need to be seen against the background of their times and localities. That is certainly true of pastoral Friends.

This unique development took place during several decades, starting in the 1840s and becoming particularly strong in the late 1870s and early 1880s. It occurred in the United States; English Quakerism did not undergo this change.

Early in the 19th century Quakerism in most parts of the United States was at a low ebb. Gone was the fervor, the vitality, and the dynamism of the early years of the movement. Often the public ministry, always a dominant part of Quakerism, was non-existent; many Meetings for Worship were held for weeks without vocal messages emerging from the silence. In other places the same people spoke week after week on the same or similar themes, without much relevancy or spirituality. Traveling in the ministry was still practiced, but there were many Meetings over vast areas and not all of them profited from the visits of these "public Friends."

In a sincere and sometimes desperate effort to maintain the purity of the movement, the elders and overseers often concentrated on the outward manifestations of Quakerism rather than on the inward spiritual growth of Friends. They became the enforcers of the status quo in speech, in dress, and in testimonies against art, music, and even some forms of literature, rather than religious educators, spiritual guides, and prophetic leaders. Consequently thousands of Friends were "disowned" for a wide variety of reasons, from marrying non-Friends to bringing musical instruments into their homes.

Cultivation of the inner life of Friends tended to be deemphasized. There was little teaching ministry in Meetings and almost no religious education of children and young people.

Meanwhile the two major separations had taken place among American Quakers, further weakening this small, fragile Society.

Three other factors were also at work in large segments of American Quakerdom, especially in the midwest. One was the fact that a majority of Friends were farmers and they often had enough silence during the week in their work; on Sundays or First Days they were ready for vocal messages. Another was the fact that Friends were no longer isolated from non-Friends in their rural communities and small towns. All children were now attending the free, elementary schools together. Also, there were more contacts between older Friends and persons from other Christian groups locally. Furthermore some individuals saw the need for a person (or in many cases two persons — husband and wife) who could devote full-time or a major part of their time to the work of the Meeting.

In the middle of the 19th century in the U.S.A. many Friends looked with envy on the enthusiasm which was being engendered by the revival meetings of several denominations, especially the Methodists. In them there was often powerful preaching, even though it was highly emotional at times. Music had a prominent place, too — a fact which appealed to many young Friends who bemoaned the absence of music in their Quaker Meetings.

With a keen desire to promote the same kind of religious fervor and commitment that they had seen in nearby churches, some Quaker Meetings invited revivalists to hold services in their Meeting Houses or in public buildings where Friends could attend. Usually a large number of persons were converted and began to attend the local Friends Meeting. Those newcomers often failed to understand the quiet Meetings for Worship or gain spiritual sustenance from them. In an effort to provide a more meaningful ministry and to retain these newcomers, Friends often invited the revivalist to return as a part-time or full-time pastor.

Thus Errol T. Elliott wrote in *Quakers on the American Frontier* that "The pastoral system came into existence primarily through the evangelical door."

But there were other ways in which the original form of Quaker worship on the basis of expectant silence was transformed into something resembling the worship of Protestant churches. Sometimes midweek meetings were held in the homes of Friends,

with Bible reading, prayers, and testimonies. Those meetings often filled a void in the lives of some Quakers and eventually those practices were introduced into the First-Day or Sunday worship service. Or a piano or organ was taken into the Meeting House and used at first for spontaneous rather than prearranged singing.

Having taken one step in this general direction, other steps followed almost inevitably. The spontaneous singing became programmed music — and then a choir was introduced. Bible readings often led to responsive readings. The periods of quiet became too short for Friends to "center down" or they were not used frequently for messages, lest they encroach upon the pastor's time for his prepared sermon. So the periods of silence were shortened or abolished altogether. Frequently the member of the Committee on Ministry and Oversight who sat "at the head of Meeting," alongside the pastor, decided to sit in "the body of the Meeting." Then a Pastoral Committee was formed, taking over many of the previous duties of the Committee on Ministry and Oversight.

In order to hold their children and young people and to instruct them, First-Day Schools or Sunday Schools were started and often filled a real need for religious education.

Then, too, in many places the Friends Meeting was the only place for worship locally, and in an effort to meet the needs of a wide variety of persons, the Meeting became more of a community church than a traditional Quaker Meeting.

In some of these changes pastoral Friends were encouraged by several prominent English Friends who travelled in the midwest, urging Quakers to become better acquainted with the Bible and to sponsor various programs of religious education. However, most of the travelling English Friends supported the traditional mode of Quaker worship on the basis of expectant silence.

Thus, over many years, the pastoral type of Meeting became common in large parts of American Quakerdom and was eventually "exported" overseas as American Friends took up missionary work abroad.

As a result of such changes, pastoral Friends grew rapidly in the latter half of the 19th century. Yearly meeting records indicate a 100% growth in members, from approximately 45,000 in 1850 to 90,000 in 1900.

Some have characterized this period of drastic changes as The Great Decline. But others have viewed it as The Great Revival.

Thus Elbert Russell wrote about this era in *The History of Quakerism:*

> The Great Revival influenced the character of Quakerism in many ways. It brought new life and interest to the Society. Membership was no longer an inheritance nor Quakerism simply a tradition for most members. Freedom in the meeting for worship was restored and there was more general and vital sharing in the vocal exercises. Business meetings were more democratic and separate business meetings for men and women were abolished. It aided in disencumbering the Society from meaningless traditions and practices. By means of it large numbers of converts were gathered in, which caused a growth in membership in some sections of the Society. It led to the expansion of the organized work of Friends in such fields as peace, temperance, and foreign missions.

Today there is a wide range of modes of worship among pastoral Friends. In some there is a printed order of service, a robed choir, congregational singing and responsive readings, a prepared sermon, and a collection. There may be a few moments of silence, but even that may have disappeared. In other places there may be a much less structured service. The "open period" of silence may be fairly lengthy and at times the pastor may put aside his prepared sermon because several persons have spoken or prayed and a sermon seems uncalled for.

In an informative book on *Quaker Worship in North America,* edited by Francis B. Hall, Charles Mylander mentions three quite different types of services common in many of the more evangelical Friends Churches. He writes of the Sunday morning service as fairly programmed, the Sunday evening service as less structured, and the Wednesday evening service as more spontaneous, including some Bible study, intercessory prayers for members of the group, and some sharing of concerns.

Thus the freedom in worship, mentioned in the opening paragraph of this chapter, has led to a wide variety of practices to meet the differing needs of various segments of Quakerism.

Quaker Pastors. In many groups of Friends today there is a full-time pastor. In other congregations there is a part-time pastor who earns his or her living largely as a teacher, social worker, merchant, or in some other occupation.

In some cases Quaker pastors are very much like the ministers in Protestant churches. They perform marriages and conduct funeral services. They preach on Sundays and often teach a Sunday School

class. Throughout the week they carry on pastoral functions, visiting the sick and shut-ins, counselling with persons who are in difficulties, and fostering the spiritual life of individuals and families.

But a Quaker pastor can be quite different from ministers in Protestant denominations. Elton Trueblood spoke extremely well on this subject in an address to Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1960 on *The Paradox of the Quaker Ministry,* published later as a pamphlet. In that lecture, he said in part:

> The true pastoral leader, as Friends in our strongest periods have shown, is not a person of exalted status and certainly not the "head" of the Meeting. He is always at work, encouraging this one, teaching that one, walking with another. He may speak on public occasions, but often his leadership is not obvious at all. He will not do anything if he can get another to do it, not because he is lazy, but because the doing will develop the other person, and it is the development of others that is always his goal. He will speak if he needs to do so, but he knows that speaking is only one of the many tasks which spiritual nourishment requires. He may teach more than he preaches, and he will not be afraid to be silent or to sit within the congregation rather than face it if he believes this will facilitate the general sense of responsibility. He will resist endlessly being called "Reverend" and will not, in any way, show by dress any distinction between himself and others. He will work hard, but primarily as a catalytic agent.

In his volume on *The Renewal of the Ministry,* Thomas J. Mullen has elaborated on what is sometimes referred to as "the enabling ministry," saying:

> A functional ministry seeks to work itself out of a job, and theoretically the most successful pastor would be the man who has discovered, developed, trained, and nurtured the various ministries of a congregation to the point where he is no longer needed.

The education of Quaker pastors varies tremendously, both in general and in specific preparation for their work. A few such persons are highly educated; many are persons of a limited formal education but with much valuable life experience and spiritual grounding. In recent years an increasing number have received some training at the Earlham School of Religion. Most yearly meetings today require at least some short courses of all persons they record as ministers, including the study of Quaker history,

faith, and practices.

Frequently Quaker pastors are criticized by silent Meeting Friends for the preparation of messages to be given in Meetings for Worship. In reply most of them respond that God does not limit His communication with human beings to the period between 10 and 11 a.m. on First Days or Sundays; He speaks at various times throughout the week if people are open to Him. Furthermore, Quaker pastors believe that a well-prepared message is likely to be more effective in meeting the needs of many individuals than a short, unprepared message which comes spontaneously to a Friend in a Meeting for Worship.

Later in this chapter we will comment on the growing idea of "teams" in the ministry.

Some Special Emphases and Strengths of Pastoral Friends. At their best, Quakers strive to escape the shackles of creedal statements and to base their lives on spiritual experiences. All effective Quakers believe in direct access to God without human intermediaries and attest to His transforming power in lives worth leading. All effective Quakers believe in the importance of combining spiritual searching with social action.

But Friends differ widely on theology and on the essential aspects of the Quaker message. Even within each group in the U.S.A. there are tremendous differences in belief. Consequently tensions sometimes develop within the major groups of American Friends as well as among them. Only the recognition of the right of each individual to follow his or her own Light and the continuous search for common ground prevent further divisions.

By and large non-pastoral Friends accent The Inner Light of Christ or merely The Inner Light, whereas pastoral Friends emphasize The Historic Christ. While non-pastoral Friends tend to be Quaker-Christians or Quakers, pastoral Friends are usually Christian-Quakers or Christians.

In their attitudes toward the Bible, these major groups also differ. Whereas most non-pastoral Friends look upon the Bible as a secondary source of authority, most pastoral Friends regard it as a primary source. Many non-pastoral Friends have little acquaintance with the Scriptures; pastoral Friends tend to be more knowledgeable about it, with many of them accepting it literally.

Often it is said that non-pastoral Friends are not evangelical whereas pastoral Friends are supposed to be very evangelical. Actually both groups are eager to proclaim the Quaker message as

they interpret it; it is their methods which differ widely. Non-pastoral Friends conduct study groups, hold public meetings, and work quietly with inquirers and newcomers with the hope that they will someday become Quakers. Pastoral Friends are likely to work more directly and publicly in their efforts to spread The Good News and convince individuals to become members. Some pastoral Friends hold revival meetings, but others consider them counter-productive and even unQuakerly.

Increasingly non-pastoral Quakers appeal to highly educated individuals and to professional people, especially teachers and social workers. Consequently, within recent years many new Meetings have been started in American cities and suburbs, often near colleges or universities. Pastoral Friends generally appeal to a broader spectrum of individuals educationally and economically. In the past their strength has been in rural areas and in small towns and only within recent years have they made serious efforts to retain the large number of their members who have moved to the cities.

Because they are more active in their efforts to bring people to Christ, pastoral Friends are very active in work abroad, in what is still called mission work. Hence nearly all of the work in Africa, Asia, and Latin America carried on by Quakers has been and is now done by pastoral Quakers.

Another of the outstanding characteristics of most pastoral Friends is their work with children and young people. This group of Quakers stresses Sunday Schools, young peoples groups, and often Daily Vacation Bible Schools. Furthermore, several yearly meetings composed of pastoral Friends have established permanent camps or conference centers, primarily for their children and young people, such as those owned and administered by California, Indiana and Western (jointly), North Carolina, and Wilmington. In a pastoral Friends Meeting or Friends Church young people often sing in the choir, teach a Sunday School class, and take part in some type of Young Friends group, being more involved than young people in non-pastoral groups. One factor which makes this possible is that pastoral Meetings tend to be larger than non-pastoral Meetings, with more children and young people in a single fellowship.

Another strength of pastoral Friends is their generosity in giving. Any group with a pastor needs to collect money for his or her maintenance, even if that sum is often painfully small.

Considerable sums are also raised for foreign mission programs. However, pastoral Friends usually contribute less than non-pastoral Quakers to such organizations as the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

But pastoral as well as non-pastoral Friends are active in several religious-social causes, such as peace, prison work, and efforts to promote economic and social justice for minority groups. In this connection it is interesting and important to note that Friends in Oregon and other parts of the northwest produced more conscientious objectors in proportion to their membership than other American Quaker groups during the Viet Nam war.

Some of the Excesses of the Pastoral Movement. There is no doubt that those who favored the introduction of the pastoral system were motivated by the highest of motives. They longed for a return of the fervor and vitality of first-century Quakerism and Christianity. They yearned for the kind of preaching that brought scores and hundreds, even thousands, of persons to hear Fox and the other Publishers of Truth in the early days of the Quaker movement. They sought the sources which led early Friends to defy geography and withstand persecution to take the message of God's Indwelling Spirit to distant places.

What they craved was a new outpouring of The Spirit; new revelations of Truth — in short, a revitalization of Quakerism. Often that occurred. Many persons believe that the revival movement and the pastoral system salvaged Quakerism in several parts of the United States in the later parts of the 19th century, although in altered form. The disappearance of some yearly meetings based on silent worship and the noticeable decline of others, numerically, tend to support this contention.

But movements have a tendency to get out of hand, moving from minor changes to major shifts, or from revitalization to revolution. So it was with the pastoral movement in some places. Often ministers from other denominations who knew little or nothing about Quakerism were brought in as pastors of Friends groups and instituted drastic changes. A few Friends, especially in Ohio and in southern Michigan, even started to observe some of the sacraments.

Even some of those who support the pastoral system today acknowledge the excesses into which it has fallen at various times

and in various places. Writing in his volume on *Quakers in California,* David C. LeShana commented that:

> The zealous evangelists of the revival (movement) frequently ignored the rich heritage of Quakerism and introduced radical changes too quickly, grieving many older Friends. Their lack of understanding and historical perspective caused many to turn their backs on the new movement and become more deeply entrenched in traditionalism.

And in his volume on *The People Called Quakers,* D. Elton Trueblood commented that:

> In all frankness, we must admit that some serious mistakes were made when the pastoral system was inaugurated . . . . The mistake was that, too often, a fundamentally alien system was taken over, almost intact, so that the basic Quaker witness tended to be minimized or even forgotten.

Today there is a noticeable trend among pastoral Friends to search for a new identity which will preserve the most relevant aspects of the pastoral system and yet recapture some of the most important parts of the original Quaker message.

Some Innovative Practices of Pastoral Friends in Recent Times. Every movement needs a good combination of continuity and of change. It needs to be reexamining itself constantly in the light of changing times. So it is with pastoral as well as non-pastoral Quakers. Such self-examination and self-renewal is taking place now in several parts of American Quakerdom. Here we will confine ourselves to a few such signs of change among pastoral Friends.

In an effort to speak to the spiritual needs of a variety of Quakers, a few Meetings in widely separated parts of the U.S.A. now have two types of worship services — programmed and unprogrammed, although not always in the same building. Such is the case in Poughkeepsie, New York; Guilford, North Carolina; Wilmington, Ohio; Richmond and Plainfield, Indiana; Wichita, Kansas; and Whittier, California.

In a few places there has been a pastor or secretary for a group of Meetings or even a Quarterly Meeting, as in Virginia Quarterly Meeting when it was a part of Baltimore Yearly Meeting; a group of Meetings in Maine in New England Yearly Meeting; and a cluster of Meetings in Wilmington Yearly Meeting.

In a few localities non-pastoral Friends have also had or have a paid secretary for a Meeting although that person is not expected to preach anywhere regularly.

More recent is the idea of "a team ministry", either in an individual Meeting or in a group of Meetings, with several persons working together to meet the wide variety of needs of a Quaker group. This approach has been especially prominent in the Reedwood Friends Church in Portland, Oregon, and in the West Richmond Friends Meeting in Indiana.

The idea of the "enabling ministry", mentioned already in this chapter, has gained considerable ground, also, in recent years in many places. Perhaps a quotation from a report by a group appointed a few years ago by the Committee on Ministry and Counsel of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Friends United Meeting, will reinforce this concept. It stated that:

> The good pastor conducts himself in the worship service so that everyone present feels a sense of responsibility and a sense of freedom. Vocal participation is encouraged. The atmosphere of reverent worship is cultivated and everyone is encouraged to be faithful to the promptings of the Holy Spirit. The "program" itself . . . is sufficiently flexible to allow for any immediate Divine Leading. Sometimes it may happen that the pastor does not speak at all, or speaks very differently than he had planned. The operation of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of dedicated people is not hampered by a pastor who is himself under the guidance of the same Spirit. The pastor in a Friends Meeting must follow the difficult and exacting way of worshipping *with* the people rather than merely preaching *to* them.

In an effort to promote fellowship among pastors, secretaries, and other types of leaders among Friends, revitalize their spiritual lives, and examine their distinctive roles in Quakerism, two national conferences have been held recently in Dallas, Texas and in St. Louis, Missouri, with benefit to those who attended those meetings.

Finally, recognizing that the pastoral system is an integral part of American Quakerdom, Friends from several yearly meetings established the Earlham School of Religion a few years ago as a place to educate leaders among Friends, including pastors. In a very different way Pendle Hill, near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has served as a leadership training place for non-pastoral Quakers.

In these and other ways present-day Friends are attempting to strengthen their spiritual lives and equip themselves better for leadership in the broad-based Religious Society of Friends.

Some Questions on Chapter 12

1. If you belong to a pastoral group of Friends, what characteristics of such Quakers mentioned in this chapter, apply to your Friends Meeting or Friends Church? What do you consider its greatest strength?
2. If you belong to a pastoral group, what do you consider its greatest weakness as a Quaker fellowship? What do you think might strengthen its Quakerly dimensions?
3. If you belong to a non-pastoral group of Friends, what aspects of pastoral Meetings do you find most appealing? Why?
4. If you belong to a non-pastoral group, what changes would you like to bring about? (For example, how could music play a more prominent part in the total life of your Meeting?)
5. What do these seemingly divergent groups of Quakers have in common? (At this point you may want to read the section in Chapter 15 on What Binds All These Friends Together?).

A Brief Reading List on Chapter 12

Esch, Keith M. *A Quaker View of Ministry.* Friends United Meeting, Undated. 16 pp.

Elliott, Errol T. *Quakers on the American Frontier.* Friends United Press, 1969. 434 pp.

Hall, Francis B. *Quaker Worship in North America.* Friends United Press, 1979. 150 pp. Chapters by persons from a variety of Quaker groups on their respective types of worship.

LeShana, David C. *Quakers in California.* The Barclay Press, 1969. 186 pp.

Russell, Elbert T. *The History of Quakerism.* Macmillan, 1942. 585 pp. Reprinted as a paperback by the Friends United Press in 1980.

Trueblood, Elton. *The Paradox of the Quaker Ministry.* Third printing 1980. Available from the Quaker Book Store in Richmond, Indiana.

Willcuts, Jack and Kingrey, David. *Team Ministry: A Model for Today's Church.* The Barclay Press, 1980.

Chapter 13
Some Characteristics of Vital Friends Meetings*

Today there are over 1000 Quaker Meetings and Friends Churches in the United States, plus hundreds of such groups in other parts of our planet. As Rufus Jones pointed out in a challenging William Penn Lecture in 1941:

> These little islands of ours, surrounded by a secular world of drive and grind, are the real experimental stations of the spiritual life where it is being settled whether we are to be the purveyors of the light and life and love and truth, or whether we are to end in sterility . . . .

What can you say about your Meeting — is it "an experimental station of the spiritual life?" Is it a laboratory of Christian living? Is it an oasis in the spiritual desert of our times? Is it a training ground for committed and concerned Friends? Is it a sample of what the Religious Society of Friends, at its best, preaches and practices? In short, is it a vital Friends Meeting?

Don't try to answer that question quickly, whether saying, "Yes, it is," or "No, it's dead or dying." Instead, read the statement in this chapter on ten possible marks of a vital Friends Meeting, comparing your group with the ideal depicted here, and considering ways in which your fellowship might be strengthened. Then, when you have mulled over the ideas presented here, you might like to rate your Meeting on a ten point or 100 point scale. Or you might find it stimulating to devise your own list of the characteristics of a dynamic Friends Meeting.

Of course the ideas proposed here are only one person's suggestions, although the writer has had a life-long experience with a

*The general term "Friends Meeting" is used throughout this chapter as a term covering all types of Quaker groups.

variety of Friends groups, in the United States and in other parts of the world.

Here, then are ten possible marks of a Friends Meeting:

1. A Place of Spiritual Power and Impact. Perhaps we could write FINIS after that phrase, for spiritual power and impact are what a Quaker Meeting is all about. Difficult as it is to measure, the chief and possibly only test of the vitality of a Friends group is the impact it makes upon its members, its attenders, the community in which it is located, and the wider world.

What happens to your members and attenders as a result of their participation in your Meeting and in the other activities of your group? Are their lives modified, changed, radically altered? Are their values reexamined? Are their expectations stretched? Is their faith strengthened? Are their family and/or job relationships improved? Do they care more, love more?

Or, in another vein, are several of your members and attenders more disturbed now than they were a few months ago about conditions in your community, our nation, or in the wider world — and are they finding ways in which they can do something about their concerns, individually and/or collectively? Have they discovered or rediscovered the horizontal as well as the vertical relationships in religion — specifically Quakerism?

If you can cite examples of people whose lives have changed or are changing as a result of the worship and work of your Meeting, then as a group you must be opening yourselves to Divine Guidance.

You may well ask, "But how do we know if that is happening?" You won't in all cases — and in some, you shouldn't know. Only a few trusted persons, often a member of the Committee on Ministry and Oversight, or the pastor, will be or should be privy to such changes. But in a caring community, where people communicate with each other freely and frankly, you will often see or know about the changes occurring in people. A young woman who has had more than the usual number of tragedies in her life and has been helped by members of the Meeting will express her appreciation in a hesitant but deeply-felt message in Meeting. A young man who needed help on personal problems and asked for a Clearness Committee to meet with him, will thank them for their support and suggestions. A wife will comment to a member of Ministry and Oversight that her husband is less violent since he

started coming to Meeting. A newcomer will inquire about something to read on Quakers. Or an older Friend will send the Meeting a check to send a single-parent family to Yearly Meeting. The winds of the Spirit blow in many, and often unexpected, ways.

If you want to explore the impact of your Meeting more thoroughly and in a broader context, ask some special group to take the names of every fourth or fifth person on your Meeting list and try to determine what influence your group has had or is having on those representative persons. You may even discover that the persons selected for that task don't even know some of the persons on your general list — and that may tell you something about impact, too.

Of course there are other ways of testing how well you are carrying out your basic task of developing a caring, Christian community. For example, how far do people travel to attend your Meeting for Worship or other Meeting activities? How many visitors do you have — and how many of them return after their first visit? How much effort do non-resident members make to return to your Meeting from time to time — and do they contribute to it even in absentia?

Most Meetings shy away from statistics, but they can be revealing, too. What is your average attendance now compared with five years ago — or ten? How many new members have you taken in during the last year, during the last five years, during the last ten?

Another indicator of the vitality of a given group is the leadership it provides locally or in a wider geographical area, for groups concerned with peace, race relations, prisons, and other issues. Or whether some of your members are asked to serve as conciliators or mediators in conflict situations — because they are trusted.

So one might continue to enumerate the many ways in which anyone can determine fairly well whether a Meeting is having a real spiritual and social impact upon its members and attenders, on other people in the community, and in the wider world.

2. With the Meeting for Worship Central. Many non-Friends and even some Friends think of Quakerism as a service organization, a sociological society, an ethical culture group, or an antiquarian association. Unfortunately they have some cause to think of us in those terms; those are the pictures of ourselves which we sometimes project.

As individuals and as Meetings, we need to remind ourselves frequently that we are a RELIGIOUS Society of Friends.

After all, a vital Meeting should not be judged primarily by the variety of its activities, the size of its budget, the number of boys and girls in its First-Day School or Sunday School, or the number of quilts produced for the American Friends Service Committee — important as each of those phases of the total life of a Meeting can be.

The heart of a vital Meeting should be its worship. Worship is the center. Worship is the tap-root. Worship is our priority one project. Worship is the hub — and the greater the circumference, the stronger the hub must be.

Many years ago, when he was editor of *The (Philadelphia) Friend,* Elton Trueblood wrote an editorial in which he described his difficulty in finding the right Meetings to which to send the many persons who had read about Quaker worship and wanted to experience it.

Surely that difficulty still exists.

There are far too many Quaker Meetings where the silence is stagnant, where there are no messages or those which are given include a constant stream of little homilies or political treatises couched in coldly intellectual phraseology, with little silence between them. Friends gather but they do not experience Gathered Meetings. And visitors are ignored or are welcomed in a perfunctory manner.

Thomas Merton, the great modern Catholic mystic, has left us an account in the *Seven Storey Mountain,* of his visit to such a Friends Meeting when he was intrigued as a young man by accounts of the Quaker mode of worship. He visited a Quaker Meeting and was impressed by the silence, even moved by it. Then a Friend rose, whipped out a postcard from her pocketbook and described in detail her recent visit to the Lion of Luzerne in Switzerland. It was Merton's first — and last — visit to a Quaker Meeting.

Then there are Quaker Churches where there is more emotionalism than worship. Or Friends Churches where the sermon and the solos, the offering and the congregational singing, the responsive reading and the prayers leave little or no time for direct dialogue with the Divine.

Fortunately there are other examples of Quaker worship where one can send seekers and be relatively certain that they will experience the worship of Friends at their best — in pastoral and

non-pastoral groups.

There are Meetings where Friends usually settle into a living silence early in their time of worship together, a silence resembling the Gathered Meeting which writers have described in moving language. Out of the silence a few messages may rise, often on a single theme which has simultaneously moved several messengers. And there is time in between these stirrings of the Spirit to commune alone with God. In such Meetings there is also an occasional prayer — "a mixture of gratitude and reverence and awe," as Douglas Steere has described such outpourings. And the handclasps at the end of the Meeting provide an easy way to welcome visitors heartily and sincerely, and urge them to return. There is worship in such places.

And there are Friends churches where one can send people who want to experience another form of Quaker worship. There will be a prepared sermon, but a message which the minister feels is a revelation from God, often based on the pastor's intimate conversations with members during the week and speaking to their condition, as well as that of others. There will be some music in which all share, because they believe that God is not tone deaf and that people can come close to the Divine in that way. But there will be periods of silence and occasionally some speaking "from the body of the Meeting." And when the minister is away, it is not necessary to import a speaker; a member of the local group will give a prepared message, or a group of Friends will speak, or the Meeting will be largely "open."

Perhaps the greatest need of the Society of Friends in all its various groups today is for a new outpouring in the ministry. How urgently we need men and women who can speak powerfully and convincingly to the disillusionment and despair, the longing and the seeking of millions of our contemporaries, bringing them a message of the availability of the transforming power of God through direct and daily contact with Him. That was, is, and will be the central message of Friends.

Is your Meeting one to which seekers should be sent, with the assurance that they will find a true spirit of worship in it?

Is your Meeting one in which there is a healing and transforming ministry?

3. Composed of a Diversity of Seekers but with Some Shared Values and Goals. A vital Friends Meeting should be an open

fellowship rather than a closed one. It should be an inclusive rather than an exclusive community. In it there should be persons from different vocations, from different educational backgrounds, from different races, and of different religious beliefs. Persons of divergent backgrounds should find fellowship in any Friends Meeting, learning from others and teaching others — sharing with each other.

Any caring community, however, needs some common values. Otherwise there is no center, no core, no hub, to hold together persons of widely divergent backgrounds and beliefs.

Some such commonalties can be found by frank and sincere searching. That is true, especially, in the field of religious beliefs where it is often the words we use which divide us most.

Other commonalties can be created as we worship together, work together, play together, and visit together. Thus community becomes primarily a process rather than a place or a set of beliefs.

Is your Meeting composed largely of people of the same background racially, religiously, occupationally, class-wise? Or does it represent a diversity of backgrounds? What are you doing to draw persons of different backgrounds to your group? What else could you do?

If you are already a diverse group, are you growing together? Are the tensions easing and the gaps between individuals and groups narrowing? What gains in this respect have you made in recent months or years? What else could you do to weld your group together?

4. Cultivating Pride in Its Quaker Past but Fostering a Pioneering Spirit. Quakerism is not or should certainly not be a geneological group or an historical society. If it is too engrossed in the past, it invites the disaster to which Lot's wife succumbed — turning into a pillar of salt.

Nevertheless we do have a glorious past, a memorable past, a distinctive past, with which we should all be conversant and of which we should all be proud. Knowledge of it and pride in it can be one of those consolidating considerations which contributes to the creation of community.

Children need to be introduced to relevant parts of that unique and often exciting history through such classics as *Colin Writes to Friends House,* Caroline Nicholson Jacob's *The Road to the Meeting House,* Elise Boulding's *My Part in the Quaker*

Adventure, and Turkle's *Obadiah,* through some of the many plays written by Rosalie Regen, or through stories told to them by their First Day School or Sunday School teachers.

Attenders and applicants for membership, as well as long-time Friends, need to be encouraged to read such volumes as Howard Brinton's *Friends for Three Hundred Years,* Elton Trueblood's *The People Called Quakers,* the *Journal of George Fox,* John Woolman's *Journal,* and Thomas Kelly's *Testament of Devotion,* or a wide range of other inspiring books and booklets selected according to the specific needs of the readers.

Several leaflets should be available free on literature tables in every Friends Meeting and many books and booklets on sale in appropriate places in every Meeting House. Lectures or talks on the history and beliefs of Friends should be given from time to time and/or panels arranged on various aspects of Quakerism. Study groups, often intergenerational in nature, are another means of stimulating pride in our Quaker past as well as our present and future. Some groups will want to sponsor Meeting Retreats to consider some important aspect of Quakerism — such as simplicity, the Queries and Advices, or the peace testimony.

But at least as much attention needs to be given to developing a spirit of adventure among present-day Friends. Long-time members and recent members, as well as attenders and prospective members, need to consider the present problems and future potentialities of Friends. This can be done through the reading and/or discussion of such publications as Kenneth Boulding's *The Evolutionary Potential of Quakerism* and the St. Louis report on *What Future for Friends?* or such books and booklets as *Break the New Ground; Friends Search for Wholeness; Seek, Find, Share;* and/or *The Three M's of Quakerism — Meeting, Message, Mission.*

Lectures can be arranged, panels planned, or study groups set up to wrestle with pertinent parts of our present and/or our potential in the future.

Today's Quakers need to realize that the frontiers are not all closed and that we can be pioneers today, as well as in the past; in speaking to the needs of individuals and in making our planet a place fit for human habitation. Everyone needs to know that Quakers are eternal optimists but also practical realists.

Is your Meeting fostering pride in the past? How? What else

needs to be done in this regard?

Is your Meeting concerned about the present and the future of the Religious Society of Friends? How successful have you been in this respect? What else should you be doing?

5. Providing a Broad and Diversified Program for People of All Ages. Vital Meetings are composed of people of all ages rather than primarily of older people, or a booming First-Day School or Sunday School, and little else.

Therefore any dynamic Meeting needs to plan its programs with a wide age-range in mind. Perhaps a special time needs to be set aside each year for a Retreat, locally or at some place away from the Meeting House, for some group to consider the coming year's plans. This could be an executive committee, composed of the clerks or chair persons of all standing committees, the Committee on Ministry and Oversight, or some other group, depending upon the individual Meeting.

One way to think in such comprehensive terms is to make a list of the divergent groups in the Meeting and to see how their needs can be met best in the ensuring year. Such a plan might look something like this:

Special Group	*Activities Planned*
Young Children	
Parents and Children	
Single Parent Families	
Young People	
Newcomers	
Non-Resident Members	
Older People	
Persons with Special Problems	
The Meeting as a Whole (Intergenerational)	

Special Group	*Activities Planned*
People with Special Concerns	
Persons Intending Marriages in the Meeting	
The Ministry in the Meeting	
Relations with Other Friends and Other Groups	

This is too ambitious a list for many small Meetings, but they can redraft the list according to their needs. For some small groups a special suggestion is made that if there are other Quaker groups nearby, some programs can be planned on a Quarterly Meeting basis, meeting once a month or even four times a year.

Does your Meeting plan its programs in such a comprehensive way? What groups does it serve best? What groups least? What could you do as a group to improve your aid to those whom you are now reaching least?

6. Promoting Fun and Fellowship. Throughout this chapter we have been stressing the quest for community, which has many ramifications, from the spiritual to the social.

Certainly anyone who has examined the roots of "community," realizes that any group which wants to develop a strong and deep fellowship, gets to know each other through a variety of means, outside as well as inside times of worship. In fact, worship can be much more meaningful if the worshippers know each other well and can raise other members of the group in intercessory prayer, and speak to their condition in their messages.

Once before in this chapter we have referred to the seriousness of many Quakers. Often that cripples our many-sided message to children, young people, and others. Thomas Kelly wrote on this briefly and pertinently. Here are two quotations of his which strike at the heart of this failing of many Friends:

> Christians who don't know an inner penecostal joy are living contradictions of Christianity.

> I'd rather be jolly St. Francis hymning his canticle to the sun that a dour old sobersides Quaker whose diet would appear to have been spiritual persimmons.

There are many ways in which to develop this fellowship of fun. Many city Meetings today have a Coffee Hour where persons who see little or nothing of each other during the week, can become better acquainted.

Some so-called silent Meetings, sing together, before or after the regular period of worship, thus filling a need of many Friends.

Many groups have pot-luck meals (with or without programs), Thanksgiving and/or Christmas dinners, fish fries, square dances, Fun Days, or a wide range of physical activities — bowling teams or one-time get-togethers for bowling, volley ball contests, baseball games, or swimming parties.

Does your Meeting have such times of fun and fellowship? Does it need more such occasions together? Does it need some new activities to add to or replace current programs? Does such fellowship in fun add to the creation of a caring community?

7. Serving as a Launching Pad for Spiritually Motivated Social Action. In his stimulating Pendle Hill pamphlet on *A Place Called Community,* Parker J. Palmer writes:

> Community means more than the comfort of souls. It means, and has always meant, the survival of the species.

Fortunately Friends have always felt such concern for the world. In fact, they have been pioneers in many movements for the betterment of the human race locally and in wider circles.

This is a precious legacy. But it needs to be much more than a legacy; it needs to be a current concern.

Of course Meetings vary in this respect as in other dimensions. Some Meetings are little more than service committees; some concentrate so exclusively on the saving of souls that they have no time to feed and clothe and house and provide jobs for those same individuals. What we are writing about is the combination of spiritual and social concerns, melded into a total message for any Meeting — the combination of concern for the inward and the outward about which George Fox and early Friends were so right.

And the phrase spiritually motivated is included here on purpose. Friends have always been troubled lest their concerns be "creaturely activities." Our concerns need to arise from our individual and group worship, where they are tendered to God as

gifts. And sometimes they need to be shared with the Meeting, asking if they seem to be selfless rather than selfish concerns.

Sometimes we will ask for the support of others, thus amplifying and magnifying our own efforts. As Parker Palmer comments, such group action can:

> . . . amplify the individual's small voice so it can be heard by a state which turns deaf when it does not want to listen.

But if the group does not unite with an individual concern, the person submitting if it to the Meeting may feel a compulsion to go ahead with it without the sponsorship of the group. And he or she may be right, for a single individual or a small minority often is ahead of its time — or place — or group; the action of such an individual or group may set the majority to thinking.

Perhaps it would be well to add a word about too many concerns because Friends often err in that respect. No one has spoken about this possible pitfall, or with more experience, than our friend, John Woolman. His purpose was

> . . . to turn all that we possess into the channel of universal love . . . .

Too many of us try to sprinkle the desert rather than irrigate it, or to channel our concerns. That is as true of Meetings as of individuals.

Vital Meetings have some group concerns for the betterment of human beings in many conditions and in many places. But such Meetings limit their group concerns so that they may carry them out more effectively. And they are careful that they arise from deep spiritual sources.

Does your Meeting have such group concerns? Are they too few? Are they too many? Are they spiritually motivated social actions or are they "creaturely activities?" What might be done to improve this aspect of your Meeting?

8. Fostering Broad Participation and Shared Leadership. Three of the several denominations which are growing in the United States are the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Mormons, and the Seventh Day Adventists. One reason for the growth of those groups is that everyone in them is put to work. That work gives them a feeling of close identification with their church; a feeling that it is their responsibility.

On that basis, Friends should be in the list of denominations which are growing, because we have the tradition that everyone is a

minister and that the work of each Meeting is carried on by all its members, plus some of its attenders.

Are all or almost all of your members involved somewhere in the work of your Meeting? What can be done to involve more of them?

In any group there are likely to be outstanding or "weighty" Friends. Often they bring special gifts to a group. But they should not dominate. In a pastoral group there is always the danger that the pastor, or the pastor and his wife, will carry more than their share of the responsibilities of the church. In so-called Silent Meetings there is always the danger that one person or a couple serve in lieu of a pastor in this respect. In both groups there is the possibility that a family or small clique will dominate.

Fortunately there are two developments in the leadership of Quaker Meetings which are currently growing. One is the idea of "the enabling ministry," whereby pastors look upon the cultivation of a wide local leadership as their major task. Among silent Meeting Friends there are more and more Secretaries for large groups. Those persons are not expected to be ministers or do pastoral counselling. But they do perform many of the "nuts and bolts" tasks, freeing members, hopefully, for other types of service. And there are more and more Quarterly Meeting Secretaries, an interesting and important trend.

Is the leadership in your Meeting fairly widely shared? If not, can you make suggestions to improve that situation?

9. Reaching Out to Other Groups Locally and in Wider Geographical Areas. In the words of John Donne, adapted for our purpose, no Meeting should be an island, entire of itself. Every Meeting should be a part of the continent, a part of the main. A vital Friends Meeting not only accepts such contacts with other groups; it seeks them, thereby enriching others and, in turn, being enriched by them.

That means that a Quaker group is involved in activities with other Quaker Meetings, with other religious organizations, and a few secular groups. These can be locally, in the region or nation, and/or on a world-wide scale.

Of course the number of such contacts must be limited because of the scarcity of time and energy. So the groups with which any Meeting cooperates must be carefully chosen.

Does your Meeting collaborate closely with other Quaker groups? Does it have some contact with other religious groups?

Does it maintain relations with a few humanitarian and social action organizations? Does it have too many such contacts? Too few? What suggestions do you have for improvement in this regard?

10. Adequately Housed and Financed. In order to carry out the broad type of program suggested in the foregoing pages, a vital Friends Meeting needs adequate facilities. Here and there vital cells exist which are not housed in their own Meeting Houses. But the experience of almost all groups is that they profit when they have a place of their own. If a Meeting is really an enlarged family, as we have contended, then it needs its own home. Community therefore becomes a place as well as a process.

Ownership of such a place brings problems, but the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Many people are more comfortable in a public Meeting House than in a private home or homes. A greater variety of meetings can take place throughout the week in such a place than is possible when a group meets in the homes of members and attenders. And the common work which individuals in a group carry on in maintaining their headquarters, can help weld a group together.

More and more Meetings these days are purchasing old houses and using them as Quaker Meetings. Sometimes this includes rooms for a caretaker. Often this is less expensive than building a Meeting House and it lends itself to the feeling of a home for the enlarged family.

In order to help pay for their new premises, many Meetings turn to the Meeting House Funds of the Friends General Conference or the Friends United Meeting for gifts or loans.

Of course such Friends Meeting Houses need to be simple in architecture, carrying out the Quaker testimony for simplicity — and saving limited funds for other purposes.

Obviously the broad-based type of program for a vital Meeting outlined in this chapter also demands adequate financing. There are some Quaker groups which are generous in their support of Friends activities. But Friends, by and large, are not known as generous givers. Many Meetings need to develop in their members and attenders the stewardship of giving, generously and on a regular basis, not just a lump sum at the end of the year as income tax time approaches.

Is your Meeting adequately housed? What could be done to

increase and/or improve its facilities? Is the work of your Meeting adequately, even generously financed? If not, what could be done to increase the amounts given, the number of contributors, and the regularity of giving?

A Word About the Size of Friends Meetings. Although not included in the ten marks of any vital Meeting, no account of this type would be complete without some comment on the size of Quaker Meetings.

English Friends feel that a Meeting is too large when it has more than an average attendance of 25 or 30. That may seem terribly small to most American Quaker groups. But it is their contention that a Friends Meeting is an enlarged family and as such needs to be small enough that people in the group can know each other intimately. Also the messages in meetings for worship held on the basis of silent expectancy, tend to be too numerous when there are too many people present, thus limiting the amount of silence for private and group waiting upon the Divine.

It is the writer's experience that the ideal size of so-called silent Meetings is between 35 or 40 and 70 or 75. Over that number lessens the intimacy of the group and encourages too many messages in meetings for worship. And less than that means that there is not enough variety in the fellowship and that individualistic Friends stand out too noticeably.

In pastoral groups there is another large consideration regarding size. That is the necessity of a large enough group to support a pastor adequately. One way to achieve that and still maintain small groups is for a group of small Meetings to band together to have one pastor for all of them, thus placing more responsibility on other members of those groups — a form of "the enabling ministry referred to earlier.

Some Questions on Chapter 13

Since there are a large number of questions in the body of this chapter, you may want to forego the use of the following questions. For those who want such questions, however, here are a few pertinent ones:

1. What idea or ideas in this chapter struck you most forcefully? Why?
2. What other characteristics of a vital Friends Meeting would you add?

3. Which of the ten characteristics of a vital Meeting proposed in this chapter would you eliminate? Why?
4. On which of the ten attributes of a dynamic Meeting would you rate your local group highest? Why?
5. On which of the ten attributes of a dynamic Meeting would you rate your local group lowest? Why? What suggestions would you make to improve your Meeting on these points?
6. What is your judgment about the size of a vital Friends Meeting?

A Brief Reading List on the Characteristics of a Vital Friends Meeting

1. Jones, Rufus M. *The Vital Cell.* William Penn Lecture, 1941. 27 pp.
2. Palmer, Parker J. *A Place Called Community.* Pendle Hill Pamphlet. 1977. 30 pp.

Chapter 14
The World-Wide Society of Friends

Approximately 50 years ago the Germany Yearly Meeting addressed an epistle to all groups of Friends around the world, asking:

> Does Quakerism consist only of individual yearly meetings, which, independent of one another, manage their own affairs in their own areas, or is it a great Society of Friends reaching away over all boundaries and nations?

Theirs was a most perceptive and pertinent question — then and now.

In the intervening years we have not taken giant strides in becoming a global fellowship, but we have taken several steps in that direction. And, as Justice Holmes once commented, "It matters little where we stand; what matters most is the direction in which we are moving."

The 200,000 members of the Religious Society of Friends on our planet today live in approximately 40 of the more than 150 nations which exist at this time. In addition, there are small worship groups or individual Friends in several other countries. Furthermore, there are Quakers today in several nations where there were none 50 years ago, and there is increased communication among Friends everywhere. In the last half-century there have been a few world conferences of Quakers and several smaller gatherings, with representatives present from many parts of our globe.

But a large majority of Quakers today live in the United States and Canada (approximately 120,000), plus 19,000 in Great Britain and about 1700 in Ireland. In addition, there are much smaller groups in various parts of Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. So we are still predominantly a white, middle or upper-middle class, Anglo-Saxon society. And there are well over 100 nations in which there are no Quakers. Such facts should give

us pause as we consider the world-wide Religious Society of Friends today. However, because of the rapid growth of Quakerism in parts of Africa and Latin America, those Quakers may constitute a substantial proportion of the world-wide Society of Friends by the year 2000.

Early Friends and Their World-Wide Concerns. Today's concern for the propagation of the Quaker faith on a global scale is not something new. It has deep roots in early Quakerism.

As far back as the beginnings of the Society of Friends in the mid-17th century, George Fox and other early Friends felt that they had rediscovered a universal and life-transforming message which was intended for men, women, and children. It was also for people everywhere, not just for those on their tiny island.

They felt that it was their privilege as well as their duty to share this message with as many people and in as many places as possible. They were unashamed Publishers of Truth, unabashed evangelists.

And so they travelled. And how they travelled! Despite the hazards of transportation, the barriers of language and culture, and the persecutions of the period, they set out to distant places, telling people about the availability of God without mediators and about the tremendous effect of His Immediacy on people's lives. Listen to this part of a letter from the General Meeting at Skipton in 1660, which Howard Brinton quoted in greater length in his *Friends for Three Hundred Years:*

> We have certain information . . . of the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America, and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palestine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland; through all of which Friends have passed . . . .

And when those ministers and missionaries could not travel somewhere, they sent letters, messages, or Epistles — to the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, the Pope, or To People Everywhere.

Fox himself had what we have recently begun to call today "the global perspective". Here is one of his challenges:

> Let all the nations hear the sound by word and writing. Spare no place, spare no tongue or pen, but be obedient to the Lord God; go through the world and be valiant for the Truth . . . . Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come, that your carriage and life may preach

among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one.

The Spread of Quakerism to Several Parts of the World. In the more than three centuries since the beginning of the Religious Society of Friends, Quakerism has spread into several parts of the world, as already noted. There seem to be five major reasons why this has happened.

First, Friends have taken part in several migrations. The largest of them was the movement of many Quakers from the British Isles to the American colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries. Then there were smaller migrations of British Friends to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, first in the 19th century, and to some degree in the 20th century, especially after World War II.

But there have been other migrations, too. Because of their difficulties in living in lands with military conscription, Friends in Norway and Denmark migrated to the United States in the 19th century. In recent times many Friends in Kenya have also moved to Uganda and Tanzania, in part because of the pressures of population in Western Kenya. And there is the extremely interesting story of the migration of a small group of Friends from the state of Alabama to Costa Rica in 1942 to raise their children in a country without conscription and a vast military establishment.

Second, some Friends in the British Isles and many in the United States have believed in mission work, following their interpretation of the words of Jesus: "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations."

Beginning in the middle of the 19th century, British Friends began to send missionaries to such places as Pemba, Madagascar, Zanzibar, mid-India, and Western China.

Toward the latter part of the 19th century and well into the 20th century, American Friends established missions in such places as Alaska (not a state at that time), Cuba, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, and Palestine (now known as the West Bank). Such efforts were usually supported by separate yearly meetings. But most of them were included under the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions when the Five Years Meeting (now the Friends United Meeting) was formed.

Although a part of the Friends United Meeting, California Yearly Meeting has its own Mission Board, with work in Central

America and in Mexico. And Evangelical Friends carry on mission work in Burundi in Africa, in Bolivia and Peru in South America, Mexico, and Taiwan.

In many of those places educational work was carried on, with the establishment of Quaker schools. And in some, medical work was established. In Kenya, Friends work from the beginning was four-pronged — the specifically religious work, the medical work (including a hospital), agricultural and vocational work, and schools.

It is important to note that in almost all of these places the leadership and ownership has been turned over entirely, or largely, now to local groups, and that yearly meetings have been formed in most of these places.

In a fairly recent publication of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, on *Friends in All Countries, Places, Islands, Nations,* there is a brief but splendid summary of Friends in these places and their relationships with Friends in places where Quakerism has been established much longer. That publication says:

> Scattered far and wide, they differ not only in language, culture, and national allegiances, but also in their interpretations of Quakerism itself. But, nevertheless, they belong to the world-wide family of Friends. Many long for more communion with their fellow-Quakers across national and ideological lines.

Third, the spread of Quakerism has come about in several other places because of the humanitarian or service activities of Friends. Perhaps the best example of this was the development of a yearly meeting in Germany. After World War I, British and American Friends were very active in that nation, especially in child-feeding. So impressive was this work of reconciliation by people from countries which had been their former enemies, and so grateful were many Germans, that the word "Quaekerspeisung" was coined, meaning Quaker feeding. In this and related work, Quakers made no attempt to proselyte. But a number of Germans were deeply impressed with this mission of mercy and love and asked British Friends to come and tell them about Quakerism. So, with rucksacks on their backs, people like Corder and Gwen Catchpool and Joan Fry travelled from place to place, meeting with small groups of inquirers and interpreting to them the Quaker view of life. Largely from this effort came the Germany Yearly Meeting, established in 1925.

Fourth, to a lesser degree Quaker literature has had its impact in

the spread of Quakerism. Perhaps the outstanding example of that was the group of Norwegian and Danish civilians, taken as prisoners by the British during the Napoleonic wars and cinfined on a ship. Finding a copy of Barclay's *Apology* on board, they began to read it and to hold meetings for worship according to the manner of Friends. From the epsiode Quaker groups emerged in Norway and Denmark. Other less spectacular developments have also come from the reading of Quaker literature by seekers in other times and places.

Fifth, in combination with some of the above or completely separate from them, the lives of individual Friends in many places have led to inquiries about their faith and the subsequent identification of the inquirers with Quakerism.

A Representative Group of 100 Quakers Around the World. If we were to bring together a representative group of Friends from the various parts of Quakerdom today, it would be a fascinating assemblage, and a revealing and instructive one, too. Here is a list of persons who would be in such a group:

Africa	54
North America	30
Great Britain	6
Central and South America	6
Asia	2
Europe	1
Australia and New Zealand	1

Space limitations preclude lengthy descriptions of these groups, but we will present thumbnail sketches of them in the following paragraphs.

Friends in North America. Until recently the largest group of Quakers (120,000) lived in the United States and Canada. They are difficult to describe in a short space because they are so diverse. Nevertheless here are a few facts about them which are worth noting. Additional material on them will be found in other parts of this volume.

Altogether there are now 30 yearly meetings in the United States, ranging from North Carolina and Philadelphia, with over 13,000 each, to several small groups of 300 to 500.

The four main aggregations or associations are (1) the Friends United Meeting, with its headquarters in Richmond, Indiana: (2) the Friends General Conference, with its headquarters in

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; (3) the Evangelical Friends Alliance; and (4) the Conservative or Wilburite Friends. As noted before, several yearly meetings belong to both the F.U.M. and the F.G.C. In addition there are some small associations of Friends and some Meetings which are unaffiliated.

Over the centuries, distance and the division of the total Quaker heritage among various groups have caused the fragmentation of American Quakerism but there seems now to be a strong movement for better understanding and even cooperation among these divergent groups.

Most Friends work together in the broad-based activities of the American Friends Service Committee, which is actually a corporation of 162 Friends from 22 yearly meetings, carrying on work for the betterment of human beings in the United States and in many places around the globe. Most Friends also cooperate in the Friends Committee for National Legislation, based in Washington, and attempting primarily to influence legislation and educate citizens politically.

Three of the several smaller organizations which are national in scope are the Quaker Theological Discussion Group, the Conference on Religion and Psychology, and the Associated Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs.

Friends in the United States still maintain an active interest in Quaker schools as well as in public education. There are now more than 60 elementary and secondary schools under the care of Friends, a large increase in recent years. Some are very small, consisting of three or four grades; others range from kindergarten through high school. In addition, there are 16 institutions of higher learning under the care of Friends, including the fairly recent Friends World College and the Earlham School of Religion.

The concerns of Friends in North America are numerous and include an interest in peace, race relations, civil rights, prisons, family relations, aging, the economic order, and government.

A great deal of Quaker literature is published, too, including three major magazines — *The Evangelical Friend,* the *Friends Journal,* and *Quaker Life.*

Canadian Yearly Meeting is an amalgamation of three previously separate groups. At one time there were over 7000 Quakers in that nation. Then their number dwindled to 650 in 1959. But that yearly meeting is growing now, with over 1000 members, widely

separated, from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. Despite these vast distances, they are held together by their yearly meetings sessions(held in different parts of the country), *The Canadian Friend,* the common projects carried on by the Canadian Service Committee (often in conjunction with the American Friends Service Committee and its English counterpart), the small and innovative Friends School at Argenta, and some intervisitation. During the war in Southeast Asia, especially in Viet Nam, Canadian Friends were especially helpful to young men from the United States who were opposed to the war and fled to Canada and to U.S. Friends who wished to provide humanitarian aid to the Vietnamese.

Friends in Africa. Most Quakers are unaware of the fact that the largest concentration of Friends in the world is in East Africa where there are now four yearly meetings: East Africa Yearly Meeting (Central), East Africa Yearly Meeting (South), Elgon Religious Society of Friends, and Nairobi Yearly Meeting. Together they probably number around 200,000 members, the result of missionary work begun in 1902 in Western Kenya by Friends from the midwest in the U.S.A.

From the beginning of work there educational, medical, industrial , and agricultural acitvities were carried on simultaneously with the more strictly religious undertakings.

At one time there were well over 300 "bush schools" for which Friends were responsible, but since the coming of political independence, the government has assumed control of many of those institutions. However, Friends today are active in approximately 80 of the "unaided" Harambee secondary schools and there is a new college at the major center of Friends in Kaimosi in Western Kenya, concentrating on vocational training. In addition, there is a Friends Bible Institute (the only Quaker "F.B.I." in the world), at Kaimosi.

As Friends in Kenya have joined the world-wide migration to cities, Quakers have established Meetings in the larger unban centers, such as Nairobi and Mombassa.

There are some Quaker pastors in East Africa Yearly Meeting, but not nearly enough for all their Meetings. Many of their gatherings for worship are under the leadership of the elders and are marked by a large degree of spontaneity of expression. They are neither pastoral nor non-pastoral, but a unique African development.

In addition, there are approximately 40 Quaker groups in Burundi, under the care of Mid-America Yearly Meeting (formerly Kansas), a small South Africa Yearly Meeting (with members in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Tasmania, and Botswana, as well as South Africa), a group in Pemba, and a few worship groups and individual Friends in other parts of that giant continent.

Friends in Great Britain and in Ireland. Of course London Yearly Meeting is considered by many as the "mother" of all Quaker groups, with Friends in many parts of the world looking to them for leadership because they seem to have some special strengths. One is the fact that they have never had a major split or division. Another is the fact that they have been able to combine their mission and service activities in recent years rather than having them as separate and sometimes competing outreaches of the Society of Friends. A third is the strength of the adult center at Woodbrooke. A fourth is their active involvement in local and national politics — far more noticeable than that of their American counterparts.

At one time in recent years London Yearly Meeting reached an all-time high record of around 22,000 members. Today it has dropped to a little over 19,000. There are over 400 local Meetings, as British Friends prefer small groups to large ones.

Friends House on Euston Road in London is a large and imposing building which houses most of the offices of the yearly meeting, small and large Meeting rooms, and an extremely well-stocked Friends Historical Library. Some of the major departments located in Friends House are the Quaker Home Service, Quaker Peace and Service, and Quaker Social Responsibility and Education.

Ireland Yearly Meeting consists of a little over 1700 Friends in both parts of that divided land. Quakers there have been especially involved in reconciliation between the opposing sides in the religious and political struggles of Ireland, as well as in Quaker schools, an institution for the mentally ill which is becoming a center for older people, and in cooperative ventures with the Quaker Peace and Service Committee of London and Ireland Yearly Meetings.

Friends in Other Parts of Europe. In addition to the London Yearly Meeting and the Ireland Yearly Meeting, there are eight other groups in Europe — in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden; in

France, in the Federal Republic of Germany and in the German Democratic Republic, and in Switzerland; plus small worship groups elsewhere.

The largest and in some ways the most remarkable is the Pyrmont Yearly Meeting (in the Federal Republic of Germany). Its origins have been traced elsewhere in this book. What is so remarkable about this Quaker group is the fact that it persisted during the Hitler regime and World War II and even grew slightly in numbers and certainly in spiritual power during those perilous times. Several of its members were in concentration camps or in prisons and some had their faith strengthened by those testing times. One of the most moving accounts in Quaker literature, for example, is the testimony of Eva Hermann in a pamphlet entitled *In Prison, Yet Free.*

Of special importance to German Friends is the Meeting House at Bad Pyrmont, built on the site of a Quaker Meeting House in the 19th century; their Bezirksversammlungen (something like Quarterly Meetings), and the Quaeker Verlag or publishing house, which produces *Der Quaeker,* their official publication, as well as other literature.

Because of the division of Germany into two countries, it was felt necessary in 1969 to establish a separate yearly meeting in the German Democratic Republic. It has a membership of only 50 but there is a large circle of friends of the Friends who attend Meetings and their yearly meeting.

Switzerland Yearly Meeting consists of approximately 130 members — both French-speaking and German-speaking Quakers. Many of the Swiss Friends have been associated with the Service Civil International or work camp movement, started by Pierre Ceresole as a part of his life-long witness for peace. He later became a Friend and he and other members of the Switzerland Yearly Meeting have been in prison because of their refusal to perform military service to their country. Consequently peace and civil rights are top priorities of that group. They also take an active part in the international work carried on at Quaker House in Geneva.

The France Yearly Meeting is also small, consisting of about 80 members, plus almost as many associate members, and a few Friends in Spain. The chief Meeting is in Paris, although there are three other localities in which Meetings are held. But the members are widely separated, which makes their conferences and get-

togethers especially important. In recent years French Friends have cooperated with other yearly meetings through the European Section Service Committee in rehabilitation work in Algeria, in peace work and prison reform, and in the world-wide Campaign Against Torture.

The Netherlands Yearly Meeting is similarly small. There was a Quaker group there in the 17th century but it eventually died. The present group received much of its impetus from Woodbrooke in England in the 1920s and 1930s. Two concerns which have dominated the Dutch group in recent times have been the International School at Ommen and work during and after World War II for the refugees from many nations. The school at Ommen still exists but it is no longer under the control of Friends. The total membership of the Dutch group is 133 at present.

Even though there are just over 300 Friends in Scandinavia, there are three yearly meetings there — in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (including 20 Friends in Finland). These groups are in close touch with one another and sometimes cooperate on joint projects. They have also shared in relief and rehabilitation work in Algeria and in more recent activities in the West Bank of Jordan, administered by the European Section Friends Service Committee.

As indicated earlier, there were a few Friends in Denmark in the early years of Quakerism. The present group, however, dates back to the 1930s when the Halfdan-Nielson family returned to Denmark because of the depression in the United States. The chief concerns of Danish Friends in recent times have been for refugees, for disarmament and meaningful alternative service for conscientious objectors, and a school for girls who are experiencing special difficulties.

The Society of Friends in Sweden was founded in 1935. In the first decades of its existence that group included a few outstanding personalities, such as Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind (the author of an outstanding book on James Naylor) as well as other writings, the writers Elin Wagner and Jeanne Ogerdahl; and the prominent educators Per Sundberg and Greta Stendahl. Elsa Cedergren is still living but the Society today is in the hands of a new generation of Quakers. Its membership within Sweden numbers approximately 100, plus about 20 members in the Finland Monthly Meeting. After World War II Swedish Friends were engaged in trying to bring about better East-West relations, in which they are still interested.

In more recent years much of their time and strength has gone into work with refugees from Algeria.

Friends in the Middle East. There is also a small Near East Yearly Meeting, with 100 members in two monthly meetings. One is in Ramallah, in the West Bank. Much of the energy and time of Friends there goes into the two Quaker schools, started by American Friends — one for boys and one for girls — with an increasing amount of joint activities. The other monthly meeting is in Lebanon where British Friends have long maintained a school at Brummana.

Friends in Asia. Despite the enormous population of Asia, there are very few Friends in that part of the world. The largest group by far is in Taiwain, and consists largely of refugees from mainland China, some of whom were Quakers there. This work in Taiwan is a mission outpost of the Evangelical Friends Church — Eastern Region, and is now a yearly meeting of its own, with slightly less than 3,000 members.

In Japan there are approximately 300 Friends, growing out of the work of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street) over a long period of time. When a National Christian Church was established in Japan in 1940, many Friends joined that united group. But a few continued their separate existence as a yearly meeting. The project with the highest visability is the Friends Girls' School in Tokyo. But there are other activities of Japanese Friends, including a center for children, sponsored by the Japanese Friends Service Committee.

One of the smallest but most valiant groups of Friends in the world is the tiny Meeting in South Korea, one of whose leaders — Ham Sok-Hon — has undergone frequent imprisonment and ill-treatment for his challenges to the government on the issues of civil rights and peace.

In India there are three small groups. One is a result of the mission work of what was the Ohio Yearly Meeting at Damascus, Ohio (now a part of the Evangelical Friends Church-Eastern Region). Another is the Mid-India Yearly Meeting, with mostly unprogrammed Meetings. There is also a General Conference of Friends in India, formed in 1959 by both Asian and European Quakers who were members of groups outside India.

Friends in Latin America. There are organized Friends Meetings or Friends Churches today in nine Latin American nations, plus worship groups and individual Quakers in a few others.

In three of those countries Quaker work was begun by missionaries from yearly meetings in the United States which are now a part of the Friends United Meeting. As far back as 1881 Iowa Friends went to Jamaica, eventually starting schools there as well as establishing Meetings. Today there is a Jamaica Yearly Meeting of 450 members, which is a part of the Friends United Meeting. Particularly prominent is the Happy Grove School, a coeducational institution for 800 students which has provided many leaders for that island nation.

Friends in Cuba were hard hit by the changes in government brought about by the Castro regime. Many of them migrated to the United States in the 1960s, especially to Miami, Florida, where there is a Friends Church today, composed largely of former Cuban Friends. The Cuban government also took the five schools run by Cuban Quakers. But there is still a Cuba Yearly Meeting, with 250 members in several Meetings.

Much earlier a somewhat similar fate befell Mexican Friends when their government forbade missionaries from abroad to work there. But there are still around 200 Friends in Mexico, many of whom gather at 18 months intervals as the Mexico General Meeting.

Very different is the history of the small group of Quakers in Costa Rica. They are largely members of the Fairhope Meeting in Alabama who migrated to Central America in 1942 to live and bring up their children in a country free from military conscription. They have a school and Meeting House on a large tract of land 125 miles from the capital city of San Jose. Those Costa Rican Quakers are active in dairying and the production of cheese.

In 1970 a Central America Yearly Meeting was established, with 2300 members in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. This is the outcome of missionary work by Friends in California Yearly Meeting and is closely linked to that group.

By far the largest group of Quakers in Latin America live in Bolivia and Peru and they are organized in a yearly meeting which is closely associated with the Evangelical Friends in the United States who have been responsible for that Quaker outreach. There are approximately 10,000 Friends in those two nations.

Friends in Australia and New Zealand. As noted earlier in this chapter, most of the Friends in these two countries had their origins in Great Britain. For a long time Australia was a General Meeting

under the care of London Yearly Meeting; New Zealand was a Quarterly Meeting under that same body. Both became yearly meetings in 1964. Both groups are growing numerically. For example, there were 400 Friends in New Zealand in 1950 and 700 in 1979; there has been a comparable increase in Australia until that yearly meeting now numbers over 1000.

Among the many concerns of Australian Friends are peace, relations with the various Asian nations, work with the Australian aborigines, and the administration of the Friends School in Hobart, Tasmania, with over 1000 students.

As in Canada, the vast distance between the various Meetings creates problems of communication, so the yearly meeting sessions, the publication — *The Australian Friend,* and some intervisitation are extremely important as unifying factors.

The major interests of the 700 Friends in New Zealand can be seen by a look at the list of yearly meeting committees — peace, service, public questions, extension, and the newsletter.

Some Problems of the World-Wide Society of Friends. It's quite a society, this world-wide family of Friends — diversified as it is in languages, cultures, nationalities, economic and educational backgrounds, and religious beliefs and practices.

Consequently there are bound to be problems in it, just as there are in any family. Without elaborating upon them, let us mention a few of them.

One is the same problem that plagues Quakerism in the United States — the wide spectrum of religious beliefs and types of worship, from the highly evangelical groups to the silent meetings groups, and from Christ-centered Friends to those who are basically humanists. Can they learn to live together in One Quaker World — and even cooperate on some common concerns?

Can they even learn to speak to each other — because of the differences in languages as well as in theological vocabulary?

Similarly, can Friends in the Anglo-American orbit yield some of their power and influence to Friends in other parts of the world and be enriched by association with Quakers from a variety of cultures and nationalities?

Even more difficult is the question of how Quakers can cope with the problems of relations with their national governments, as cited in this chapter on such places as in Switzerland, Cuba, and Korea.

Another enormous problem is whether Friends here and there

can begin to reach out to persons of other faiths, as Douglas and Dorothy Steere have done in recent years in organizing colloquia between Hindus and Christians in India, and Buddhists and Christians in Japan.

There are other problems, but these are typical of the difficulties which confront us as we try to create a more closely-knit group of Quakers around the world — a more cohesive family of Friends.

What Binds All These Friends Together? Despite our difficulties, there are several ties which bind us together. They are often only tiny threads, but they nevertheless do exist.

One such unifying factor is our shared pride in a common past. No matter where Friends live and work and worship, they tend to be aware of their common background in 17th century England, the story of The Quaker Adventure, and some of its heroes and heroines — such as George Fox and Margaret Fell Fox, Isaac Penington, William Penn, John Woolman, Elizabeth Fry, and Lucretia Mott.

Then there are several general beliefs and practices we have in common — such as our belief in a creedless church, freedom and spontaneity in worship, the lack of sacraments, and the conduct of our business meetings.

Further, all or almost all of us share some common concerns — on peace, civil rights, education, prisons, education, and better standards of living in larger freedom.

Then, too, we share some common dreams for the future of our beloved Religious Society of Friends — for a new outpouring of the Spirit, for a prophetic ministry, and for the transformation of the lives of our members and attenders.

The practice of travelling in the ministry had a tremendous influence in the early days of Quakerism but it has declined, unfortunately, in more recent decades. However, it still exists and is another of the practices which foster friendship among the different groups of Friends in the far-flung parts of our planet. It is a practice which needs to be extended in our time.

To a lesser degree the reading of Epistles at the many yearly meetings around the world influences those who hear them, enhances our feeling of belonging to a world-wide family, and often encourages Friends to deepen the spiritual dimensions of their lives and to redouble their efforts for needed economic, social, political, and educational changes.

Further, the regional and world-wide meetings of Quakers have considerable impact on those attending them and indirectly on others through the use of the study guides and other publications prepared for them.

Of increasing importance are the many efforts of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, about which we will write in the final paragraphs of this chapter.

The Work of the Friends World Committee for Consultation. Friends have always been leary of over-organization at the top of the pyramid of Quakerism; they have always maintained that the foundation of local Meetings is what matters most. Nevertheless, there is a need for consultative and coordinating bodies which function for larger groups of Quakers.

Such a body was created as a result of the recommendations of the representatives from many yearly meetings around the world who attended the Friends World Conference at Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges, near Philadelphia, in 1937. In order to make it very clear that this was not to be a superstructure, legislating for Quakers, it was called the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

After approximately 50 years, it is recognized by many individuals and groups as the capstone of the world-wide community of Friends, and almost all Quaker groups participate now in its meetings and work. Its international headquarters are at Drayton House in London and there are regional offices in Kenya, the United States (in Philadelphia and in Plainfield, Indiana), and in Scotland. The three sections of the committee are for Europe and the Near East, for Africa, and for the Americas. A fourth section has long been discussed, for Asia and possibly the West Pacific Rim, but that section is still under consideration.

Every three years the representatives from the various component groups in the World Committee meet in a different part of the world to review their current work and plan for the future. Meetings have been held, for example, in such widely separated places as Sidney, Australia; Nairobi, Kenya; Sigtuna, Sweden; Germantown, Ohio in the U.S.A.; and in 1979 in Switzerland.

Among its many activities have been the planning and carrying out of such world conferences as those held at Oxford, England in 1952; at Guilford College in North Carolina, in 1967; and a special meeting for Friends in the Western Hemisphere, held at the Friends

University in Wichita, Kansas, in 1977.

The European and Near East Section, organizes conferences of Friends in that part of the globe every six years, while the African section has convened meetings of Friends from that continent.

The World Committee for Consultation publishes the *Friends World News* and several useful pamphlets, directories, and study guides; arranges intervisitation trips; sponsors pilgrimages of Young Friends to the Fox country in northern England; and promotes the international concerns of Friends, such as the abolition of torture and the right sharing of the world's resources.

The World Committee is also recognized as a non-governmental agency with consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations; the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; and other bodies of the U.N. System. As an integral part of its status with the U.N., a great deal of work is carried on by the Quaker Program at the United Nations, based at the Quaker Houses in New York City and Geneva. From time to time Quakers from different parts of the world are brought in as consultants on special issues being considered by the U.N. and its affiliated bodies.

Yes, They Are All Quakers. Perhaps it would be fitting to conclude this account of the World-Wide Society of Friends with the verses written by an English Friend, Sydney Bailey, in honor of the World Committee, composed when he and his wife, Brenda, were in charge of the work at Quaker House in New York City. He titled the verses "Diversity of Gifts" and they are reproduced here with the author's permission:

There are farmers and lawyers and teachers and bakers,
There are nurses and salesmen and furniture-makers,
There are artists and dentists — yet they're all of them Quakers.

Some gather in silence in old Meeting Houses
In old Quaker bonnets and old Quaker blouses,
While others in churches have followed new trends
And "programme" their worship, and yet they're all Friends.
Some welcome all strangers with smiles in the doorway,
In Pemba and Britain, Ohio and Norway.
Some breakfast on bacon, while some are cornflakers,
Yet, in spite of it all, they are all of them Quakers.

Some worship on benches, some worship on pews;
Some fight for their country while others refuse.

Some feel that their job is to clean up disasters,
And some serve their Meetings as Elders or Pastors.
Some ask all the questions, some give all the answers,
In Ireland, Mexico, Cuba, and Kansas.
Some are Lord's Day observers, and some sabbath-breakers,
Yet, in spite of it all, they are all of them Quakers.

Some Quakers are tiny, some Quakers are massive;
Some Quakers are active, some Quakers are passive;
Some Quakers are divided and others unite;
Some Friends are convinced and some are birthright.
Some live by the sea and others live inland
In Fritchley, Nebraska, New England and Finland.
Some rise with the dawn while some are late wakers,
Yet, in spite of it all, they are all of them Quakers.

There are those who believe in Original Sin;
There are others who value the Light Within.
Some Quakers are urban, some Quakers are tribal.
And most of them reckon to study the Bible.
There are Quakers who sing, there are some who square-dance,
In Italy, Lebanon, Baltimore, France.
Some are midwives for births, some for deaths undertakers,
Yet, in spite of it all, they are all of them Quakers.

There are Quakers at Wilmington, Earlham and Whittier
(But the young Quaker ladies at Swarthmore are prettier).
There are Quakers in dresses and Quakers in trousers,
There are Quakers in saris and dhotis and blouses.
Some Quakers dress simply while others dress finer,
In Kenya and Oregon, Holland and China.
Some Friends live in towns, while some farm the acres,
Yet, in spite of it all, they are all of them Quakers.

In Paris they drink, in London they smoke.
At Westtown they dance, at Sidcot they joke.
Some Quakers are ugly, some Quakers are pretty,
Some Quakers are stupid, some Quakers are witty.
Some flourish in deserts while some like it windier,
In Germany, Sweden, Jamaica, and India.
Some practice simplicity and still are plain speakers,
Yet, in spite of it all, they are all of them Quakers.

So listen, all Friends, the roughest and gentlest,
Conservative, liberal, or plain fundamentalist.
To each one we offer our friendliest greeting

(Which please take back home to your own Yearly Meeting).
I've wearied you long with this light-hearted ditty.
Written to honour the Friends World Committee.

Some Questions on Chapter 14

1. What idea or ideas in this chapter struck you most forcefully? Why?
2. Have you or someone else in your Meeting lived or visited in a yearly meeting outside the United States? If so, what information and insights can you or they contribute from that experience?
3. Have you or someone else in your Meeting attended any of the Friends World Conferences or any of the triennial meetings of the Friends World Committee for Consultation? If so, what information and insights could you or they contribute from that experience?
4. If you could visit one of the yearly meetings outside the United States, which one would you like to visit most? Why?
5. Which of the obstacles to increased communication among the different yearly meetings around the world do you consider the most difficult to overcome? Why?
6. Which of the unifying factors among Friends in different yearly meetings around the world do you feel are the most promising? Why?
7. Do you, or does your Meeting, contribute financially to the work of the Friends World Committee for Consultation? Should you?

A Brief Reading List on the World-Wide Society of Friends

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Chapter 15
Quakerism in Our Revolutionary World Today and Tomorrow: Some Strengths and Weaknesses

What a world we inhabit and what a world those who come after us will inherit and inhabit.

Today there are nearly five billion of us living as world neighbors on Planet Earth. By the year 2000 there will probably be at least six billion of us sharing the limited space and finite resources of our Global Spaceship and trying to learn to live peacefully and justly together, despite the amazing array of languages, cultures, ideologies, economic conditions, nations, and religions.

In this varied and increasingly interdependent world we are beginning to grapple with some of our common problems — poverty, violence and war, racism, disease, illiteracy and ignorance, injustice, environmental destruction, materialism, secularism, and urbanization.

Often the possibility of coping with such problems is overwhelming. Yet we need to remember that human beings have an incredible resilience, an unbelievable inventiveness, and an amazing ability to perform remarkable feats upon occasion. Within the last few decades people have released the power hidden in the atom, placed men on the moon, developed antibiotics and the Pill, created supersonic air travel and simultaneous world-wide communication, granted political freedom to nearly half of the world's population and formed over 100 new nations, expanded educational opportunities, and begun to champion the rights of women and children.

Indeed we do live in a revolutionary world. And it will probably be increasingly so. Asked once what the phrase, "The past is prologue," meant, Carl Sandburg replied, "It simply means you ain't seen nothin' yet."

Quakerism in Such Revolutionary Times. Against the

background portrayed in the foregoing paragraphs, the Religious Society of Friends around the world seems small, fragile, and fragmented. One wonders at times what a group of 400,000 persons could possibly contribute to such a revolutionary world.

Then one remembers how Jesus likened the Kingdom of Heaven to a mustard seed, which is infinitesimally small, but has within in enormous possibilities of growth.

Reviewing the more than three hundred years of Quakerism, one realizes that the great contributions of the Society of Friends to humanity have come from revolutionary people, living in revolutionary times, and espousing revolutionary ideas — both religious and social.

George Fox was a revolutionary, at least to his opponents, proclaiming radical ideas of Christianity. William Penn was a revolutionary in many fields — in his attitudes toward education, Indians, capital punishment, and European Federation, to name a few. John Woolman was a revolutionary, calling for radical changes in the social and economic order of his day, including the abolition of slavery. Elizabeth Fry and Lucretia Mott were revolutionaries, seeing new roles for women and giving leadership to new movements. And Pierre Ceresole was a revolutionary, proposing a world-wide "army" for peace rather than for war.

These men and women were catalysts for change, trailblazers, pioneers, innovators. But they could not have done their work alone. With Fox were the Valiant Sixty and the thousands of persons whose lives testified to the tenets he preached and practiced. With Penn were his close colleagues and the thousands of men, women, and children who left their homes in Europe to take part in the Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania. With Woolman were the hundreds of people whose homes became the unmarked stations on the Underground Railroad and the thousands who supported the abolition of the vicious slavery system. With Lucretia Mott were the women (and men) whose homes were opened for meetings and who defied public opinion in their support of women's rights. With Elizabeth Fry were the many women who risked ridicule to visit in the prisons of England. And with Pierre Ceresole were the men in Switzerland who, like him, went to prison for conscience sake, and the scores of young men and women from many countries who took part in the early work camps of the Service Civil International.

How curious and how encouraging it is to note that when Friends have taken unpopular positions and stood by them faithfully, other people have been attracted to the Society. That was true in 17th century England when Quakers went to prison by the thousands for their religious beliefs — and yet others joined the growing Society of Friends. It was true of North Carolina Friends during the Civil War. And even during the Nazi regime, Friends in Germany grew slightly in numbers and deeply in their faith.

Do Friends Have a Future? But is there still a message for the world from Friends? Let's listen to two outstanding individuals on that question. One is Maurice A. Creasey, a former Director of Studies of the Quaker Center at Woodbrooke in Birmingham, England. Writing in a booklet on *Prospect for Quakerism,* he said recently:

> I am now saying that the central, essential question at issue in this world is the question "What does it mean to be human?" And I am going to claim that, if we are genuinely heirs of the Quaker experience and name, this is precisely the question to which we ought to have something to say. For, beneath and despite all the obvious differences in language, thought forms and presuppositions, this is the very same question to which original Quakerism was giving an answer when it made its great central affirmation that "every man is enlightened by the divine light of Christ."

Kenneth Boulding, one of the world's most astute observers of the contemporary scene, world-wide, had this to say in his Backhouse Lecture at the Australia Yearly Meeting a few years ago, printed as a Pendle Hill pamphlet on *The Evolutionary Potential of Quakerism:*

> I believe the evolutionary potential of the Quaker mutation is very far from exhausted, and indeed, has hardly begun to show its full effects. I believe, furthermore, that the Society of Friends has a vital role to play in the future development of mankind, small perhaps in quantity but of enormous importance in quality, and that to refuse to take on this role or to run away from the burden which it may imply would be a betrayal of trust and a tragedy not only for the Society of Friends but for mankind as a whole . . . . I think Quakerism is an example of a mutation which was in a sense premature and before its time. . . . it is precisely in religious experience that one finds the evolutionary potential that looks forward to the ultimate future of man.

Maurice Cressey has said that the prospects for Quakerism

depend largely on discerning the condition of the world at a given time and having something relevant to say to it. In the next few pages let us look at some of the conditions in the Religious Society of Friends which hold promise for the future and some of the conditions that are fraught with peril — an abbreviated State of the Society report in the 1980s. Here are six possible goals for us in the next decade — and beyond.

1. Increasingly a Religious Society with a Many-Sided Message.

Quakerism arose in a time of turmoil in an attempt to recapture and revive the authenticity and simplicity of first century Christianity. At the heart of its message was the knowledge that God speaks directly to everyone, rather than a few, and that He speaks now as well as in the past. This was knowledge they had gained from experience. As Fox phrased it, "I knew this experimentally," or in today's language — experientially.

Because of such experiences the Seekers became the Finders — by the thousands.

Casting aside the outer forms which had developed in Christian churches over the centuries, they sat in silence together, listening for the Divine, the Christ Within. And when they heard His Voice, they shared their messages with others.

Some of those early Friends were moved to travel to distant places to share their message of the Indwelling Christ, the Light Within, the Seed. Others stayed at home and shared their faith in less public and spectacular ways. But they ministered, too. As Fox wrote, "The lives and conversations of Friends did preach."

Coupled with the centrality of worship was their concern for others. Early Friends were moved to minister to a wide variety of persons, believing that God had endowed each of them with something of the Divine. Hence they were social activists; spiritually motivated reformers. They not only prayed that God's kingdom would come; they worked for its arrival.

As we pointed out earlier in this book, theirs was a many-sided message, including The Historic Christ and the Inner Christ, simplicity, equality, social concern, the Bible, rationalism and education, and evangelism and missions.

This many-sided message was a remarkable one, a radical one, a revolutionary one. But it is not merely something to read about as a part of history; it is a message for today and tomorrow as well as yesterday. It is as pertinent for Seekers in the 20th and 21st

centuries as in the 17th. It is old, yet constantly new. It is a dynamic message today for a revolutionary world. It is a precious heritage for Quakers, but one which we must reclaim and reinterpret for today and tomorrow.

Not everyone will be attracted to this many-faceted message. For some the silence of the traditional Quaker Meeting is not satisfying. For others the demands of Quaker organization and social concerns are too burdensome in time and energy. For still others the lack of precision in beliefs and the enormous responsibility placed on Quakers to work out their own faith and practices, is not structured enough. That need not disturb us. Not everyone needs to be a Quaker; there are many ways of finding and serving God.

But there are certainly thousands of people in the United States and in other parts of our world to whom the Quaker message can be relevant, inspiring, satisfying, transforming. In a world where many people are turning to the mysticism of Asian religions, Quakerism provides a mysticism which is group-centered as well as individualistic. For those who are put off by creeds and the hypocrisy of some religious groups, Quakerism should appeal as a non-creedal group with an enviable record for honesty. For those who are troubled by the lingering clash of science and religion, Quakerism should appeal as a way of life which sees no inherent conflict between these two concepts, believing that creation continues, even now. For those who seek simplicity, Quakerism at its best strives for such simplicity in faith and in daily living. For those who are concerned about the many inequalities and injustices in the world, Quakerism should have a special message, for it has often pioneered in many ways of promoting humanness, undergirding its social concerns with a spiritual underpinning. And for those who cherish individuality, Quakerism at its best cherishes that quality, but tempers it with the wisdom of the group.

How many people will be able to agree with all of the many facets of the broad-based Quaker message is an important question, for Quakerism is an apparently simple and yet a very demanding way of life. Perhaps agreement with nearly all or even most of the basic beliefs is enough to expect of potential members, recogizing that all persons in the Society of Friends do not adhere to all of its testimonies. What we should welcome from those who want to join the Society of Friends is their statement that this is the direction in which they want to move — the general way of life they want to espouse. To ask more is to substitute a short and simple

creed for a long and complicated one.

High on the list of strengths of contemporary Quakerism is the search which is going on in most countries and in all branches of Friends in the United States for a relevant, many-sided message for these turbulent times, yet one which captures the essentials of the early movement. That search gained a great deal of momentum from the movement which culminated in the conferences in St. Louis and in Wichita in recent years. The frank discussions in the Quaker Theological Group have also added greatly to this search for a message for these times.

Gratifying, too, has been the establishment in recent years of the Earlham School of Religion, the creation of Powell House as a conference and retreat center in New York Yearly Meeting, and the founding of the Quaker Hill Conference Center in Richmond, Indiana, as well as the continued contributions of Pendle Hill, outside Philadelphia, to many individuals and Meetings.

We have been helped, also, by several publications on the message of Friends for the latter part of the 20th century. In addition to the ones by Kenneth Boulding and Maurice Creasey, already cited, there are at least three others worthy of reading and study. One is John Yungblut's *Quakerism of the Future: Mystical, Prophetic and Evangelical* (a Pendle Hill pamphlet). A second, is the report of the St. Louis Conference, entitled *What Future for Friends?* A third is a special section of *Quaker Life* for January, 1979, on *My Cherished Dream for Friends,* to which nine prominent Quakers contributed.

On the world scale, the fairly recent world conference of Friends at Guilford College in North Carolina and the triennial meetings of the Friends World Committee for Consultation have been extremely helpful in focusing on the religious message of Quakerism for these times and in raising the sights of many people to the potentialities of our basic message. So have the visits of several Friends in various parts of the world.

Important as such events, centers, publications, and visits are, much more is needed. By and large the leaders of the different Quaker groups in the United States are more understanding of each other than in any period since the separations of the 19th century. What is needed is a reexamination by thousands of Quakers in hundreds of local Meetings of the religious message of Quakerism for the latter part of the 20th century and a commitment or recommitment to our task in those turbulent times. Perhaps the

Society of Friends is like a banked fire, with warm ashes, but in need of new kindling and vigorous stirring.

Perhaps such an examination should raise some pertinent, and even some impertinent, questions. For example, so-called silent Meeting Friends might ask themselves such a questions as these:

1. Is vocal prayer frequent or infrequent in your Meeting? If it is infrequent, why do you think that is so? What is your Meeting doing about it?
2. How knowledgeable are your members and attenders about the Bible? If they are generally illiterate on this important facet of Quakerism, how do you account for this? And what are you doing to correct this failing?
3. How pertinent and transforming is the ministry in your Meeting? Are the lives of members and attenders changed by their experiences in worship? If not, what is your Meeting doing to cultivate a prophetic ministry?
4. Worship on the basis of expectant silence is highly rewarding but difficult for some individuals. What are you doing through literature, panels, discussions, etc. to assist younger people, newcomers, and even long-time members, to use the silence creatively?
5. To early Friends Jesus was the center of their faith. Is this true in your Meeting today?
6. Do social concerns arise in your Monthly Meeting or do you rely heavily on such groups as the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Committee on National Legislation to initiate concerns.
7. Music is very meaningful to many people as a means of worship. What provision is made somewhere in the life of your Quaker group to meet this need, not necessarily in the Meeting for Worship.

So-called pastoral Friends might be asked to examine frankly and deeply such questions as the following:

1. At its best Quakerism is a lay movement involving all members in its tasks. To what extent you does your Meeting use all its members and attenders in its work? To what extent do you rely on the pastor (and his wife or her husband) for leadership? To what extent is your pastor fostering a shared leadership, an enabling ministry?

2. To what extent is your Quaker group different from other Protestant churches? What is distinctly Quakerly about it?
3. At the heart of early Quakerism was the practice of waiting upon God or The Christ Within in expectant silence. To what extent do you believe in this practice of the Presence of God? What are you doing to cultivate such worship on the part of your Friendly fellowship?
4. Christians need to be concerned with the soul of society as well as the souls of individuals. How active is your group in concerns dealing with the social, economic, and political order? What more might you do?
5. How well acquainted are your members and attenders with the faith and practices of Friends? What are you doing to promote such knowledge and understanding? What more might you do?
6. Proclaiming The Good News is an essential of Quakerism today as well as yesterday. Is it possible to be evangelical without being evangelistic? What methods of outreach are consistent with Quaker philosophy; what methods are inconsistent with it?
7. How pertinent and how transforming is the ministry in your periods of worship? Is the language in which messages are given appealing to oncoming generations and to those who are rebelling against traditional Christianity?

Perhaps these are not the questions which local groups need most to consider. If not, perhaps the drafting of a series of pertinent and searching questions or queries would be a good place to start locally in our quest for the message which the Religious Society of Friends has or should have for our contemporary world and the ways in which local groups can come closer to being living examples of that message.

2. Increasingly an Inclusive Society. The Religious Society of Friends in a revolutionary world today and tomorrow needs to be increasingly inclusive rather than exclusive. The message of that of God in every person is not only *about* all individuals, but *for* all individuals. Quakerism needs to be for blacks as well as whites, farmers and small town people as well as urbanites and suburbanites, the less educated as well as the highly educated. Our circle needs to be enlarged greatly.

On this point we have not made much progress in recent years. True, our Quaker schools and colleges are now open to blacks as well as whites. There are now a few more Quakers whose skin in black than there were a few years ago. Many Friends worked valiantly in the civil rights movement in the 1960s — and some are still working for the extension of rights for this minority. But, by and large, we are still a white Society.

As the United States has become increasingly an urban and suburban society, many rural and small town Meetings have been "laid down" and the Friends who have moved to larger centers of population have not continued their membership in the Society of Friends in many instances. However, many new Meetings have been formed in the larger urban centers, especially those worshipping on the basis of silence. Consequently we are probably more middle and upper class than we were a half century ago. In that sense we are more exclusive rather than more inclusive.

As the level of education in the United States has risen, the level of education in the Society of Friends has risen, too. And one segment of American Quakerism has grown a great deal — the number of Meetings near college and university centers. Probably the appeal of Friends to these highly educated persons lies in a combination of the search for Truth amongst Friends, the silence of the Quaker Meetings after a week of lectures and discussions, the freedom of thought and belief in those groups, and the social action of those Meetings. But we have probably suffered a loss of less educated Quakers.

Around the world two trends are evident. One is the appeal of Quakerism to the highly educated, affluent, upper middle class persons in Europe, Australia and New Zealand, and elsewhere, and the appeal of the more evangelical types of Quakerism in Africa and Latin America.

Inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness is still a goal toward which Quakers everywhere need to strive in this revolutionary world of ours.

4. Increasingly a Diverse but United Society. Throughout this book the writer had repeatedly deplored the fragmentation of the Religious Society of Friends, pointing out how misunderstandings and even bitterness have come from our divisions, especially in the United States.

But here is an aspect of our Society where we have made some

real gains in recent years. Thirty-five years ago the movement toward greater understanding and even some cooperation among the different groups of Quakers in the United States was barely underway. The barriers between the different groups of Friends were still very high and only a few bridges had been built here and there. Even though there are still barriers, much of the barbed wire has been removed and many more bridges have been constructed. Several yearly meetings have become united after decades of separation, such as New England, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The Friends General Conference and the Friends United Meeting have created First Day School or Sunday School literature together. All types of Friends have finally begun to meet and talk with each other. Dialogue is at last underway. At last we have moved from confrontation to coexistence and in some cases even to cooperation. That is real progress.

Probably organic unity is out of the question for the foreseeable future. The gaps are still too wide and organic unity would probably hamper each group in its development and contributions. As Everett L. Cattell pointed out in a chapter on A New Approach for Friends in the study booklet from the St. Louis conference *What Future for Friends?*:

> It just may be that the most loving thing we could do for each other would be to set each other free to be himself.

3. Increasingly An Articulate Society. A religious society which knows God by experience should be an articulate Society, an expanding Society, an evangelical Society. It should not balk at that word evangelical. Instead, that word should take on new meaning. It should shed its connotation of extreme emotionalism and even exhibitionism and recover its finer meaning — sharing the Good News of the Historic Christ and the Indwelling Christ.

With the wonderful message we have to proclaim, Quakers should be contagious Christians and samples of a remarkable Religious Society of Friends. They should be living examples of the love of God as revealed in Jesus.

Friends now and in the future need to be articulate, too, in the ministry, both in Meetings and in the world at large. They need to be Publishers of the Truth. We need today more than a Valiant Sixty; we need a Valiant Thousand — or more.

Many of us should be preparing in different ways to be ministers, interpreters, evangelists if you will. This can be done in many ways

and in many places — in the office, in the classroom, in the factory, in the home, and elsewhere, as well as in Quaker Meetings and public places.

Listen to John Yungblut as he says in *Quakerism of the Future*:

> To have survival value I believe the Society of Friends must be evangelical in the sense of preserving a faith that is demonstrably and organically related to the gospels in the New Testament.

And how do we measure up to this qualification of being articulate? Not very well at present. Perhaps we do it best in publications — from the popular writings of Daisy Newman and Jessamyn West to the more strictly religious writings of Thomas Kelly, Douglas Steere, and Elton Trueblood. Except in mission programs abroad, we seldom hold public meetings to interpret Christianity and Quakerism. Some of us are even shy about advertising our Meetings in local newspapers or inviting our friends and neighbors to worship with us.

Some of that reticence is understandable; so much that is repulsive has been done in the name of evangelism. Some groups of Friends are so put off by the methods used in the name of Christianity and Quakerism, that they recoil at the word evangelical. Yet they do believe in "advancement" or outreach.

Call it what you will, evangelism or advancement, Friends need to recover much of the fervor of 17th century Quakerism in order to share their message in today's revolutionary world.

5. Increasingly an Adventurous Society with Spiritually Motivated Concerns. Throughout the more than 300 years of its existence, the Society of Friends has taken seriously both of the Great Commandments — the love of God and the love of neighbors — ministering to all kinds of people in many parts of the world. This is undoubtedly the best known aspect of Quakerism — and probably the least understood.

Many of the adventurous achievements of the Religious Society of Friends have been chronicled in other parts of this volume, especially in Chapters 9 and 10 on Some Quaker Concerns and More Quaker Concerns. This has been especially true in recent Quaker history, due in large part to the work of the American Friends Service Committee and its British counterpart, the Friends Service Council.

Those two organizations have pioneered in work camps at home and abroad, in the School Affiliation program between schools in different countries, in adult institutes in international relations, in

seminars for international diplomats, and in statements on various world problems, such as *Speak Truth to Power* and *Search for Peace in the Middle East,* plus scores of other projects.

But there have been other gains in recent years in Quaker projects and adventures. Over 20 new Quaker schools have been started in the United States in the last few years and many of the older Quaker educational institutions have reexamined carefully, and sometimes painfully, their roles as Quaker schools and colleges. As already noted in this chapter, the School of Religion has been started at Earlham College and retreat and conference centers founded in Indiana and in New York.

Friends pioneered, too, in the establishment of the Rural Life Institute and in the Friends Committee for National Legislation, the first such religious lobby of its kind — which other denominations have used as their pattern.

Concern for young people has brought about the establishment of several yearly meeting camps and the concern for older people the construction of several retirement homes run by Quakers but open to persons from other groups.

To a lesser degree a few Friends have been active in the women's rights movement, the human sexuality cause, the Quaker testimony on simplicity, and the building of "intentional communities."

One major criticism of contemporary Friends is that so much of the momentum for these causes has arisen in organizations like the A.F.S.C. and the F.C.N.L. rather than from the concerns of individual Friends and local Meetings. Clarence Pickett, the beloved and able executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee for many years, and before that a Quaker pastor and professor in the Biblical Department of Earlham College, often wrestled with this situation, including an article in the *Friends Journal* in 1964 on Does the Tail Wag the Dog? In that article he pointed out the tremendous impact the Service Committee had had on the lives of individuals receiving help and those administering it and defended the view that serving God does not always need to bear little Quaker labels if it is carried on in the spirit of The Master.

6. Increasingly a World Society. Many of us sincerely believe that the Quaker way of life comes as close to the authenticity and vitality of first-century Christianity as any group in the nineteen centuries since that time. If that is true, then it needs to be shared with people in all parts of the world, letting them decide if this will

add depth and breadth and height to their lives. In taking this message to many parts of our globe, we would need to reexamine it to see what is central and what is peripheral and what are merely the cultural accretions added by its custody by Anglo-Americans for so long.

As pointed out elsewhere in this book, Quakerism has spread to several parts of the world in the last century, but it is still limited to a very few nations of the world. And in sharing our way of life we have unfortunately exported our differences, especially as American Friends.

One of the great tasks for Quakers now in the coming decades is to begin to think and act as a world family of Friends. That will call upon all our present talents and far more than we now possess. But it could be one of the greatest achievements in the history of the Religious Society of Friends.

Conclusion. Yes, the Religious Society of Friends is an infinitesimally small, fragile, fragmented group. But it has a remarkable message and a glorious history. Its future could be as great as its past. As we think about our part in The Quaker Adventure, let us pray the prayer of Thomas Kelly:

> Open Thou my life. Guide my thoughts where I dare not let them go. But Thou darest. Thy will be done.

Some Questions on Chapter 15

1. What idea or ideas in this chapter had the greatest impact on you? Why?
2. How do you react to the idea expressed in this chapter that the next decades could be very bright ones for the Society of Friends?
3. What do you feel are the greatest strengths of the Society of Friends as it faces the future in a revolutionary world?
4. What do you feel are the greatest weaknesses of the Society of Friends as it faces the future in a revolutionary world?
5. Which question (or questions) suggested on pages 208 and 209 would you like to see examined by your local Friends group?

A Brief Reading List on Chapter 14

Boulding, Kenneth E. *The Evolutionary Potential of Quakerism.* A Pendle Hill pamphlet with Australia Yearly Meeting, 1964. 31 pp.

Creasey, Maurice A. *Prospect for Quakerism.* Friends Home Service Committee, London, 1973. 15 pp.

My Most Cherished Dream for Friends. Section in *Quaker Life* for January, 1979.

What Future for Friends. Report of the St. Louis Conference, published by the Friends World Committee for Consultation. 1970. 58 pp.

Yungblut, John. *Quakerism of the Future: Mystical, Prophetic and Evangelical.* Pendle Hill Pamphlet 194. 1974. 24 pp.