Some Contributions of Quakers to the World

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Quaker Publications
Box 726
Kennett Square, Pennsylvania 19348

Typesetting, Friends Journal Design, Joy Martin

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About the Author

Leonard S. Kenworthy has been closely associated throughout his life with the Religious Society of Friends in the United States and abroad. Born into a Quaker family with roots going back to colonial times, he was educated at Westtown School and Earlham College-both Quaker institutions. He taught at Friends Select and Friends Central Schools in Philadelphia and has served on the boards of Oakwood School, Friends Seminary, and the Brooklyn Friends School. During World War II he was in Ouaker Civilian Public Service Camps and units. In 1940-1941 he was the Director of the Ouaker International Center in Berlin and after the war a member of the secretariat of UNESCO. For most of his life he was a professor of social studies education at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York. He has written widely for teachers, children, and Quakers. Among his recent books for Friends are: Quakerism: A Study Guide on the Religious Society of Friends, Quaker Quotations on Faith and Practice, and two volumes on Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century.



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Preface

Despite the fact that the Religious Society of Friends (better known as Quakers) is a very small group, it has made significant contributions to the United States and the world in the more than 300 years of its existence.

Some aspects of that remarkable record have appeared in books, pamphlets, and articles. But, so far as this writer is aware, only one person has prepared a montage of those gifts for the public to ponder. That is Elizabeth Gray (Vining) who wrote a small volume in 1939 entitled *Contributions of the Quakers*, a book which was later reprinted as a Pendle Hill pamphlet.

However, that was nearly 50 years ago and much has happened since that time. Also, that book was intended primarily for high school students in United States history courses and as such included much historical background and concentrated on contributions in the U.S.A.

An invitation in 1985 from the historical society of Southeast Chester County, Pennsylvania, to speak on Some Contributions of the Quakers provided me with the incentive to bring together in one place material that I had collected over many years and in

various books, pamphlets, and articles. Hence this small volume.

Several considerations have gone into the preparation of this book. One was that it should be brief, as there is so much to read these days that one can be inundated by printed materials. Second, I wanted to concentrate on the major fields in which Friends have made their greatest contributions; hence the inclusion of the word "some" in the title. Third, I wanted to comment especially on Quaker contributions in the United States, but to include some references to similar contributions in England and in a few other parts of the world. Fourth, I wanted it to be a relatively popular account; therefore footnotes and other marks of the historical scholar are omitted.

Inasmuch as this is a story of contributions, the accent is on achievements. But here and there I have referred to some of the shortcomings of Quakers. Friends should be proud of their rich heritage but humbled by their lack of far-reaching solutions to some complex and baffling problems.

It is my hope that this short account will prove interesting and helpful to a wide range of readers. Many may be Quakers who need to claim or reclaim their past in order to extend their contributions into the present and future. Others may be students of history who need to know about the gifts Quakers have made to the history of the Untied States and that of a few other countries, notably England. Still others may be students who are trying to understand the roots and fruits of American democracy, as Quakers have often cultivated those roots and been

responsible for many of its fruits. And some may be seekers who are trying to find some answers to the riddle called life, as they may well find some clues in the Quaker Way and want to pursue its faith and practices in more detail elsewhere.

To use a characteristically Quaker phrase, I hope that no matter who the readers are, this book will "speak to their condition."

In the writing of this volume I have drawn on some of my previous publications, especially *Quakerism:* A Study Guide on the Religious Society of Friends and the two volumes on Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century.

I want to acknowledge with gratitude the helpful comments of Robert Berquist, Edwin Bronner, Helen Parker, and Elizabeth Vining on the original draft of this volume, even though I take full responsibility for what was finally included in this book.

Leonard S. Kenworthy

Kendal at Longwood Kennett Square, Pennsylvania 1986

1. Introduction

The Religious Society of Friends (popularly known as Quakers) has always been a small group. Today it has approximately 210,000 members in the world, with 115,000 of them in the United States. Yet, despite its size, it has had a powerful impact throughout the 330 years of its history and has made valuable contributions to the world. Perhaps it is an example of the paradox that small is sometimes large.

Founded in England in the middle of the 17th century, its membership and influence until recent times has been primarily in Great Britain and in the United States. But, largely because of the missionary movement of the 20th century, it has grown in several other parts of the globe. Thus the largest concentration of Quakers today is in East Africa where there are over 40,000 members, plus many more attenders at their worship services.

In the United States the largest concentration of Friends for a long time was in Pennsylvania and in New Jersey. Then, with the western migration, Indiana became and remains the state with the most Quakers. However, the largest single yearly meeting (an organizational setup in a given geographical area), is in North Carolina, followed closely by the

yearly meeting for eastern Pennsylvania and parts of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

Despite differences in theology and in types of worship, Quakers everywhere are likely to be leaders in a wide variety of causes—peace and international relations, education, democracy and civil rights, concern for minorities (or for majorities in some places), the rights of women, prison reform, and other movements.

Every human group has some words that have special significance for it. For Quakers "concern" is such a word. Although used frequently by Friends for some passing whim or fancy, it should be reserved for a powerfully felt desire by an individual or group to bring about a needed improvement in society—locally, nationally, or internationally. Hence Quakers have often felt moved by what they believed was a divinely-inspired concern. Usually they have acted upon that desire individually and have then attempted to enlist the support of other Quakers in that cause. Hence it has become a collective concern.

An example of such a situation would be the protest which a small group of Friends in Germantown, Pennsylvania, made in 1688 against slavery. Slowly other Quakers became sensitive on that issue, and decades before the Civil War, all Friends in the United States had freed their slaves. Subsequently many Quakers participated in the Underground Railroad and other efforts to bring freedom to Negroes or Blacks, despite the fact that Friends sometimes had to break the laws of the United States to carry out their concern.

The purpose of this essay is to consider in one

small book several of the contributions to human betterment Ouakers have made in the nearly 350 years of their history. In some respects, therefore, it may seem like a litany of praise. Although it is intended to accent the positive, that does not mean that the writer is unaware of the chasm which often separates Quaker aspirations and Quaker actions. Certainly membership in the Religious Society of Friends brings with it no plaques for perfection, no halos, no passports to heaven. We have produced few, if any, saints. But we have been blessed with leaders and many more participants in a wide variety of causes for human betterment than one might expect from such a small group. The theme of this essay is positive; the author has written elsewhere about the shortcomings of the Religious Society of Friends.

2. Some Possible Reasons for the Influence of Quakers

To my knowledge no one has ever studied why Quakers have had such a powerful influence on so many causes in so many different places and in so many different times. Consequently what I have to say here by way of explanation is based partly on surmise. But, I hope those surmises are rooted in what might be called "informed guesses."

Basically Quakerism has always stressed the importance of all individuals. At their best Friends have claimed with the Psalmist that God has made men and women a little lower than the angels and clothed them with glory and honor. Believing that each person is endowed with something of the Divine has therefore freed them, at their best, from self-denigration and instilled in them a sense of self-esteem. Hence Quakers have often seen in ordinary individuals (themselves and others), extraordinary potentialities. Freed in large part from worries and concerns about themselves, they could reach out to others.

The consequence of such a view of themselves and of life has meant that many Friends have been reared as strong individualists. And the Society of Friends has often attracted such persons.

But, coupled with that, has been the supportive role of the group. In the early years of Quakerism, extreme individualism sometimes took the form of fanaticism and anarchism. So George Fox, the founder, and others, developed a remarkable group structure, with individual concerns tempered by the wisdom of the group, under Divine Guidance. Thus, local Quaker groups at their best are religious fellowships, caring communities, religious societies of friends.

Fundamentally, also, Quakerism is a radical form of Christianity. Its central belief in the divinity in every human being and in the direct availability of God to every individual carries with it enormous spiritual and social implications. If God is in every person, then one must search for the Divine in prisoners, in the mentally retarded or ill-balanced, and in all the other handicapped members of society. If God is in every person, then women must be accorded equal rights with men. If God is in every person, then you are killing a part of the Divine if you take part in war or endorse capital punishment. And if God is in every person, minorities (or in a few nations, majorities) must be accorded their equal rights.

Acting upon such assumptions should make Quakers religious radicals and social revolutionaries. And it has often done so primarily as individuals rather than as a group.

Furthermore Quakerism is also a "do-it-yourself" religion. Its historic type of worship on the basis of expectant silence may seem simple. But if it seems so, it is deceptively simple. No program is provided by the pastor because there is no pastor. Instead, each worshipper is a priest, a preacher, or a pastor and each worshipper must develop his or her own worship program without reliance on "props," as there are no prepared sermons, no choirs, no responsive readings, no altars, no stained-glass windows, no candles, and no incense. Alone and together Friends therefore must seek Divine Guidance in a very difficult and demanding yet highly rewarding form of worship. Probably that has attracted only a small group of hardy souls appreciative of this mystical approach to worship.

But Friends believe that in the expectant silence they can dialogue with the Divine as God speaks directly to those who are aware of The Presence in this silent Holy of Holies. They believe, too, that there is a heightened sense of worship when a group is gathered together.

Perhaps such a mode of worship helps explains some of the resourcefulness and commitment to individual and group improvement which have always characterized Quakers at their best.

Moreover, Quakers have always believed fervently in education. They have felt that God has endowed people with minds which need to be developed to their fullest, and as one of the current slogans of the United Negro College Fund says, "A mind is a terrible thing to waste." Head and heart, they said, need to be combined in religion; mind and spirit in the spiritual quest. Thus educated minds have enabled many Friends to be well equipped for participation in the causes or movement with which they have been identified.

Coupled with that approach is the Quaker belief

that creation continues; that revelation never ends. Hence, truth must be sought constantly, rigorously, relentlessly—even passionately. And that has caused many Quakers to be trailblazers in the search for new truths and fresh insights.

But there is one more piece in the puzzle we are trying to put together here. That is the fact that Quakers also believe in the wisdom of the group. Otherwise the passionate concerns of some individuals can go awry as they sometimes did in the early days of Quakerism. Hence individual concerns should be brought to the group to test their validity. Groups may delay, divert, and even derail the concerns of individuals, but if they are rightly-ordered and Divinely-led, the group will eventually support them and at long last take part in them. Thus Friends often move slowly on a given concern, but they are more likely than most groups to move unitedly.

The Quaker Concern for Education

As already indicated, education is high on the list of concerns of Friends. Very early in the history of the Society of Friends schools were developed for their children. And throughout Quaker history their schools have been distinguished by coeducation. Also there has been a strong emphasis upon individualization, science and nature study, physical work by students, and moral or religious education (what many today would call values).

In almost every community in the United States where Friends settled, a school was built early along-side the Meeting House.

Then, early in the history of American Quakerism, Friends established academies to provide further education for their boys and girls. So important and so popular were they that at one time late in the 19th century there were over 20 Quaker academies in Indiana, as well as many elsewhere. A few of those schools (some of them boarding and more of them day schools) exist today, primarily along the eastern seaboard.

Then, as public education was extended, some of those academies became colleges, such as Haverford, Earlham, and Guilford. Other colleges were

founded and today there are 13 Quaker-related colleges in the United States: the Friends World College in New York; Bryn Mawr, Haverford, and Swarthmore in Pennsylvania; Guilford in North Carolina; Wilmington and Malone in Ohio; Earlham in Indiana; William Penn in Iowa; Friends University and the Friends Bible College in Kansas; Whittier in California; and George Fox in Oregon.

In more recent times Friends have felt the need for centers for contemplation and study or for training specifically for religious work. Hence the founding of Pendle Hill in Pennsylvania, Powell House in New York, and the Quaker Conference Center and then Earlham School of Religion in Indiana.

Remarkable, too, is the fact that in the last few years nearly 30 new Quaker schools have been established in the U.S.A., several of them for young children. Altogether there are now over 70 Quaker institutions in the Friends Council on Education, a relatively new and nation-wide organization.

Two schools have also been started very recently for gifted but handicapped children, one in Brooklyn, New York, and the other in Landsdowne, Pennsylvania.

In addition, although Quaker schools and colleges are more highly visible as institutions they control, Friends have also long been proponents of public schools and been active in supporting them as administrators, teachers, Board of Education members, and officers and active participants in Parent-Teacher Associations.

It may be significant that of the 30 public and private schools in the famous Eight Year Experiment

of the Progressive Education Association from 1936 to 1944, three were Quaker secondary schools: Friends Central, George School, and Germantown Friends School. And at least three of the presidents of that forward-looking national organization, composed of both public and private schools, were Quakers: Arthur Morgan, Carleton Washburne, and Carson Ryan.

No study of the role of Quakers nation-wide in public education has ever been made and such a study is sorely needed. But such an investigation would certainly reveal scores of Friends who have contributed greatly in many places and at many times. In recent years in the United States there have been such leaders as Arthur Morgan, the creative president of Antioch College and a proponent of its famous workstudy plan; Carleton Washburne, the superintendent of the highly innovative public school system of Winnetka, Illinois—at onetime the best-known public school system in the world: Clark Kerr, the president of Cornell University and then the University of California at Berkeley; Landrum Bolling, the president of Earlham College, then the executive secretary of the Lilly Foundation, and later the director of the consortium of American foundations; and Earnest Boyer, the Commissioner of Education of New York State, then the U.S. Commissioner of Education, and now the secretary of the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of Education. And the list could be lengthened.

Space in this book precludes an elaboration on the concern of Quakers for education in every part of the world where they have settled and in other countries where they have set up schools. For example, English and American Quakers started schools in Lebanon and Palestine around the turn of this century and the boys' and girls' schools in Ramallah in the West Bank still exist. About the same time the Friends Girls School was started in Tokyo, Japan an institution which still exists and has educated many of the leading Japanese women. Prominent. too, has been the large Friends School in Hobart, Tasmania, Australia. In Kenya Friends operated at one time over 300 "bush schools," as well as a wellknown secondary boarding school which has produced several of the political leaders of that nation. There have also been Ouaker schools in Mexico. Cuba, and Jamaica, as well as several established more recently in Central and South America. In England Friends have long been famous for their secondary boarding schools.

Thus education has been and still is a primary concern of Quakers, and their contribution in that field has been long-lasting, extensive, and often innovative.

The Quaker Concern for Minorities

In 17th century England Quakers were a minority and they suffered from various forms of discrimination, including imprisonment. Coupled with that experience was their concern to find and cultivate the Seed of God in members of various minority groups.

That concern found its greatest field of concentration when thousands of Friends moved to the American colonies. There the Quakers became the leading champions of good relations with the Indians. In Rhode Island there was a period of 100 years without any violence between the whites and the Native Americans, due in large part to the work of Quakers. In addition, a few Friends there tried unsuccessfully to avert the King Philip's War in 1675.

In Pennsylvania there was a period of 70 years of peaceful relations with the Indians before Friends felt compelled to withdraw from the colonial legislature because they could not in good conscience support the English in the French and Indian War.

In Ohio Quakers had a similar experience with the Indians in Clinton County where so many Friends settled.

Disturbed by the ineffectiveness of the federal policy toward Indians after the Civil War, President

Grant turned to the Quakers and asked them to serve as federal agents on certain Indian reservations in the west. It was a highly involved situation and although Friends tried valiantly to untangle the skein, they were not particularly successful, probably because good intentions and good will were not enough. They really didn't understand the Indian culture and eventually withdrew.

Then, in a similar way, President Hoover turned in 1929 to Quakers and appointed Charles J. Rhodes and J. Henry Scattergood, prominent Philadelphia Friends, as Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, respectively, of Indian Affairs. As Errol Elliott recorded in his book on *Quakers on the American Frontier*:

Considerable progress was made in increased appropriations for the welfare and the education of Indians. Many day schools were founded and boarding schools were subsidized. The loss of Indian lands was slowed down and a program of service was centered in the Indian community and its culture.

However, Friends did not find many answers to the complicated question of the extent to which Indians should be assimilated into the dominant American culture.

Probably the most telling statement about Quaker work with minorities was penned by John Woolman in his *Journal* where he described the motivation for his trip to an Indian tribe in Pennsylvania in these words:

Love was the first motion and then a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians that I might feel and understand their lives 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.

No modern anthropologist could have stated any better the need for reciprocity in relations between ethnic groups than Woolman did in that arresting passage.

Quaker interest in various Indian groups has continued until today, partly through the Associated Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs and partly through the Indian Rights Association, a non-Quaker group which has been headed for many years by Lawrence Lindley, a Quaker born and educated in Indiana.

Then there is the story of the longtime interest of Friends in Negroes or Blacks. As indicated earlier, the first public protest against slavery occurred in Germantown, near Philadelphia, in 1688. It took a long time for all Quakers to divest themselves of their slaves but by the time of the American Revolution all of them had done so and the ownership of Blacks was then a cause for disownment in the Religious Society of Friends.

In the 19th century several Friends became leaders in the anti-slavery movement. John Woolman was one of the chief catalysts of change, using personal persuasion rather than public protests as his method. John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker poet, used his pen to rally others to that cause. Then there was Benjamin Lundy who was the primary influence on William Lloyd Garrison in the struggle for freedom.

In the Underground Railroad movement, Friends were often the leaders. In the east the outstanding

organizer was Thomas Garrett, a Quaker in Delaware. In the middle west it was Levi Coffin, a North Carolina Friend who has moved to Indiana, whose work was so extensive and so successful in aiding slaves to move north clandestinely that he has often been called the President of the Underground Railroad. Laura Haviland of Michigan has often been designated as the Superintendent of that daring enterprise in which hundreds of Friends took part.

Following the Civil War many Quakers were active in aiding the newly freed Negroes. Much of that work was carried on by the Baltimore Association and some of it by the Freedmans' Association of Indiana Yearly Meeting. But Friends from other parts of the U.S.A. took part in that movement, with scores of young people starting schools in the South for Negroes or Blacks assisting adults in other ways—a service similar to that of the Peace Corps of more modern times.

In the 1940's the American Friends Service Committee developed two innovative programs to aid Negroes. One was the idea of Visiting Professorships for outstanding Negroes; the other a program to quietly persuade businesses to hire Negroes in their establishments.

In the civil rights movement of the 1960's and 1970's many Friends were involved. Especially dramatic and crucial was the role of Bayard Rustin, a Black and a Quaker who was the aide and ghost writer for Martin Luther King, Jr. and the organizer of the famous March on Washington in 1963. Important, too, were the efforts of Quaker schools and colleges to enroll more Blacks, and the founding of

the Detroit Friends School, largely at the behest of Blacks in that city.

Meanwhile Friends had played an important part in assisting the Japanese-Americans who were herded into the relocation or concentration camps in the West during World War II, later helping their young people to be released to attend colleges, and assisting older people in their readjustment to life after the war.

One of the most courageous programs to assist minorities had been developed by Quakers in Nazi Germany in the late 1930's and early 1940's where packages of food and clothing were sent to the Jews who had been transported to a concentration camp at Gurs in France, and to Poland—often at great risk to the senders. Equally courageous was the Underground Railroad organized by Anni Pflueger, an outstanding Swiss Friend, to assist Jews and others to escape from Nazi Germany.

Meanwhile Friends in other parts of the world have championed the rights of aborigines, such as the efforts of the Australians and New Zealanders to aid their native peoples and of Canadian Quakers to assist Eskimos and Indians in their country.

In more recent times Quakers in various parts of the United States have been active in aiding minority groups from Southeast Asia, South Korea, Cuba and other islands in the Caribbean, and from Central American countries. The latest and most dramatic effort has been the designation by over 40 Friends Meetings of their structures as "sanctuaries" for refugees. Some have even compared that current movement to the Underground Railroad of the pre-

Civil War days.

In addition, a few Quaker Meetings and Friends Churches have been organized, primarily for refugees, such as the Cuban congregation in Miami, Florida; the Jamaican group in New York City, and a few groups in California composed largely of Southeast Asian refugees.

The Quaker Concern for Peace

Probably the cause for which Quakers are best known is peace. In that movement Friends have been active for nearly 350 years.

That concern probably dates from 1651 when Oliver Cromwell offered George Fox a captaincy in the Commonwealth Army, which Fox declined, saying:

. . .I told them I lived in the virtue of that life and power which took away the occasion for wars.

Over the decades individual Friends or groups of Quakers have tried valiantly to prevent wars or to mediate between the opposing sides in serious conflicts.

Examples of such situations would include the efforts of Rhode Island Friends to avert the King Phillip's War between the colonists and the Indians in 1675; the work of John Fothergill and David Barclay to prevent the American Revolution in the 1770's; the attempts of Joseph Sturge, Elihu Burritt, and Frederick Wheeler to mediate the conflict between Germany and Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein in the 1850's; and the efforts of John Bright, Joseph Sturge, Henry Pease, and Robert Charleston

to prevent war between England and Russia in the 1850's.

In more recent times there was Frederick Libby's successful campaign to avert war between the United States and Mexico in the 1920's and the work of Friends as go-betweens in the conflicts in the Middle East and in Nigeria. Many more examples could be cited.

Quakers have won well-deserved praise, also, for their relief and reconstruction work in many parts of the world and in many periods. That started in the 17th century when English Friends became concerned about the prisoners of war in the Irish Revolution in 1690 and has continued until the present time. Especially extensive was such work after World War I in such countries as Austria, France, Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

After World War II there were similar efforts in various parts of Europe. Since that time there has been aid to needy people in many parts of the world—in the Middle East; in Nigeria, Mali, and Zimbabwe in Africa; in Southeast Asia; and in Central America.

Aid to refugees has been a major concern, also, of Friends in many places and at many times, as in Spain in the 1930's, in Germany and Austria in the 1930's and 1940's, in the Gaza Strip in 1949, in Hong Kong in 1959, in Southern Africa in 1976, and in Thailand in the 1980's.

Occasionally a Friend has produced a really creative idea for promoting peace and/or fostering better international relations. One of those was the idea of international work camps as an application

of William James' "moral equivalent to war" or of an international peace army to go to any area of the world in a time of distress. That idea was launched at an international meeting of the Fellowship of Reconciliation after World War I. Its leading advocate and catalyst was Pierre Ceresole, a Swiss Quaker who devoted most of his life to that movement.

English and American Friends developed other applications of that idea, including weekend workcamps for high school and college students who worked with the local people in poverty areas in several large cities in the U.S.A.

Eventually the work camp idea formed the basis of President Kennedy's Peace Corps and still later for a similar organization sponsored by the United Nations.

A second creative idea came from the mind of an English Friend, Carl Heath, who proposed "Quaker Embassies" in various parts of the world where Friends could monitor conflicts and find different ways of promoting peace. Over a period of many years such international centers have been developed in several major cities of the world. The Quaker Program at the United Nations in New York and in Geneva as well as the Quaker Center in Brussels in connection with the European Community are also outgrowths of that innovative idea.

A third novel idea was the creation of international seminars for young diplomats, held in different parts of the world. In an informal setting young men and women have been able to become acquainted with one another and to wrestle with global problems together. That is especially powerful as many of those

young diplomats will eventually become high-ranking officials in their governments.

A fourth innovative idea was that of the School Affiliation Service, possibly the most powerful form of education for international understanding which has been developed. Started as a program to aid European schools after World War II, it became a form of international partnerships or friendships between the students, teachers, and parents of schools in Europe and the U.S.A. over a period of several years. Annual get-togethers of persons involved in such exchanges and the use of consultants who travled from school to school to foster those international friendships added much to that program. Eventually a few exchanges were arranged with schools in the U.S.S.R., parts of Africa, and a few places in South America. However, that program was eventually terminated for lack of sufficient funds.

A fifth idea which may have some promise is that of a Peace Academy in the United States, paralleling the many war efforts of our federal government. The only fear is that it will become an institution dominated by the U.S. Department of State. One of the chief advocates of that Peace Institute has been Elise Boulding, a prominent sociologist, champion of women's rights, proponent of peace research, and a Quaker.

A sixth innovative idea has been the creation of Peace Studies departments in several Quaker colleges, training young people for lifetime work in that broad and much-neglected field.

Another aspect of work for a more peaceful and just world is the creation and/or strengthening of in-

ternational institutions. As long ago as 1693 William Penn wrote his *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe*, antedating the European Community by 250 years. And in 1710, John Bellers, another outstanding Quaker, wrote his essay on *Some Reasons for a European State*.

When the League of Nations was formed at the close of World War I, many Friends supported it and a Japanese Quaker, Inazo Nitobe, was its Undersecretary-General from 1917 until 1927. Philip Noel-Baker was another Quaker who was actively associated with the League of nations and then with the United Nations. Bertram and Irene Pickard were English Friends who spent much of their lives in Geneva as representatives of London Yearly Meeting, promoting international proposals and prodding reluctant supporters of such propositions.

When the idea of the United Nations and several specialized agencies was proposed after World War II, many Friends worked actively to foster that cluster of organizations and several Quakers have served in various parts of that broad-based unit. For example, Alice Shaffer, an American Friend; Yoon-Gu Lee, a Korean Friend, and Brian Jones, an English Friend, have been prominent in UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund) and Lloyd Bailey was the Executive Secretary for many years of the United States Committee for UNICEF. In addition, Andrew Braid of Canada, Arthur Mitchell of Australia, and Philip Thomforde of the United States have been associated with the Food and Agriculture Organization, while Ingeborg Bergstrom of Sweden and Ilfra Lovedee of England have worked for the World Health Organization. Juan Pascoe of Mexico and Ralph Townley are Quakers who have been active in the U.N. Development Program.

At the time of the decolonization of the Belgian Congo, Tony Gilpin, an English Friend, was the leader of the unarmed U.N. force there. The writer of this essay was a member of the Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) and the first director of its division on Education for International Understanding.

Each fall, during the sessions of the General Assembly of the U.N., there is a Quaker Team in New York City. It is composed of Friends from various parts of the world, selected on the basis of their expertise on topics with which the Assembly will be struggling that year. Through personal and small group contacts with the delegates, they present the views of Quakers on pressing problems. Then, too, the Friends World Committee for Consultation has the status of a non-governmental organization or NGO with the U.N. and its specialized groups, one of approximately 500 such groups.

Throughout the year the small staff of the Quaker United Nations Program assembles data of value to Friends around the world and brings together U.N. officials for frank and free discussions in the friendly atmosphere of Quaker House, located a few blocks from the U.N. headquarters. Together with similar work in Geneva and Brussels, those Quaker outposts certainly constitute a unique contribution of Friends in international relations.

However, Friends in the Western World have

not yet faced up realistically to the vast discrepancy between the incomes of people in the rich and poor nations or the ominous North-South confrontation (or the First and Second Worlds versus the Third World). But Quakers have taken one small step in that direction by urging their members to contribute one percent of their annual incomes, after taxes, to help finance programs in needy countries. Since that idea originated at the Friends World Conference at Guilford College in North Carolina in 1967, several yearly meetings have gone on record urging their members to contribute to that fund for The Right Sharing of World Resources. And many persons have done so.

Several Friends have also been active in conflict resolution and peace research, including their efforts in the International Peace Research Association. Three such persons have been Lewis Richardson of England and Kenneth and Elise Boulding of the United States.

Probably the major criticism of Quakers in their work for peace has been that they have been better at "mopping up" after conflicts than in helping to prevent them; that they are experts in applying bandaids when they should be diagnosticians and surgeons.

The height of recognition for the work of Quakers internationally came in 1947 when the Nobel Prize for Peace was awarded jointly to the Friends Service Council (of British Friends) and the American Friends Service Committee. Two Friends who have been awarded that same prize for their personal efforts for peace have been Emily Greene Balch of the United States and Philip Noel-Baker of England.

The Quaker Concern for the Equality of Women

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Religious Society of Friends is its long and illustrious record of concern for the rights of women.

That concern rose at the outset of the Quaker movement when women were granted equality or near-equality with men—something revolutionary in those days. Women were encouraged to speak in meetings for worship and many of them were "traveling Friends" in a day when women were not generally allowed to venture far from their homes.

In fact, the role accorded women in the Religious Society of Friends in its formative period was so prominent and so controversial that one historian has asserted that the loss of adherents to the movement was greatest on that score.

Of all the incredible women of that early period, Margaret Fell (later the wife of George Fox) was the most influential. It was in the home of the Fells that traveling Friends rested from their strenuous journeys "in the Truth," and it was Margaret Fell who kept the accounts of the Kendal Fund, which aided such missionaries. Like other Quakers of her time she was imprisoned for her beliefs and actions and courageously endured the foul conditions in the prisons of that period.

When Quaker business meetings were established, there were separate gatherings for men and women. The shutters between the men's and women's sections of the Meeting Houses would be pulled down and they would conduct the same or similar business separately, with "messengers" between the two groups. Against the background of today that may seem at first like rank discrimination. Actually it was the opposite. In joint sessions the men would have dominated or even monopolized the discussions and decisions. Therefore separate women's meetings were set up. In them Quaker women learned to speak to the business at hand, to preside, and to serve on committees.

It was in part that valuable training that enabled Quaker women to become leaders in the women's rights movement in the U.S.A., starting in the early part of the 19th century. In fact a large number of the women at the important Seneca Falls Convention in New York state in 1848 were Quakers. The number of leaders in that movement who were Friends was large. Among them were Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, the Grimke sisters, Abby Kelley Foster, and Sarah Pugh. In addition, Elizabeth Cady Stanton was greatly influenced by Lucretia Mott, and Lucy Stone was powerfully affected by the Grimke sisters

Most of those Friends, plus others, combined their interest in women's rights with concern for the abolition of slavery and for temperance or total abstinence.

Much has been written about the leadership of Levi Coffin of Indiana and Thomas Garrett of Delaware in the Underground Railroad movement. But there were Quaker women who were famous in that illegal and dangerous enterprise, too. One was Sarah Harrison, a Quaker woman minister who traveled widely and used those journeys to plead with Friends who owned slaves, to free them. Also prominent was Laura Haviland of Michigan who has been called the superintendent of the Underground Railroad. And there were hundreds of other Quaker women who were faithful in their concern about that cause.

Although mentioned elsewhere, it should be noted here that many Quaker women were also active in the formation of Friends schools and colleges, as teachers or professors, and as members of the school committees of boards of trustees of such institutions. Quaker women were also influential as teachers in the schools started for Negroes in the South after the Civil War and in the schools for Indians in the West. A comment will be made in another section on their work in prison reform.

In the peace movement Quaker women have also been extremely active. That is especially true of their work in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—at the local, national, and international levels. Among the Quaker women who have been prominent in the W.I.L.P.F. are Katharine Arnett, Emily Greene Balch, Elizabeth Borton, Elise Boulding, Katherine Camp, Lucy Garner, Josephine Graham, Barbara H. Jacobson, Lucy Biddle Lewis, Caroline Malin, Doris Shamleffer, Emily Parker Simon, Inge Snipes, Dorothy Steffens, and Elizabeth Tolles.

Alice Paul is an example of a Quaker woman with a strong concern for the rights of women who contributed greatly to that movement but was not always well received by Friends. Consequently her relationship with the Society of Friends was a tenuous one in her later years. As early as World War I she conducted a dramatic and non-violent campaign for women's suffrage in the U.S.A. and was eventually successful in having the Equal Rights Amendment introduced in Congress. She was active in trying to further women's rights around the world through her lobbying efforts in the League of Nations and in the United Nations.

In the 1960's some Quaker women became concerned about a more prominent role for them in the Religious Society of Friends. Such an improved status was discussed widely in Quaker magazines, at weekend retreats, and in various yearly meetings and national gatherings. Included was the topic of the elimination of sexist language in Quaker books of discipline and in other publications.

In recent years women Friends have been selected increasingly for administrative posts in Quaker institutions and organizations. Thus Asia Bennett has served several years as the Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and Kara Cole as the Executive Secretary of the Friends United Meeting—the largest group of Friends in the world. Similarly Kay Edstene and Joyce McCray became a few years ago the first principals of Quaker Schools (K-12)—Friends Seminary and the Brooklyn Friends School, respectively. No Quaker related collge, however, has ever had a woman presi-

dent except Bryn Mawr.

To improve communication among Quaker women and to foster a greater role for them in the Society of Friends, there are two relatively new publications: *The Friendly Woman* and *The Priscilla Papers*.

Margaret Bacon, for many years the assistant secretary of the American Friends Service Committee for information and interpretation, has been the most active chronicler of the role of women Friends. Among her several publications on that theme are: As the Way Opens: The Story of Ouaker Women in America; Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott; and I Speak for My Slave Sister: The Life of Abby Kellev Foster. Meanwhile Elizabeth Watson has produced a splendid account of The Daughters of Zion, the story of women in the Old Testament, and she is working on a companion volume on women in the New Testament. Brief accounts, of several outstanding women have also appeared in Living in the Light: Some Ouaker Pioneers of the 20th Century. Volume I includes accounts of eight women in the United States and Volume II includes outstanding Ouaker women from Australia, England, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and South Africa.

More will be said about Quaker women as writers in the 10th section of this book.

The Quaker Concern for Prisons and Prisoners

From the beginning of the Quaker movement to the present day, Friends have been interested in better conditions in prisons and in the more humane treatment of prisoners, with reform rather than revenge as their goal.

Of course Quakers were experts on prisons in the 17th century; their knowledge came from inside information gained from their incarceration in those dark, dirty, and damp places. Consequently they pled passionately for better conditions for relatives, friends, and others. But for the most part their pleadings fell on deaf ears.

A "graduate" of prisons, William Penn resolved to change life in them in the colony of Pennsylvania. So, along with the other reforms he instituted in that noble experiment, he reduced the number of crimes punishable by death from over 200 in England to two in that colony—murder and treason. Work programs were inaugurated to prevent idleness and to provide prisoners with skills once they were released from those institutions.

By 1787 Philadelphia Friends assisted in the formation of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons and later that associa-

tion was entrusted with the administration of the Walnut Street Prison. In that institution work was introduced and each cell opened on a small garden in which the prisoners could walk. Similar changes were brought about in other prisons of that state, too.

The wide involvement of Friends in prison work came in the 19th century, due largely to the efforts of a French-born Quaker, Stephen Grellet, who had visited the Newgate Prison in London and was shocked by the conditions there. Soon he was able to enlist the aid of Elizabeth Fry in work in that institution. Her energy, initiative, and concern led to her leadership in the prison reform movement not only in England but in other parts of the world and made her one of the three or four best-known Quaker women of all time.

Friends became interested, also, in the abolition of capital punishment, with the *Minutes* of London Yearly Meeting reporting unity on that concern in 1818, 1830, and 1847. Friends today in various parts of the world are still pressing for such reform.

Then, during World War II, many young Friends in the United States refused to serve in the Civilian Public Service Camps or in various forms of alternative service, considering such action acquiescence in the right of the federal government to conscript young people. Their imprisonment caused them to develop a concern for prisons and prisoners. Several of them pursued that concern once they were released at the end of the war.

Since World War II there has been a resurgence of interest on the part of many Quakers in prisons and prisoners, from local jails to penitentiaries. In

a few federal institutions there are now Quaker Meetings for Worship and in some prisons Friends have been permitted to organize courses on nonviolence. These are certainly new developments in that long-time Quaker concern.

Some of the current interest in prisons has been fostered by the American Friends Service Committee. It was responsible for the publication in 1971 of a powerful and provocative booklet entitled *Struggle for Justice: A Report on Crime and Punishment in America*, compiled by a working party of Quakers from various parts of the U.S.A.

The Quaker Concern for Science and Medicine

Less known is the important role played over a long period by Friends in science, nature study, medicine, and allied fields. That role was so great that A. Ruth Fry asserted in her book *Quaker Ways* that between 1850 and 1900 a Quaker or persons of Quaker descent in Englnd had 46 times the chance of being chosen for the Royal Society (the highest honor paid to British scientists) of a person from another denomination. And when Richard Sutton, a prominent chemist and professor at Haverford College, gave the 1962 Ward Lecture at Guilford College on *Quaker Scientists*, he assembled a list of 300 outstanding men and women of science who had been or were then members of the Religious Society of Friends.

Perhaps there are two main reasons for that record. One is that in the early days of Quakerism, Friends were barred by their religious beliefs from becoming officers in the army or navy or in the Church of England. Hence they turned to various branches of science. Linked with that may well be the fact that their religion placed no hurdles before them in their relentless pursuit of truth no matter where it led them, making them scientifically-minded individuals.

Perhaps a brief Who's Who of some Quaker scientists will interest some readers.

Certainly one of the earliest and most famous contributors to science was John Dalton (1760-1844), the father of modern theories of atomic structure and chemical combinations. It was he who studied his own color blindness, a condition that is sometimes called Daltonism.

A little earlier John Fothergill (1712-1780) was an important physician whose hobby was the collection of tropical plants. He was able to assemble over 3,000 species in his hothouse, making him one of the early and most renowned plant collectors in the world.

Famous, too, was Joseph Lister, later Lord Lister (1827-1912), the father of antiseptic surgery.

In more recent times two English Friends have been accorded high honors for their contributions to science. One was Sir Arthur Eddington, the astrophysicist and interpreter of Einstein's theory of relativity—and the author of the outstanding Swarthmore Lecture at London Yearly Meeting on Science and the Unseen World. The other was Kathleen Lonsdale, another astrophysicist and x-ray crystallographer, one of the first two women selected as a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In the United States the names of John and William Bartram, the botanists; Edward Drinker Cope, the paleontologist; and Thomas Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, certainly belong in any list of eminent scientists who were Quakers. More recently, one would include Marie Mitchell, a famous astronomer, Vassar College professor, and the first

woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

In medicine the list of Quakers is long. In their study of *The Quaker Heritage in Medicine*, Dr. Robert Clark and Dr. Russell Elkinton asserted that John Fothergill was the outstanding Quaker physician in the 19th century. In addition to his hobby of tropical plants, already mentioned, he was an eminent doctor and interested in a wide range of subjects, ranging from sanitary water supplies to prison reform.

Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, was not a member of the Society of Friends but was raised in a Quaker family and influenced by them. He was especially honored for his work as the founder of the statistics of eugenics or genetics and for his discovery of the use of fingerprints as a means of identification. In a later period, Sir George Newman was a Quaker who was the first officer of the newly-formed Ministry of Health in England, in 1919.

In the early part of the 20th century, several Quaker doctors served abroad as medical missionaries, and in World Wars I and II a large number of young Friends served in the Friends Ambulance Units, especially in China. Many doctors have also assisted in the relief work of the American Friends Service Committee and its British counterpart—the Friends Service Council.

Quakers have also pioneered in aid to the mentally disturbed. As early as 1671 London Friends established a place where people who were mentally unbalanced could live, rather than wander loose on

the streets or be confined to Bedlam where they provided a spectacle for curious sightseers. Then the greatest step forward in that field came in York, England, in 1796, with the establishment by William Tuke, a tea-merchant, of The Retreat as a hospital for disturbed persons. A similar institution had been founded in Philadelphia in 1751—the first such hospital in the American colonies—and still in existence.

Then there was a long period in which Friends made no special contribution in that difficult but important field. But during World War II many conscientious objectors in the United States did their alternative service in hospitals for the mentally disturbed and some of those men continued their interest after the war.

The birth of a second son, who was a victim of Down's Syndrome, to Sigrid Lund, a Norwegian Friend, prompted a mother's lifelong concern for mentally handicapped persons—a concern which culminated in the establishment in 1959 of Lindgrov, Norway's first residential establishment for such persons, supported heavily by the small Norwegian Quaker group.

In the broader field of psychology and psychiatry, several American Quakers formed a few years ago the Conference on Religion and Psychology and have produced an on-going journal called *Inward Light*. Many of the members of that group are followers of Carl Jung, the famous Swiss psychiatrist.

Among the many Pendle Hill pamphlets on Quaker and Quaker-related subjects are such titles as David McClelland's Psychoanalysis and Religious Mysticism, John Yungblut's Seeking Light in the Darkness of the Unconscious, and Helen M. Luke's The Life of the Spirit in Women: A Jungian Approach.

Friends as a group have not yet found unity on the highly controversial field of human sexuality. But individual Friends have been pioneers in a more modern, sane, and emancipating attitude toward our God-given sexuality.

One of the foremost of them is Mary Calderone, a founder of Planned Parenthood and SIECUS (the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States) and a widely respected interpreter of human sexuality through forums in schools and colleges, through lectures, and over television. Her influence has been widened considerably by several publications, such as Sexuality and Human Values, The Family Book about Sexuality, and Talking With Your Child About Sex.

A second pioneer in this field is David Mace, an English-born Quaker who migrated to the United States and has been in the forefront of the human sexuality movement as a behavioral scientist and specialist on the family, as well as the author of more than 30 books on sex and marriage.

A third pioneer is Eric Johnson, long connected with the Germantown Friends Schools, and the author of such books as Sex in Plain Language and The Family Book About Sexuality (in collaboration with Mary Calderone).

Recognition of the rights of homosexuals and bisexuals has been a stumbling block to many Friends in recent years. But in some groups in England, Canada, and the United States this issue has been discussed openly and frankly and a few yearly meetings in the United States have supported the rights of gays and lesbians. There are national organizations in England and the United States of persons interested in homosexuality and several publications have been produced on this controversial topic, reminding Quakers that there is something of God in homosexuals and bisexuals as well as in heterosexuals.

The Quaker Concern for Government

From the earliest days of the Quaker movement to the present, Friends have been deeply involved with government, sometimes as legislators; more often as lobbyists. In fact, a recent survey of the lobbying movement in England, conducted by a non-Friend, came to the conclusion that Quakers had been the first and the foremost examples of effective lobbying there.

That was especially true in 17th century England in regard to prison conditions, the right to affirm rather than swear in courts, the right to free trials without pressure on juries, and the right to "marry in Meeting" rather than before clergymen or civil authorities.

Certainly one of the most important trials in the history of civil rights took place in 1670 involving William Penn and William Meade, with the jury standing firmly against the enormous pressure of the judge to punish those outstanding Friends. That was, indeed, a landmark case.

But Friends were interested in a wider range of problems than those concerning civil rights and civil liberties. For example, George Fox pled with the members of Parliament, very early in his career, to provide work for the unemployed, as a means both of averting crime and maintaining the self-respect of those who were out of work.

It was in colonial America, however, that Friends became the most active participants in government. The story of the Holy Experiment of Quakers in Pennsylvania is known to most Americans, at least superficially. But few people know that Friends were influential as legislators in five other colonies—Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina.

Thus, in Rhode Island there were 10 Quaker governors in the early years, serving 32 consecutive terms. The most important was Stephen Hopkins who served nine terms. So numerous and so influential were Friends in that haven of freedom that the Assembly adjourned on Thursday mornings (Fifth Day in Quaker parlance) so that the Quaker members could attend their mid-week Meetings for Worship.

In North Carolina the Quakers were the first and in many places the only organized religious group for many years and they were also powerful in politics. The most conspicuous of the political leaders was John Archdale, a Friend, who served several years as governor. At one time Quakers held half of the seats in the Assembly there.

In all of the colonies in which Quakers lived, they espoused at least four principles. One was unrestricted immigration. A second was religious liberty—and it was in the three colonies where the Quakers were the strongest (Delaware, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania) that there was no state church. A third principle was the granting of power to the peo-

ple by setting specific times for the meetings of the assemblies rather than having them convene at the call of the king, governor, or proprietor. Closely allied with that was a fourth principle—that the constitution or charter could be amended. Thus, as Elizabeth Gray (Vining) pointed out in her book on *Contributions of the Quakers:*

John Locke wrote a constitution for South Carolina about ten years before Penn wrote his for Pennsylvania. Locke's constitution was aristocratic and rigid; Penn's was democratic and flexible. Penn's lived to be the model for many others; Locke's broke under the first strain.

One could debate long, vigorously, and intelligently as to whether the Quakers in Pennsylvania were overly tolerant. Committed to an open policy of immigrants and hence to persons of various religious outlooks, they were eventually outnumbered by non-Quakers, especially the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. That situation also prevailed in the colonial legislature in which non-Quakers began to pass bills calculated to aid the English against the Indians. For a time the Quaker legislators made some compromises in allocating funds which were eventually used in fighting the Indians. But the time came when they felt they could compromise no longer, and they withdrew *en masse* from the Assembly.

That was a watershed decision for American Quakers. It was a courageous decision but a fateful one for future generations. Since that time many Friends have been wary about running for office, especially at the national level.

Some readers may think of the two Quakers who

have been Presidents of the United States—Herbert Hoover and Richard Nixon. Friends are generally agreed on the outstanding work of Hoover as the head of the extensive and life-saving relief work in Europe after World War I, but they are not in accord about his record as President. And most Friends console themselves with the fact that Nixon was "a card-carrying Quaker" who never attended the Friends Meeting in all his years in the capital.

Incidentally, a curious situation developed in the presidential campaign of 1932 when two Quakers competed for the highest elective office in the United States—Herbert Hoover as the standard bearer of the Republicans and Darlington Hoopes as the choice of the Socialists.

There have been only a few Quakers who have been Representatives or Senators in recent times, the most noteworthy being Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois. But, in his *History of Quakerism*, Elbert Russell cited several Quakers who were governors in the early part of th 20th century: Herbert S. Hadley of Missouri, Walter R. Stubbs and Arthur Capper of Kansas, William C. Sproul of Pennsylvania, and Frank White of North Dakota.

But Friends have been much more effective as lobbyists for the rights of minorities, for more funds and better administration of them for education and social welfare, and for other causes. In the last 40 years much of the effort of Quakers has been aided by the Friends Committee on National Legislation under the dedicated and dynamic leadership of E. Raymond Wilson and now of Edward Snyder.

Meanwhile, British Friends have been far more active than their American counterparts as legislators. Several have been elected to Parliament and a few have served in the Cabinets of various governments.

Undoubtedly the most famous of all British Friends who have participated in national politics was John Bright (1811-1889). Of him Rufus M. Jones once wrote:

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 (Bright) did in carrying Quaker ideals into practice as the sound and stable basis of national policy.

It was John Bright who vigorously opposed British policies which led to the Crimean War. It was he who fought valiantly and successfully for the repeal of the iniquitous Corn Laws which were such a burden to the poor of England. It was he who did so much to persuade the workers of Great Britain to side with the Northern cause in the Civil War in the United States, even though that support caused many of them to be thrown out of work. It was he who pled successfully for the widening of the franchise in England. And it was he who called for a greater part by the people of India in determining their political destiny. Surely John Bright is a man whom Friends and non-Friends should know about as an illustrious English Quaker statesman.

Another fascinating story which will be told some day is about the part played by Kenyan Quakers when their country was granted its freedom and the many roles they played in the life of their new nation. In large part that was because so many of them had been educated in Friends Schools.

And from time to time there have been interesting occurrences concerning Quakers in government, such as the election in the 1980s of a Quaker woman in New Zealand on a ticket opposing that nation's participation, along with the U.S.A., in a nuclear testing program.

Despite some setbacks, the record of Quakers in government represents another of their contributions to the world at various times and in various places.

10. The Quaker Concern for the Aged

Central in Quakerism is the concept of community. At their best Friends live in and contribute to a caring community, a spiritual fellowship, a society of friends. Therefore nearly all aspects of the lives of its members and attenders should be the concern of a caring and compassionate group.

Concern for the spiritual needs of Friends has always been the responsibility of the ministers and elders of a local Meeting; concern for the temporal needs has always been the responsibility of the overseers. But for a very long period older people lived with their children, their grandchildren, or other relatives. Therefore the demands on the local Meeting for help with the aged were minimal.

In recent decades, however, there have been many more old people as science and medicine have prolonged their lives. Furthermore, older people now do not often live with their descendants. In fact, their children and grandchildren may live in other parts of the United States or even abroad. Consequently the care of older people has become increasingly a concern of local Friends Meetings and larger bodies of Ouakers.

Even before the present surge in the number of

older Quakers, some Friends groups started small institutions to provide housing, physical and mental care, recreation, and spiritual nourishment for older people. Those homes were simple and not excessively expensive and were open to non-Friends as well as Friends. Several of them were started toward the end of the 19th century in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. But there were similar establishments in Amesbury, Massachusetts; Baltimore, Maryland; Waynesville and Barnesville, Ohio; and Richmond, Indiana. Some were owned by monthly meetings and others by quarterly or yearly meetings.

In the 1950's a concern arose in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting about the care of older Quakers and a Committee on Aging was appointed. A social worker was then hired and a survey made of the needs of elderly Friends in that yearly meeting. Realizing the increasing demands for better care for that older age group, a few bequests were made to assist in this new, yet old, concern.

Subsequently several retirement communities were built in Pennsylvania and New Jersey and a few in other parts of the United States, with most of them offering lifetime care. The first was across the road from the Gwynedd Meeting House in Pennsylvania and was called Foulkeways, in honor of the family which had made that project possible. The second was at Medford Leas in New Jersey. Then came Kendal and its nearby "twin"—Crosslands, near Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. Most of these retirement communities are owned by corporations whose members are all or nearly all Friends.

Counting the earlier established Friends Homes,

there are now 44 Quaker-run special facilities for older people spanning the United States from Massachusetts to California and Oregon. They are located as follows: California-2, Florida-1, Idaho-1, Indiana-3, Maryland-2, Massachusetts-2, New Jersey-8, North Carolina-1, Ohio-8, Oregon-1, and Pennsylvania-15.

A further development came in the 1980's as a result of a concern of Lloyd Lewis, the imaginative and dedicated Friend who is the director of the Kendal-Crosslands retirement community. Under his leadership an academic geriatric center was started, known as Tirlawyn. In it Bryn Mawr College's Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research, the Crozer-Chester Medical Center, the Thomas Jefferson and Widener Universities, and Kendal-Crosslands have joined to explore the vast and growing field of care of the elderly. Small at present, it is hoped that it may soon have a building and a full-time staff and become a center of national or even international importance.

Meanwhile, American Friends in their national organizations were becoming increasingly concerned about the care of older Friends. Articles on this theme were published in the Quaker magazines and committees appointed to explore the problems and possibilities of work by these national groups. Especially active was the commission on this topic which was appointed by the Friends United Meeting. It has published several editions of a Directory of Friends Retirement Facilites in the U.S.A., a book by Wayne Allman and Harold Tollefson on Guides to Creative Living, and a book by Pearl Hall on The Long Road

to Freedom. In addition it produces the publication called the Creative Aging Journal.

Pendle Hill has also aided many individuals and groups by its publication of four pamphlets on old age and death: Elsie M. Andrews' Facing and Fulfilling the Later Years, Norma Jacob's Growing Old: A View from Within, Carol Murphy's The Valley of the Shadow, and Bradford Smith's Dear Gift of Life: Man's Encounter with Death.

Thus Friends are out on the frontier in the field of care for elderly persons, pioneering in a small way in that movement as they have in other important causes.

11. The Quaker Concern for the Economic and Social Order

At various times and in various places in the more than 300 years of their history, Friends have made substantial contributions to the improvement of the economic and social order of the societies in which they have lived.

But, as a group they have not been radical reconstructionists, questioning the basis on which those societies were organized. Instead, they have generally looked upon the economic and social structures of their day as basically sound, like a solidly built house. They have maintained that repairs were needed and renovations called for. But only a few courageous and far-seeing Friends have relentlessly examined the foundations and superstructure and declared them faulty and unfit for human habitation. By and large, then, Quakers have been better at economic and social protest than in setting forth far-reaching proposals for change.

Nevertheless a quick review of the alterations some of them have advocated should reveal a creditable record of seeing what love could do to make our planet a better place for all its inhabitants.

Despite the fact that early Friends were deeply involved in their own imprisonment and those of their

relatives and friends, they did speak out for better conditions in the prisons, for the right of trials by their peers without excessive pressure on those panels, and for other civil rights and civil liberties.

George Fox, although no social radical, recorded in his *Journal* several incidents in which he tried to right wrongs. On one occasion, for example, he came to the rescue of some impoverished travelers with a small gift of money. Another time he walked eight miles to a neighboring town to protest the unfair wages set by a judge. In another situation he protested to the members of Parliament about unemployment. Laudable as those and other incidents were, they do not indicate any deep concern for the economic and social order.

Perhaps their most far-reaching contributions were in helping to establish the single-price system and setting up banks.

Early Friends were credited by their neighbors with a deep-seated honesty in a day when that trait was all too rare. Hence, when people went away from home, they often left their money with Quakers, knowing that it would be safe. From that practice came the modern banking system—studded with the names of Quakers—the Barclays, the Gurneys, the Hoares, and the Lloyds.

Those early Friends were also credited with introducing the fixed price system as they considered haggling dishonest. Furthermore, the goods the Quakers sold were almost always of high quality. Consequently Quaker tradesmen thrived. Changes have been made in more recent times but firms like Cadbury, Clark, Horniman, Huntley and Palmer,

Reckett, and Rowntree were all founded in England by Friends.

Undoubtedly the most radical proposals of a Quaker in economics in the late 17th century were those of John Bellers, sometimes called "the father of socialism." His chief concern was unemployment and his constructive plan, contained in his Program for a College of Industry, was for the establishment of new communities which would spread the population more evenly over England, open waste land for cultivation, increase the wealth of the nation, and assist the poor. One such community was actually founded by Friends and lasted for a few years before it was abandoned.

At approximately the same time William Penn undertook to establish in Pennsylvania his Holy Experiment. Although it was chiefly a far-reaching innovation in government, it included economic and social dimensions.

In the 18th century the greatest changes brought about by Friends on both sides of the Atlantic were technical improvements. An astonishing number of changes were introduced in the iron and steel industries, in lead and zinc mining, in the production of porcelain, and in railroads. Eventually, however, those inventions helped largely to line the pockets of the few rather than those of the many. As the Quaker quip goes, "The Quakers came to Philadelphia to do good—and they did well." The same could be said for many English Quakers.

In the 19th and the early part of the 20th centuries many Friends were active in business and some of them became uneasy about their enterprises. A

few, for example, turned from the distilling of liquor to the production of cocoa and chocolate. Hence the fact that the great chocolate makers were Quakers—the Cadburys, the Frys, and the Rowntrees in England and the Wilburs in the United States. Another business in which American Friends were prominent was as owners and managers of hotels. Their establishments were usually simple but attractive and in them liquor was not served. Thus at one time most of the leading hotels in Atlantic City, New Jersey, were run by Quakers, as well as similar establishments in Pocono Manor, Buck Hill Falls, and Eagles Mere in Pennsylvania, and Lake Mohonk in New York.

Many of those entrepreneurs were active in local Friends Meetings and some of them in the larger affairs of the Religious Society of Friends. Often they were generous contributors to Quaker and humanitarian movements. One example was Anna T. Jeanes, a Philadelphia Friend who had inherited a large estate which she devoted to several causes, including the education of Negroes and the furtherance of the Jeanes Hospital.

In England several prominent Quaker business families became interested in the welfare of their workers, one of them being the Rowntrees, who pioneered in the construction of a model community for their employees. Today such an effort might be considered paternalism, but it was a leap forward in England in the early years of the 20th century.

In 1918 London Yearly Meeting approved a radical statement known as the Foundations of a True Social Order, but little has been done since that

time to implement its eight major principles. Within a few years both Philadelphia Yearly Meetings recorded similar views, with the Arch Street group going so far as to state that the profit motive is inconsistent with the Sermon on the Mount. Unfortunately, there was never any follow-up on that daring pronouncement.

In more recent times some Friends on both sides of the Atlantic have been struggling with the question of how best to achieve an economic and social order consistent with Christian principles. In England many Friends have supported the Labor Party and some are members of an organization of Quaker socialists. In the United States a small group of Friends formed a similar socialist group in the 1980's but that is not a position that many Friends support.

Certainly one of the most radical approaches in recent years in the U.S.A. to Quaker concern about the social and economic order is the Movement for a New Society, a small but active nationwide group, based in Philadelphia, which is struggling to find effective ways to bring about social changes, including concerns about equality, women's liberation, and neighborhood improvements and political empowerment.

At the 1983 sessions of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting a special committee was formed to "reexamine industrial policy in the United States." However that group was unable to achieve unity on the larger issues of economic and social change and reported to the yearly meeting that it seemed best at that point to urge Friends to examine or to reexamine their individual practices rather than to come to grips

with larger issues. In economic terms they recommended consideration of "microeconomics" rather than "macroeconomics."

Thus, throughout their history Quakers have made some significant contributions to the building of a better world through correcting many of the injustices in the social and economic orders of the countries in which they have lived. But Friends, like Christians everywhere, have never really come to grips with the basic problem of how societies can best be constructed so that real gains are made in carrying out the Lord's Prayer which pleads that "Thy Kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven."

One wonders what would happen if Quakers listened intently, prayerfully, and adventurously to the words of Margarethe Lachmund, a remarkable German Friend who lived through World War I and its aftermath, the horrendous depression in her land in the 1920's, the Hitler regime in the 1930's and early 1940's, and the Russian occupation. In a paper for the Friends World Conference in 1967 she wrote:

Today, in a time when all underprivileged people, individuals, and groups, strive for freedom and self-responsibility, and demand independence in political, economic, and social life, this individual way of early Friends (living in simplicity) is no longer sufficient to solve the social question. The time has come that Friends must also endeavor to transform the economic structure. . . On the whole, I think that our insight into the dilemma of the present world situation makes it clear that it is not sufficient to limit our peace testimony to the question of war alone, but that we, thinking of the causes of war, should put a social witness beside the peace testimony.

The Quaker Concern for the Written Word

Through the history of the Religious Society of Friends, Quakers have been a highly articulate group. In the early days of the Society the traveling ministers were often called Publishers of Truth. But that title could also be given to the large number of Quaker writers over a period of nearly 350 years. Probably no religious group has been as productive in this regard as Friends.

For some unexplainable reason this aspect of Quakerism has not received the attention it deserves; very few writers have singled it out as a separate theme or concern of Friends. The longest account is a chapter on Quaker Writers in Elton Trueblood's The People Called Quakers. Three other valuable references are Dorothy Ward Gilbert's Ward Lecture on Quakerism in Fiction and Poetry: Recently Written by Women; Mary Hoxie Jones's pamphlet on Quaker Poets: Past and Present, and Howard Hintz's A Quaker Influence on American Literature.

In the first few years of Quakerism, over 2,000 pamphlets were written by leading Friends and widely distributed. Because of the muzzling of the press in those days, separate sections of those books and booklets were often printed by different publishers

and then assembled. Most of those pamphlets were defenses of the faith against the virulent attacks of persons who claimed that Quakers were actually anti-Christian. So widespread were such attacks that Joseph Smith recorded in his *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakerism*, 1,200 titles printed before 1725.

One dramatic example is the challenge that Roger Williams made to George Fox to debate him on the latter's interpretation of Jesus Christ, the Scriptures, and other central concepts of Christianity. Fox had already left New England when he heard about that challenge, but two other Friends stood in his place. Roger Williams then wrote an account of the debate with the arresting title—George Fox Digged Out of His Burrow. Fox and Burrough replied in a booklet called A New England Firebrand Quenched.

But there were other such accounts of the spiritual struggles of leading Friends. In fact 26 of them were published by the year 1725 and many more were found and presented in their original manuscript form. Journal writing was a distinctive Quaker form of writing, although some other individuals kept them at that time. And it is a form of spiritual diary-keeping which has had a new burst of life in the late 20th century among Quakers.

But there were other forms of writing, too. Histories were written, the two most interesting being The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers, written by a Dutch Friend named William Sewel and printed in Dutch and English, and William Penn's The Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers.

There were also many publications of a devotional nature. Three of the most famous were William Penn's No Cross, No Crown: Fruits of Solitude, and More Fruits of Solitude, books still read today. Alongside Penn's reflections should be placed the mystical writings of Isaac Penington as among the most beautiful of that period.

Of the writers on theology, Robert Barclay was outstanding because of his brilliant mind, his education under the Calvinists and Catholics before he became a Quaker, and his engaging style of writing. His *Apology* is considered the best theological writing done by an early Quaker—and possibly by a Quaker of any period.

In the 18th century there were only a few Quaker writers and most of them were not outstanding. Nevertheless the finest flowering of Quakerism appeared in that period in the person of John Woolman. Woolman was a unique combination of an individual who was spiritually-sensitive and socially-conscious, a man who was both tough-minded and tender—the nearest to a saint that Quakerism has ever produced. Fortunately he kept a journal and that book is considered by non-Friends as well as by Friends as a classic of devotional literature.

In the 19th century the most widely read of the Quaker writers was the American poet John Greenleaf Whittier. He was not a genius nor a great poet but he was a champion of the oppressed, a poet with a passion for freedom and justice, a man of God, and a concerned Quaker. In her perceptive pamphlet on *Quaker Poets: Past and Present*, Mary Hoxie Jones quotes James B. Congdon as saying that

"Whittier had a more extended and powerful influence on the minds of the people (Quaker and non-Quaker) than the writings of any other American poet." By a curious twist of history that "silent Meeting Quaker" is best known to millions of people today by the many hymns which are sung in the churches of all denominations with Whittier's words put to music by others. The best known of them is hymn—"Dear Lord and Father of Mankind."

Little known but of special interest in the latter part of the 19th century was Hannah Whitall Smith. A champion of women's suffrage and of temperance, she is far better known for her book *The Christian Secret of a Happy Life*. First printed in 1870, it has sold over two million copies and is still read as an outstanding volume of a devotional nature.

Very different was the contribution of another Quaker woman of that century, Anna Sewell, famous for her book *Black Beauty*, a very popular volume and in reality a polemic against cruelty to horses.

In the 20th century there has been a vast outpouring of books and pamphlets about Quakers and/or by Quakers. It has included publications on a wide range of topics and in several literary forms. Some of them have attracted the attention of persons outside the Religious Society of Friends and have had a powerful impact.

At the turn of the current century two English Friends, John Rowntree and William Charles Braithwaite, planned with Rufus M. Jones of the United States an ambitious history of Quakerism. However, Rowntree died at the age of 36 and the project had to be carried on by the other two men. Eventually

it appeared in seven volumes and is the broadest, most scholarly, and most readable account of the Religious Society of Friends ever published. In addition to that extensive series of books there are two splendid one-volume histories—Elbert Russell's *The History of Quakerism* and Howard Brinton's *Friends for Three Hundred Years*, as well as several books interpreting the Quaker movement, written by English and American Friends.

In this recent period four Quaker men in the United States have written voluminously on religious topics, primarily for a broad audience of Christians. One of them was Rufus M. Jones, who produced 56 volumes in his lifetime and was also in demand as a speaker in college chapels and by a variety of religious groups. Currently Elton Trueblood has almost matched the number of books of Rufus Jones and has possibly reached an even greater audience by sharing Quaker ideas and ideals with a much larger audience than that of the Society of Friends.

Alongside them should be placed the names of Thomas Kelly and Douglas Steere. Kelly's *Testament of Devotion*, published posthumously by his friends, has been called the greatest of the devotional classics of this century and more than 20 editions of it have already appeared. The moving introduction to that volume was written by his friend and colleague at Haverford College, Douglas V. Steere, who has reached a large group of readers through such volumes as *On Beginning from Within, Doors Into Life*, and *Prayer and Worship*, in addition to his scholarly volumes on Sören Kierkegaard and Baron von Huegel.

Books of biography and autobiography about Quakers abound; they are probably their favorite fare. The citation of all of them written in recent years would fill several pages. A few of them are Janet Whitney's Elizabeth Fry: Quaker Heroine and her John Woolman: American Quaker, and Elizabeth Gray Vining's Rufus M. Jones: Friends of Life, Mr. Whittier, and Penn. In collective biography there is Errol Elliott's Quaker Profiles from the American West and this writer's two volumes on Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century (Volume I on American Friends and Volume II on Friends in other parts of the world).

As examples of devotional books one could cite such volumes as Elizabeth Watson's Guests of My Life, Elizabeth Vining's The World in Tune, and Elizabeth Yates's Your Prayers and Mine.

Several Ouakers have written novels, including such writers as Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Daisy Newman, Ruth Suckow, Nora Waln, Janet Whitney, and Elizabeth Gray Vining. But the prize for the largest viewing public goes to Jessamy West and her volume entitled Friendly Persuasion, which was read by thousands and seen as a movie by millions. And few writers of recent times rank with James Michener either in the number of books they have written or the extent of their readership—a total of 33 books that have sold at least 21 million copies, been translated into 52 languages, and inspired 12 films and one smash hit musical on Broadway. Although Michener has not written directly for Quakers, his passion for interpreting the people of other parts of the world certainly comes in large part from the

Quaker family which adopted him, from his years as a student at Swarthmore College, and from his teaching at George School (a Quaker boarding school), as well as from his membership in the Religious Society of Friends. Then there is Jan de Hartog, the author of *The Four Poster* and several novels and plays, some of which have been made into movies, plus his Quaker historical novels.

There have been several writers of books for children, too, including such well-known names as Marjorie Allee, Elfrida Vipont Foulds, Elizabeth Gray Vining, and Cornelia Spencer (the pen name of Grace Yaukey—a sister of Pearl Buck).

Pamphleteering has staged a comeback in the 20th century among Quakers, in large part because of the concern of Howard Brinton, long the codirector of the Pendle Hill graduate center near Philadelphia. By the end of 1986 there had been 267 titles in that popular Pendle Hill Pamphlet series. Several of them were written by Howard Brinton and most of them by other Quakers. But other well known individuals who have lectured at Pendle Hill have penned pamphlets in that series, including titles by Martin Buber, Gerald Heard, Lewis Mumford, Arnold Toynbee, and Laurens van der Post.

The American Friends Service Committee has done considerable pamphleteering, too, producing "working papers" prepared by teams of Quakers chosen because of their expertise on various current problems—national and international. To date there have been 14 of them. Among the most popular or the most controversial have been such titles as *The United States and the Soviet Union* (1940). *Speak*

Truth to Power (1955), Peace in Vietnam (1966), Search for Peace in the Middle East (1970), and South Africa: Challenge and Hope (1982).

It is always tempting to claim, as one of your own, people who are famous and had some connections with your group. Four such outstanding individuals and writers who had close connections with Friends were Tom Paine, Jane Addams, Walt Whitman, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Tom Paine was the son of an English Quaker and may well have obtained some of his ideas on freedom from that group. Jane Addams, the famous social settlement house leader and peace advocate, was reared in a Quaker home and had close connections with Friends, including the holding of a Friends Meeting regularly in Hull House, although she never held membership in the Religious Society of Friends. Ralph Waldo Emerson had few connections with Friends but admired them greatly, saying once that "I am more of a Ouaker than anything else." Walt Whitman's mother was a Ouaker and his father often took him to hear Elias Hicks, the famous Friends' minister from whom some say Whitman took the title of his panegyric on democracy—Leaves of Grass, as well as many of his basic ideas.

Would that space permitted a sketch of several of the many Quaker writers in other parts of the world, especially in England and in Scandinavia.

13. The Quaker Concern for an Authentic Religion

All of the foregoing contributions grew out of the attempt of Friends in 17th century England and in every period since that time when Quakers have been true to their original purpose to rediscover and live out in their lives the devotion to God which permeated the first century of Christianity before it became deadened by dogma and fossilized by organization. George Fox and his co-religionists were seekers, but they were also finders. And having had their lives transformed, they felt compelled to set out to release the potentialities in others and to try to transform society.

That was an ambitious adventure. But they were partially successful then and they have been partially successful at other times and in other places when they have retained or rediscovered their original vision and lived close to their Guide.

To their success in this glorious adventure several well-known writers and thinkers outside the Religious Society of Friends have testified in glowing terms. Listen to the arresting statement of Thomas Carlyle, the Scottish essayist and historian, who wrote:

Perhaps the most remarkable incident in modern history is not the Diet of Worms, still less the Battle of Austerlitz, or any other battle—but an incident passed over carelessly by most historians—namely George Fox's making himself a coat of leather (before setting out on his religious journeys).

On their success George Bancroft, the American historian, once said:

This rise of the people called Quakers is one of the memorable events in the history of man. It marks the moment when intellectual freedom was claimed unconditionally by the people as an inalienable birthright.

And about their success the American psychologist and philosopher, William James, once asserted:

The Quaker religion which he (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 than men had ever known in England.

What magnificent statements these are! Yet, how humbling, too!

Perhaps the most amazing thing about the discoveries of early Friends is that they antedated by many decades the findings of modern psychology and group dynamics and revealed advanced concepts of democracy. Whether by Divine Revelation or incredible intuition, Fox and his compatriots evolved principles and practices which modern scientific research and depth psychology are just beginning to confirm. Perhaps that is why Kenneth Boulding, an eminent economist and Quaker, asserted in his Backhouse

Lecture to the Australia Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1964 that:

I think Quakerism is an example of a mutation which was in a sense premature. . . . (for) it is precisely in religious experience that one finds the evolutionary potential that looks to the ultimate future of man. . . . I believe (therefore) that the evolutionary potential of the Quaker mutation is far from exhausted and has, indeed, hardly begun to show its full effects.

What are some of those discoveries of Quakers which Boulding says have "hardly begun to show their full effects" and explain in large part the many contributions Friends have made to the world? Here are some of their central "discoveries" or beliefs. Since Quakers have no creed or statement of beliefs, to which everyone must subscribe, the following statements are the writer's interpretation of their central and compelling ideas:

- . . .that everyone is endowed at birth with something of the Divine.
- ...that individuals therefore have potentialities which they seldom develop; even seemingly ordinary people can become extraordinary if they live in the Light.
- . . .that men, women, and children can dialogue directly with the Divine, and that although that can be done by anyone, anywhere, and at any time, and on any subject, there is often a heightened awareness of God in group worship on the basis of expectant silence.
- . . .that Jesus is the Great Revealer of the grandeur of God and the potential greatness of human beings, and we are blessed by both the Historic Jesus and the Continuing or Inward Christ.

- . . .that revelation did not end with Jesus or with the assembling of the Bible but that it continues and is available to everyone.
- . . .that the salvation of individuals and the salvation of society are complementary rather than contradictory and as interrelated as the two sides of a coin or a door. That is why Jesus called upon His followers to love God *and* their neighbors and to work as well as pray for the advancement of God's kingdom on earth as it is in heaven. Because of this interrelatedness, Friends call their book of suggestions to members Faith *and* Practice.
- . . .that to love one's neighbors or to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God places on each of us the responsibility of identifying with the poor, the sick, the handicapped, the disturbed, and the oppressed. But our responsibility does not stop there; it includes liberating them so far as that is possible, protesting the conditions which brought about their difficulties, and working for the restructuring of society that it is more peaceful, more just, more humane.
- ...that we must not be fatalistic about the possibilities of change and not become weary in well-doing, but be glad that we can contribute something to the improvement of life on our planet.
- . . .that we be convinced that changes can come and that we must help to bring them about, but that our methods must be nonviolent.

Friends have also developed some organizational practices which are important as they often go far beyond currently accepted democratic methods and represent a rare form of religious democracy. Hence, Quakers generally believe:

. . .that life is sometimes a long, lonely, difficult journey which can be made easier and more rewarding by the companionship of like-minded seekers.

Hence the importance of the Meeting as a seeking, sharing, caring group.

- . . . that seekers can discover God's guidance in carrying out the business of a religious group if their sessions are actually Meetings for Worship to conduct business.
- . . .that lobbying, motions, and voting are unnecessary and even harmful in such meetings for business and that the group, under Divine Guidance, should seek "the sense of the Meeting"—a practice which often takes longer than voting but is more likely to avoid a gloating majority and a disappointed minority and lead, instead, to a unified decision.
- . . .that more is accomplished by posing questions to prod members and attenders into examining and improving their lives than by imposing strict rules of conduct for everyone. Hence the rare practice of reading the "Queries" (or questions) in Quaker Meetings for Worship and/or business.
- . . .that it is often desirable for an individual to seek help from members of his or her religious community when contemplating life decisions. Hence the Quaker practice of making available Clearness Committees to persons requesting them.
- . . .that it is wise for a religious group to look back occasionally and to take an inventory of its progress and problems. Hence the annual State of the Society reports in Quaker Meetings.

These brief statements of some of the central ideas of Friends and a few of their novel practices as a group indicate some major aspects of the Quaker concern for a living, authentic, and transforming religion—their greatest contribution to the world and one which is the foundation of all their concerns.