



FRIENDLY HERITAGE

Books by Henry J. Cadbury

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Friendly Heritage

LETTERS FROM THE QUAKER PAST

By

HENRY J. CADBURY



A FRIENDS JOURNAL BOOK



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The essays in this volume were written consecutively over a span of years starting with Letter 1, written in 1941 and end with Letter 240, written in 1969. On page 342 is a complete listing of the letters and the corresponding years in which they were written.

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Foreword

We call him Henry, the many of us who know this wise, kindly, lovable man. He comes often into our offices—the office of *Friends Journal* to deliver galley proofs of his “Letters from the Past” or an article or review; the offices of American Friends Service Committee, whose chairman he was for many years; and those of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Central Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends, of which he is a member.

“And how art thou today, Friend?” he always asks. “We’re fine,” we say. “And thou? And Lydia? and thy new book?”

Always Henry is crisp and purposeful. He has little time for small talk. His business done in the “Quaker Complex” in central Philadelphia, he is off to The Quaker Collection in Haverford College to spend three or four hours each day to further historical research; or to the Quaker study center at Pendle Hill, where he regularly lectures on Quakerism and the New Testament.

When he leaves we ask ourselves again, “How old is this young man? Fifty? Sixty? Seventy?” We look up that fact. Henry Cadbury was born December 1, 1883.

The world knows Henry Joel Cadbury as the author of several books, lecturer, professor, Biblical scholar and translator.

When we suggested that the Letters Henry has written for *Friends Intelligencer* and *Friends Journal* (and signed “Now and Then”) since 1941 be put into a book, he demurred at first: “Who will buy the book? Who will read them? I do not want anybody to lose money on it or be put to much work and risk.”

“Henry,” we said in our firm, fatherly way, “for things His servants hope will be to His service, the Lord will open a way. Thou hast done a service in reminding us of our goodly heritage, our Friendly heritage. Yesterday is today and tomorrow. The heritage of the past guides all our tomorrows.”

“A goodly heritage,” he repeated. “A Friendly heritage.”

Alfred Stefferud

Introduction

This collection of Henry J. Cadbury's "Letters from the Past" is a welcome gift to Friends and their friends, especially at this time.

Our preoccupation with history now is yielding to a growing fascination with the future, a shift that some observers ascribe to a fear of the future. The fact is, though, that a better knowledge of the past and the problems with which former generations labored can produce helpful insights for comprehending the present and for encountering the future. We have been told that those not knowing the past are likely to repeat its mistakes. The past, then, is not a finished chapter in human events. In a sense, the past is not unchangeable. It may, rightly understood and newly interpreted, speak to us with a vivid immediacy that transcends our calendar order. Benedetto Croce, once the dean of European historians, called all writing of history contemporary because it regards the past in the light of the present. Too much in our time appears tentative.

It is heartening therefore to have this collection of "Letters from the Past," which convey a sense of continuity and firmness, qualities that view the past, present, and future from the vantage point of faith. Many of these Letters focus on all three tenses, past, present, and future. When Henry Cadbury wrote them he practiced what the English historian Sir Lewis Namier advised any historian to do: "Imagine the past and remember the future." This continuity of effort, inspiration, and purpose lifts the reading of the Letters above conventional historical materials. They feed the fires of tradition.

Now we are experiencing a change in the

public appraisal of members of the Religious Society of Friends. We have passed through a phase of uncritical esteem, during which bouquets, including the Nobel Prize for Peace, were thrown our way. I doubt whether such a season of sunshine conduced to our spiritual health. A revision was bound to come. The series that Henry Cadbury signed "Now and Then" started in 1941, and I received the first Letter from him in 1943 after I became editor of *Friends Intelligencer*. It was Letter 25, and it assembled rather uncomplimentary opinions on Friends, thus beginning to change the prevailing hallelujah mood. Subsequently, Letter 73, "Quaker Sinners," stated that we, too, like everyone else, are apt to "lose our condition and can fall as low as other folks." It illustrated what Letter 31 had said; it reminded us that "history repeats itself but also reverses itself." The letter about Quaker Sinners, a humorous catalog of human aberrations among Friends, will warn those ready to place a halo on any Quaker who comes their way.

The Letters, though, are not intended to serve moral instruction. Their topics range from Quaker and church history to Biblical subjects, individual bravery and suffering, new stamp issues of interest to Friends, travel adventures, and much more. No historian delving into the Quaker past can afford to ignore these sketches, which do not presume to tell the entire story of Quakerism but nevertheless carry the mark of authority. Their entertaining style, which few scholars master, cannot make us forget that a dedicated collector of unerring judgment is raising from obscurity many an item as rich in historic association as in inspira-

tion. More than one graduate student has turned to Henry Cadbury for direction in his research into Quakerism.

During my twenty years as editor of Friends Intelligencer and, after its merger with The Friend, of Friends Journal, it was my privilege to see this collection grow with every new manuscript their author brought to our office. When he delivered Letter 100, Henry Cadbury seemed determined to close the series; one hundred was enough, he said. Our pleas with him to continue were successful, and he wrote an average of nine Letters each year. At a later time we managed again to persuade him to write more Letters. We knew there were more hidden treasures as yet untouched, and our readers everywhere were eager to see them.

It may be well to remind our spiritually absent-minded age that the story of the individuals and groups recorded here is one

of steadfastness, if not victory, despite their trials and tribulations, as even Besse's *Sufferings* is a book that puts those to shame who are living in suburban comfort as if they were charter members of the Kingdom. The philosopher Hegel once called history "a butcher's bench," and Henry Ford dismissed history as "bunk." It simply is not true, however, that the past no longer speaks to us and that we are a post-Christian generation living in a "post-metaphysical" age.

The Seekers of the Seventeenth century and their later spiritual relatives have many a descendant in our time, whose fervor may approach that of former periods of religious enthusiasm.

It is good to hear about those who steadfastly labored in the past. They are strengthening us in our time and help getting us ready for the future. In a world organized for despair, man must not be reconciled to himself, lest he lose his spiritual destiny.

William Hubben

LETTERS FROM THE PAST

1

Quaker Memories in Days of Blitzkrieg

To one who knows his Quaker history better than he knows England, a visit to that beleaguered island—no matter how brief and crowded—is sure to start many memories. Recent American delegates were sure to spend some time at historic Jordans, but it was a welcome accident that the legitimate duty of viewing typical areas of destruction justified one in visiting also the grave of George Fox, standing amid the desolate ruins that surround Bunhill Fields, or in peering in at Peel Meeting House, the oldest Quaker place of worship still standing—if one may call it standing—anywhere in England. It was a delight also to see for the first time the famous Quaker property in Bristol, the Friars on Philadelphia Street, still uninjured amid much adjacent damage.

However, early Quaker history is not to be marked alone by the places where George Fox and William Penn were married or buried. Many more obscure persons and places of the past concern the Quaker antiquarian. Probably the august Meeting for Sufferings held at Leicester did not know that I omitted tea with contemporaries to steal an hour with the ancient worthies in the Quarterly Meeting records at the local Museum, and to look up the “great man of Twycross” whose servant nearly assassinated George Fox with a rapier in 1650.

Do the young Friends in London as they busy themselves with the fine constructive social and medical services in the East End realize how full those boroughs are of Quaker history? Much of it is uncollected if not

unrecorded. One could begin his study with Beck and Ball’s *London Friends Meetings*. Or, turning to George Fox’s daily record of the last ten years of his life, one will find that where modern Friends are now concerned with settlement houses, air raid shelters or rest centers, the founder of the Society was an indefatigable visitor to those “diseased in mind, body or estate” two centuries and a half ago. Travelling along Mile End Road in a taxi and moving about in blackout here and there between Hackney and Deptford, gave me that same new sense of the nearness of hearsay sites that I had when I first actually visited the compact land of Palestine.

I am writing these words near “a port on the south coast of England,” waiting for a hurricane at Lisbon to abate so that our powerful seaplane can count on landing there safely after a thousand-mile non-stop daylight flight. Even this coast is full of ancient Quaker memories. It was at this very town that William Bayly had his home, the husband of the intrepid Mary Fisher and himself a missionary whose “Wrightings” fill a stout quarto volume in a Quaker library. It was off this coast that Captain Daniel Baker served in the Dutch wars and convoyed British merchant ships safely through the Channel, capturing rich prizes of the enemy, until he chose another service and sought other prizes, still seafaring, but in the interests of Quakerism. How many earlier Quaker travellers have waited for favorable weather off the Downs or further westward! In the remarkable odyssey of that Massachusetts-bound ship, the *Woodhouse*, Robert Fowler describes how in 1657, while waiting off Portsmouth or South Yarmouth, “some of

the ministers of Christ went on shore and gathered sticks and kindled a fire and left it burning." This quaint metaphor means that the early Friends used every passing opportunity to proclaim their message and left results to God. What a fine description of our duties and opportunities today!

2

Friends at Lisbon

The three weeks in England mentioned in the last letter were followed by three equally busy days in Lisbon. Portugal is as devoid of ancient Quaker associations as England is full of them. Probably more Friends have touched Lisbon in transit in the last nine months than in any other period of history. This situation may be temporary, and certainly most of the visitors are transitory. But one need not be surprised if the American Friends Service Committee should decide shortly to open a new Quaker center in Lisbon like those established recently in Marseilles, Rome, Amsterdam, or the earlier European centers.

The city of Lisbon has much of interest that cannot be mentioned here. It is now the crossroads for all kinds of travel, commercial, diplomatic, and philanthropic; and the principal remaining exit for refugees from Europe. To illustrate I may list the Friends and friends of the Friends who were there on February 20, 1941. The more permanent were two very able former relief workers in Friends' work. (I was warned in Lisbon to call nobody a "worker" as the word was suspect in fascist countries, but I let it stand here.) One of these had spent "one of the most satisfying parts of his life" in Poland in 1922-24 and is now director of the assistance for refugee scholars and scientists carried on by the Rockefeller Foundation. The

other, formerly engaged in our Spanish relief in Spain and France, is attached to the British Embassy, in charge of repatriating English, Colonial, and Dominion citizens. He had in charge the son of a well-known English Friend, who had after untold adventures just escaped from occupied France. On the eighteenth two of us arrived by seaplane from England, American Friends returning home; and on the same day two American Friends Service Committee representatives arrived by American ship from home, one to stay for a month to study refugee and relief problems of the whole Iberian peninsula, the other to move on shortly into the child-feeding work in "free" France by the slow-moving transcontinental trains. The granddaughter of a former principal of Friends' Central School was the next arrival, coming by transatlantic clipper and leaving a three-months old baby in America. She had to wait a few weeks before she could take off on a land plane to rejoin her British husband, a new-made Captain in the Royal Army. (Incidentally, it may be noted that these planes of the British Airways use the same airfield at Lisbon as those of the German Lufthansa.)

Getting out of Lisbon is always doubtful nowadays. Waiting is the occupation of many visitors and I had prepared my mind for the possibility of a long stay there with the promise of trying to trace down some Quaker history. The hunting prospect seemed likely to be rather barren. In the voluminous card catalogue at Friends House I had noted only two references to either "Lisbon" or "Portugal."

In his *Journal* George Fox wrote briefly under the year 1655, "Also this year Anne Gargill passed over seas to Portugal." Norman Penney in his note says, "No further account of the visit of Anne Gargill to Portugal has been found." For once the incomparable Quaker editor was caught nap-

ping. For a fuller account, printed as early as 1661, is to be found where one would little expect it, in George Bishop's *New England Judged*. Evidently, like other parts of that book, it is based on contemporary letters, and it tells how Anne Gargill arrived in Lisbon from Plymouth and went to the King's palace. There she met an Irish Jesuit and later others. She discoursed of religion freely and even issued a paper against the Popish religion until she was finally summoned by "the King's Chief General of his Land Forces, and High Admiral at sea, and his Great Chamberlain and Keeper of the Privy Seal" and transported in the King's boat and the King's coach to the Palace of the Inquisition. For two hours twenty-five "bishops" sitting about a table examined her and heard her papers read, "in which she declared against them and their Idolatry and called them Babylon and Anti-christ." They tendered her "a paper to sign to this effect—not to come on Shoar again to that place, or to discourse with any of that Nation; which she refusing, or to promise any such thing they dismissed her." She was returned to her ship with the same pomp and without even paying for the expense.

Bishop tells this story to shame the Massachusetts authorities for their maltreatment of the Quakers. He argues that the Puritans are worse than the Inquisition. But not all Friends fared so well at the hands of the ecclesiastical courts. I am thinking of John Perrot and John Love in Rome, Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers in Malta, and Charles Bayly in Paris. Specially addicted as I am to hunting out the opinions about Friends held by their opponents, I have often coveted a chance to look for these names in the records of the Holy Office, but I am told that the Church still jealously guards the archives of the Inquisition from inquisitive Protestants. In the case of Portugal, however, a British cultural envoy to

that country who was flying with me told me that the records of the Inquisition are available. It was only my good fortune in getting passage home fairly quickly that prevented my searching them for a record of this incident. Perhaps at another time some stranded Friend may have time to do so.

Meanwhile it is only candid to add that Anne Gargill did not remain a sound Friend, but turned to "Ranterism." Her ill-behavior and defection at Amsterdam in 1657 were narrated by the historian Sewel who was an eyewitness. Though he was only seven years old at the time, he records, "How haughty she was, I well remember." Her whole history has been more lately reviewed by William I. Hull in his *Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*. Perhaps her example may be a warning to modern Friends who, so often where hostility might be expected, are treated like Anne with such courtesy and restraint by officialdom that they are in danger of having their heads turned.

The other Portuguese episode known to me is of nearly the same date. As recorded in a letter from Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, to John Thurloe, Secretary of State at London, it speaks for itself:

"There is an English ship come in here from Newfoundland. The master hath been on board of us. There is not, they say, one person in the ship, officer or mariner, but are all Quakers. I fear they will meet with affronts from these people, and I hear they have been in danger already for not putting off their hats to the Portuguese, when they have saluted them in the streets."

The letter is dated "Sept. 16, 1656. Aboard the *Naseby* in the Bay of Wyers, in the river of Lisbon." I need hardly add that any perils there may be today to Quakers in Salazar's capital city are not the same as two hundred and eighty-five years ago.

Jamaican Quakerism

We shall soon be hearing in these columns of the establishment on the island of Jamaica of the youngest Yearly Meeting of Friends in the world. This honor, held not long ago by Cuba Yearly Meeting, naturally turns us back to the early history of this other member of the West India Islands. Like some of its neighbors, Jamaica was a "nursery of Truth." The history of Quakerism in none of these islands has been adequately studied except Tortola—an exception due to the painstaking research of Charles F. Jenkins, consummated by a definitive monograph. The story of Jamaica bids fair to be even more romantic, though now one can only piece together in imagination the rapid rise and fall of early Quakerism from uncollected hints in various sources.

Quakerism was preached in Jamaica almost as early as anywhere in the British colonies. John Taylor had "many brave meetings in the island" in 1659. When George Fox spent seven weeks there in 1671 he wrote his wife that it was "a brave country." In 1700 it was estimated that there were nine thousand five hundred Friends on the island! This prosperity may have been due in part to absence of early persecution; the records of persecution there begin only later.

The Quaker history of the island is connected more with natural than with man-made disaster. Many Friends found it a haven from which one sailed away only with the greatest risk. George Fox and his party had an exciting and almost fatal voyage from Jamaica, landing in Virginia after six weeks at sea. Twenty-five years later Jonathan Dickinson's harrowing shipwreck on the

Florida coast, the story of which has become an American classic, was merely one of the many journeys for Philadelphia undertaken by later Quaker Jamaicans. Many other old Philadelphia families had Jamaica connections. I have seen a letter to Isaac Norris from his brother Joseph in Jamaica, telling in almost hysterical fear of the terrible earthquake at Port Royal in 1692. There is in London a list of the Friends who perished in the earthquake; and others perished of the illness which followed. The correspondence at that time to Philadelphia, which I have seen, reports Jamaica as a "sickly" place. By 1708 the number of Friends on the island had greatly declined. Of its early Quakerism only three graveyards are left. I suppose in one of them was buried Elizabeth Hooton, who died there in 1671. She has the honor of being the first woman preacher of the Society of Friends.

The modern chapter of Quaker history in Jamaica is already a longer and a more cheerful one. Perhaps its distinction is not that of sex, as with Elizabeth Hooton, but of race. It is well that among our Yearly Meetings a place should be taken by one so prevaillingly of the black race. The saintly John Woolman, with all his record of service against slavery, felt a twinge of conscience for his former sins toward a Negro when he saw a Negro lad sitting in the back of Mt. Holly meeting. So perhaps the Yearly Meetings of America, as Jamaica Yearly Meeting takes its modest seat in their assembly, will be led to meditate more on the good they omitted to do for that oppressed race than on what little they have done.

Early Quaker Relief Work Overseas

A letter referring to British Friends' relief to Friends in Philadelphia in 1778 turned up at an appropriate time to make a neat contrast to the present appeal of the American Friends Service Committee for assistance to the Friends War Victims Relief Committee.

The episode to which the old letter refers is not unfamiliar to Quaker historians. But it is not quite parallel to the modern situation. The contribution sent from London to Philadelphia was not in money, but in goods—an actual cargo. It was not intended as a gift, but as an advance to be repaid. It was not intended for general distribution among the victims of the war but for needy Friends, "our afflicted Brethren in your several provinces, those of our Society." In all these respects it differed from the monthly remittances sent by the Service Committee nowadays for the sufferers in the poorer sections of England's bombed cities. It ended, also, in a rather unfortunate difference of opinion. The ship had a long passage. When it arrived, the cargo was damaged. The prices had declined on the Philadelphia market, so that the supplies were really sold at a loss. A letter written by the London Quaker merchants four years later, which was lately acquired and published by the Boston Public Library, shows that the Philadelphians were inclined to place the loss to the account of the English Friends who invested in the cargo, while the latter supposed that they were merely loaning their money without interest.

At a later stage in the Revolutionary War cash was remitted by English Friends as a gift. Friends in Ireland sent £2,000 Irish

money in the spring of 1778 for war needs. This also I think was intended for Friends, but at least it was not all expended about Philadelphia. Some of it went to those who had suffered the ravages of war in the frontier parts of South Carolina and Georgia. When the war ended a considerable sum remained unexpended. The problem of what to do with a balance required just as much correspondence as did a deficit. Finally at the entreaty of Anthony Benezet, though just after his death, London Friends agreed that £500 should be allotted for the Negro school in Philadelphia. The remainder—according to the printed minutes of the English subcommittee for managing the donation for the relief of Friends in America—was to be "left in the possession of the trustees or committee of Ackworth-school, without further interest, subject to be called for on any emergency." One would think the present might be regarded as a suitable emergency for English Friends to hunt up and use at home the principal of this remainder. It is too bad one cannot expect to add to it compound interest for nearly a century and a half.

Referring to the appeal of 1778 the writer asks, "Was this action perhaps the beginning of Friends' overseas relief work?" One piece of evidence seems to answer this question in the negative, and to point to an even more romantic episode, a full century earlier. In 1676, the New England colonies were in the throes of King Philip's War. In spite of courageous and intelligent efforts of John Easton and other Rhode Island Quakers to prevent the war by conciliation, the Puritan colonists had refused all appeasement and had baited the redskins with characteristic belligerent tactics. Now they were paying the penalty to torch and tomahawk. They even went so far as to blame the war on the Quakers, regarding its scourge as a divine judgment inflicted by God, in His

displeasure at the colonists for allowing the Quakers to live. Accordingly, in their fast day, they called upon all people to repent of their sins in tolerating the Quakers, and they inscribed on their statute books more rigorous laws against the offending heretics. The New England Quakers, in turn, regarded the war as a punishment upon the land for the innocent blood that had been shed—the blood of Quaker martyrs on Boston Common. Edward Wanton placed a taunting notice to that effect upon their graves, a notice which the local authorities removed, and even the London Friends suppressed the book that told about his daring act. Richard Ford, another Friend, posted a placard of like sentiment on the door of the Puritan meeting house, while a third Friend, Benjamin Franklin's grandfather in Nantucket, made similar animadversions in doggerel verse.

Such were the circumstances in the Bay Colony that make one read with open eyes an entry, dated November 25, 1676, in the diary of no less a person there than Increase Mather: "A vessel from Ireland arrived here, being sent by the Quakers in Dublin for those that are impoverished by the war here."

If ever there were "coals of fire," that would be a case, and a case very early in Quaker history. In 1676 there was no Pennsylvania, probably no regular Yearly Meeting for business in London, and the National Half-Yearly Meetings in Ireland were only six years old. A very Quakerlike act of Dublin Friends! Yes, and a fine precedent for our modern relief undertakings. Very fine, if true! But is it true? I think not.

Quaker by Error

Even a modern Friend may modestly assent to the editor of the Increase Mather papers when he comments: "It is an interesting fact and highly creditable to the Christian temper of these Quakers of Dublin and vicinity, that, forgetful of injuries, they contributed liberally to the relief of the inhabitants of New England at a period of great public distress." I would rather say "interesting and highly creditable, if a fact," for I regretfully confess that I doubt the veracity of the report. This passage, with other selections of Mather's diary, was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1900. The printed text corresponds with a small manuscript notebook given to the Society in 1858. The notebook had been written before his death in 1798 by Jeremy Belknap, who had selected the quotations from a quarto manuscript diary of Increase Mather for the years 1674 to 1687. Neither Mather himself nor any of the successors in the series can be suspected of pro-Quaker bias. Mather's original diary is unfortunately not extant and what he wrote can never be determined with certainty. I doubt if he wrote "Quakers." Beside the inherent probability of such a gift, the Irish Friends' records make no mention of it. On the other hand, the Mather papers mentioned above give plain evidence that the *churches* of Ireland sent relief to the people of Boston, just about this time. The ship *Katharine* of Dublin carrying their gift left Ireland about August 23rd. Four ministers of the colony, including Increase Mather himself, wrote acknowledging its receipt the following January. The actual arrival may well have occurred at the date of the entry in the diary.

Anyone who has struggled with seventeenth century handwriting and with the calligraphy of Increase himself may well believe that Jeremy has misread an entry that ran as follows: "A vessel from Ireland arrived here being sent by the Churches of Dublin, etc."

My scepticism will be understood, if not confirmed, by a recent adventure.

The name "Quaker," according to George Fox, was first applied to himself and his associates by Justice Bennett at Derby in the year 1650. Any suggestion of occurrence of the word before that date always aroused my curiosity. With one exception, for every instance where an earlier use was suggested I had satisfied myself that there was some mistake or misunderstanding. That exception, well known to Quaker historians, is the reference to "a sect of women (they are at Southwark) come from beyond sea, called Quakers." It is in the Clarendon manuscripts, and is dated 1647, three years earlier than the date of George Fox's encounter with Gervase Bennett. I have never had an opportunity to check the original manuscript for reading or for date, and so I have accepted (and excepted) that exception.

Well, a few months ago I picked up at the library and glanced through the latest (1940) issue of the publications of the Record Society of Lancaster and Cheshire. It contains selections from the Quarter Sessions records for the County Palatine of Chester. Such collections are often amusing and instructive, but the reader can imagine my surprise when I found on page 58 under the date of 25 January, 1606/7, the following: "Whereas I am informed by this bearer Richard Whitby that there is an indictment preferred against him for keeping in his house a recusant by the space of one month or more. And he protesteth that the party meant was unto him a person altogether unknown, who being a Quaker and, coming

unto him in harvest time to seek work when he stood in need of a servant, gave only entertainment unto her for the time of his necessary occasions which in the like case anyone might have done. . . ."

The writer of this document is none other than the Bishop of Chester, and he is asking the justices to show leniency to a good churchman who inadvertently employed and gave lodging to a woman that was a recusant, *i.e.*, one who refused to conform to the authority of the Church of England. But what of the word "Quaker"? Of course all later Quakers were recusants, but was any recusant called a Quaker in 1606/7, forty years before the word was used either of George Fox or in the Clarendon manuscripts? My curiosity could be satisfied only in one way. I must see the whole document in the original. But I had no prospect in war time of visiting Chester; so I wrote to the Clerk of the Public Record Office there for a photograph of the document quoted. After the months of delays incident to these times my answer arrived. It was a very courteous letter on official stationery, enclosing two copies of a clear photograph of the document, and the photographer's bill. The photograph at once disclosed what I suspected. "Quaker" was really "Coaker," though at least the C was not unnaturally misread as a Q. But what is a "coaker"? The Oxford English Dictionary after sending me from "coaker" to "coak" and from "coak" to "coke" and from "coke" to "cock" intimated that a "cocker" was one who made haystacks, hence a harvest hand. So the offending female in Cheshire was probably just an agricultural laborer and by no means a forerunner of our Religious Society. At the cost of two guineas I had vindicated the veracity of George Fox!

Not all errors with the word Quaker are of this character. One of the misprints I most cherish is of Violet Ilodgkin's well-

known collection of stories which was advertised by a book dealer as "A Book of Quarter Saints." This phrase "Quarter Saints" surely is a good incentive to Friendly modesty and, at least, it is more friendly than what another printer—or printer's devil—perpetrated when he set in type: "The Society of Fiends."

6

Two John Warders, 1781 and 1941

Churchmen criticize the Society of Friends for "historical ingratitude," by which they mean indifference to the ecclesiastical traditions that go back before the Reformation; yet one of the most critical of them, the Bishop of Durham, regretfully admitted a few years ago that "the spiritual ancestry of the Quakers has been investigated with pious ardour, and indefatigable industry and great literary ability. Probably no religious denomination has been better served by its apologists and advocates." The fact is that with nearly three centuries of history we have a tradition of our own, respectable if not so venerable; but perhaps the most striking thing is that we often are true to the traditions of Quakerism without knowing them.

This continuity and consistency are today most helpful to us in facing the war. To the insistent suggestion that this war is "different," we may offer some assent, without admitting that either those who are for it or those who are against it behave so differently from their predecessors. Many of us recall that Henry Ford was vehemently criticized in 1916 for his peace policy, much as Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh is today. There have been fighters in England named Churchill before the present one. Countless ep-

isodes in our own history as a Society indicate a kind of succession that, with no claim to apostolicity or peerage, is nevertheless significant.

As one example I may call attention to the initials in a recent note in these columns. We read that, as its appointee on the staff of the Friends War Victims Relief Committee, the American Friends Service Committee is sending to London a young Conscientious Objector named J. W. Cadbury, 3rd., who has been released by his draft board in New Jersey for this work of national importance. Probably few readers have paused as I have over these initials. They stand for the great-grandfather of this third J. W. Cadbury, John Warder (1751-1828), merchant of London and Philadelphia, whose Quaker peace testimony was called to the test one hundred and sixty years ago. The story is known to Quaker historians and was told by the late William I. Hull in these columns in Second Month, 1908, but it bears repetition.

When Holland recognized the independence of the United States in 1781 the British government retaliated by issuing to English privateers the privilege of preying upon Dutch ships. John Warder was one of the owners of a British ship, the *Nancy*, which without his knowledge took out letters of marque and captured a Dutch East Indiaman from Amsterdam called *Hollandsche Welvaren*. The prize ship and cargo were soon after lost at sea, but not before John Warder had cannily insured his interest in it to the value of £2,000, and invested it when obtained from the underwriters at compound interest. This he did not for his own sake, but for the sake of its lawful owners, "whosoever they might be found," for as the Dutch historian puts it he was a "member of the religious Society of Friends or so called Kwaker, whose fundamental principles did not permit under any pretext whatever the

prosecution of warfare or even a participation in advantage gained from it." What a different Jack Warder is pictured in *Hugh Wynne*, Weir Mitchell's novel of the Revolutionary War.

For forty years efforts were made to find the original owners of the *Nancy*, or their heirs, at first by John Warder and later by Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, to whom he finally transferred the money in trust, having himself returned to reside in America. For most of the time investigations were hampered by the wars that followed; but by advertisements in the Dutch papers and by an old ledger that was found, claims amounting with interest to £7,000 were settled by 1818. There remained, however, a balance larger than the original proceeds from the prize, and the Meeting and trustees in London decided to devote this to the welfare of the poor children in Amsterdam. An infant school, the first of its kind in the country, was decided upon in 1824, and five years later it was opened in a building still devoted to that purpose, and until recently used as a meeting house by local Friends, at Beerenstraat 7, off Keizersgracht. The school is named after the lost ship, "Hollandsche Welvaren," and a full-rigged ship is displayed on the peak of the roof and over the front doorway, while at each side of the latter are inscribed the initials "J. W."

7

Now Is the Time

I hope there is nothing ill-omened in mentioning as a matter of history that American Friends have nearly always published some kind of manifesto when the country stood on the brink of war. All the major wars in which America has been involved

have come with plenty of warning. Naturally the Quaker objection to war found expression, as the dread disaster approached, in 1775, in 1846, in 1860, in 1917.

To read such documents in the light of the sequel is always interesting. Naturally today we compare them with the contemporary message issued by the American Friends Service Committee. Will that message vindicate itself in the future in the same unhappy way as those have done?

Some who read these lines will recall the month of March, 1917. Our country was obviously then on the eve of war, but there was no American Friends Service Committee to speak for the Society as a whole. There was, however, its predecessor, called Friends' National Peace Committee, and over that name was prepared and widely circulated—largely as full-page paid advertisements in the metropolitan newspapers—the following statement. Two or three weeks later Congress declared war. Was the advice of Friends sound, or did Woodrow Wilson know better? He said a few weeks later in Buffalo on Nov. 12: "What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace but I know how to get it, and they do not."

The "Message from the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in America" of 1917 was not consulted in preparing "A Call to Persons of Good Will" of 1941, but they breathe a similar spirit and both insist that "Now is the time." The older document follows:

The alternative to war is not inactivity and cowardice. It is the irresistible and constructive power of good will. True patriotism at this time calls not for a resort to the futile methods of war, but for the invention and prac-

tice on a gigantic scale of new methods of conciliation and altruistic service. The present intolerable situation among nations demands an unprecedented expression of organized national good will.

Unpractical though such ideals may seem, experience has taught that ideals can be realized if we have faith to practice now what all men hope for in the future. The American Nation, as a more perfect union of states, as a melting pot of races, as a repeated victor through peace, has proved practical the methods of generosity and patience. Throughout many years of an adventurous belief in the Christian principle of human brotherhood, the Society of Friends has seen the triumph of good will in all forms of human crisis.

The peoples of every land are longing for the time when love shall conquer hate, when cooperation shall replace conflict, when war shall be no more. This time will come only when the people of some great nation dare to abandon the outworn traditions of international dealing and to stake all upon persistent good will.

We are the nation and now is the time. This is America's supreme opportunity.

Unflinching good will, no less than war, demands courage, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. To such a victory over itself, to such a leadership of the world, to such an embodiment of the matchless, invincible power of good will, this otherwise tragic hour challenges our country.

8

Finns and Friends

Little Finland again is in the news—not this time for that most “newsworthy” habit of paying off an installment on its debt to America, but in the much less distinctive rôle of a small nation involved in a war between big nations. How far it will be involved is not evident at this time of writing. It has scarcely recovered from its recent amputation at the hands of Russia. Now it is probably lined up against Russia again, but backed by Germany instead of by England. The absurdity of this war will be again revealed if England finds itself fighting against its former friends of 1939, having already alienated them in the interval by including them in its stringent food blockade. And will the “arsenal of democracy,” whose President is authorized by the “lease-lend” law to defend any country whose welfare he deems advantageous to our own defense, soon ship military supplies to help the Soviet Union against the Finns, our best debtors? No wonder that by such a world pacifists are dubbed illogical.

Quaker contacts with Finland have been slight. In the 1740's a notable Finnish botanist, Pehr Kalm, met the Quakers in his travels in England and America. His full account, recently discovered and to be published, of attending a Friends meeting in Philadelphia, will be of interest to those who read this letter. But he was not converted to Quakerism, nor even drawn to it. He evidently talked botany and not religion with Peter Collinson and John Bartram. There is said to be one member of the Society in Finland today, who with a dozen friends of the Friends has been engaged characteristically in friendly assistance to the refugees at

Helsinki from Finland's former Karelia. The English Friends Ambulance Unit also was at work in Finland for a few weeks until the war engulfed Norway when the British withdrew. To speak in the plural of Finnish Quakers or of Quaker Finns would seemingly be erroneous.

There is, however, one episode of Quaker history connected with Finland, appropriate to the present situation and of credit to our Society. I narrated it not long ago at a public meeting in Oregon and had it confirmed from family tradition by a great-grandson of one of the Finnish beneficiaries. The story was celebrated in a poem called *The Conquest of Finland* by John Greenleaf Whittier, but it is worth repeating.

In spite of the vigorous efforts of British Friends to prevent hostilities between their own country and the Czar's, the so-called Crimean War broke out in 1854 with attacks by the British navy upon the coasts of Russia's most accessible province, which then was Finland. The defenseless peasants and fishermen suffered the loss of homes, stores, boats, nets, lumber, and other property. They were puzzled by this action, as they thought the British were their friends. The British and Foreign Bible Society had been very generous in supplying the Finns with copies of the scriptures in their own tongue, and here was the British fleet bent on their destruction. But war does not provide prompt explanation or reparation.

When the war ended in 1856 some English Friends recollected the initial attack upon the Finns. A delegation went to the scenes of destruction to see and hear firsthand what damage had been done, and to organize a local committee to distribute relief. When they returned they started under Joseph Sturge a subscription for the former sufferers, and some £9,000 was collected and distributed in accordance with their recommendation. How characteristic

the episode is of the spirit of modern Quakerism! One can easily imagine the satisfaction of those who could contribute to such a cause. Probably they neither thought much nor knew much about the results in Finland. The Quaker poet, however, has used his imagination in dialogue:

Out spake the ancient Amtman

At the gate of Helsingfors:

"Why comes this ship a-spying

In the track of England's wars?"

"Each wasted town and hamlet

She visits to restore;

To roof the shattered cabin,

And feed the starving poor.

"The sunken boats of fishers,

The foraged beeves and grain,

The spoil of flake and storehouse

The good ship brings again.

"And so to Finland's sorrow

The sweet amend is made,

As if the healing hand of Christ

Upon her wounds were laid!"

Then said the grey old Amtman,

"The will of God be done!

The battle lost by England's hate

By England's love is won!"

9

Quaker Stakes in Syria

As the Syrian campaign recedes from front-page headlines, Friends may well be reminded of some long-standing services that our Society has rendered to the natives of that area, beginning many years before they became the victims of Western power-politics in two world wars. I refer not to the

individual Friends who in the Lebanese capital of Beirut have shared, up to quite recent days, in the excellent educational work of the American University there or who have relieved the distress of Armenian refugees, but to three Friendly enterprises a little further inland in the Lebanon.

One center is Brummana with its high schools for boys and girls, its hospital, clinic, visiting nurses and doctors, manned and directed by English Friends. Started soon after a visit to Syria in 1867 by Eli and Sybil Jones, Friends from Maine, it was developed under an Anglo-American Syrian Mission Committee, then under the British FFMA and now under the Friends Service Council. The second center, lying as I recall at no lower level but on a different spur of the mountains, at Ras-el-Metn, is the orphanage established years ago by Daniel and Emily Oliver, still well known to Friends of both branches at Philadelphia and elsewhere. The third, at Asfuriyeh, midway between the other two and the city, is the Lebanon Hospital for Mental Diseases, initiated years ago by that venerable Quaker convert and veteran missionary, Theophilus Waldmeier. This well-appointed asylum remains almost, if not quite, the only institution of its kind in the Near East.

Neither space nor memory nor available printed information permit me to enlarge here upon the romantic history of these three quite different undertakings. Now we anxiously wait news of how they have weathered the tide of modern war and we hope they will survive for long future usefulness. None of them dates back to the earliest days of Quakerism, though all of them could find precedent in the early interests of Friends. For instance Theophilus Waldmeier was probably unaware of the references in George Fox's then unpublished original journal to three cases of "distracted" persons

who were cured, or to the sundry references in his lost Book of Miracles to the possessed, the troubled in mind, the moping, or the star gazing. I can recall hearing as a boy Theophilus Waldmeier describe how the poor maniacs in Bible lands were still regarded and treated as possessed with devils, just as they were in Bible times.

All three of these ventures for those whom the Prayer Book calls conveniently "afflicted in mind, body or estate" represent rather the response to contemporary needs of Nineteenth Century Friends and to the concern of individuals, including convinced Friends from Syria, Switzerland, Abyssinia, or Scotland. Compared with more recent collective, organized Quaker intervention in foreign lands, they may seem a good deal like "old fashioned," "evangelical" missionary work. But they demonstrate how such work can sometimes turn out to be practical Christianity in an up-to-date form, distinguished by scientific excellence and by high-grade statesmanship.

10

Apostles to Iceland

The current of current events flows so rapidly that even a weekly commentator could scarcely do justice to the events or places that come into the limelight. In these more intermittent letters next mention after Finland, and Syria, must be of Iceland.

The earliest Quaker movement promptly extended itself to nearly all inhabited lands on the North Atlantic. It can be definitely traced before 1658 in the four corners of Norway, Newfoundland, Surinam, and Lisbon. But Iceland does not seem to be included in records of Quaker travel at that time.

The omission was made good in the later

missionary efforts of Friends, though to this day no definite Meeting appears to have been established on that northern island. I shall mention three itinerant Quaker visitors, one of them English, one Norwegian, and one an Icelander.

Isaac Sharp of Middlesbrough near Darlington has been called by his biographer "an apostle of the Nineteenth Century." In 1861 he laid before London Yearly Meeting his concern for service in the Faroe Islands and Iceland, which was carried out in subsequent visits to these and other countries, including Greenland, Labrador, South Africa, Madagascar, Australia, India, Japan, and West China. His travels continued almost to his death in 1897. The late Henry T. Hodgkin wrote of him:

"His own special call was to itinerant service such as was rendered by the early Friends. . . . His unshaken courage and his remarkable experiences of divine leading have come as an inspiration to many a young life. The present writer well remembers, when a small boy, sitting spellbound for hours after Isaac Sharp's return from some long journey, while he recounted, with his keen sense of humour, the dangerous and exciting incidents of missionary life and travel. In him we have an illustration of what can be done by one man wholly devoted to the service of his Master. He was one in whom the missionary spirit of Quakerism seemed to be incarnate."

Companion and interpreter to Isaac Sharp in Iceland was Asbjorn Kloster of Stavanger. He was a product of the native Norwegian Quakerism that dates its foundation back to the attention shown by Friends to war prisoners in England during the Napoleonic war. Until his death in 1876 Kloster was the leading member of the Norwegian Yearly Meeting, an educated and able person. His chief claim to fame is as his country's out-

standing temperance reformer. A statue of him is (or was) to be seen in the public square at Stavanger, as the founder of the total abstinence movement in Norway.

In recent years Iceland has been visited summer after summer by the Quaker, Klemens Gudmundsson.* His narrative of house to house or farm to farm visitation is as remarkable as was that of Isaac Sharp. He is a unique phenomenon in our contemporary Society, and the effective promoter by the spoken and written word of our message to the Icelanders.

To many of them, as to many Friends, the unwilling loss of independence by this thousand-year-old republic is one of the bitter tragedies of the war. Perhaps this sympathy will lead to closer bonds between us and them and to a new concern on our part for that interesting people.

11

In French Prisons

In connection with the German expulsion of American consulates from occupied territory the public press has mentioned among other complaints one against a man named John Sutton, a Friend of Paris and an English subject. He was condemned to a long imprisonment for alleged anti-Nazi activity in connection with American officials in the French capital. This Friend had a wide acquaintance with American Friends in the days of the French reconstruction work when members of the *equipes* visited Hotel Britannique in Paris.

*An interesting article by Klemens Gudmundsson, "Peaceful Iceland," appeared in *The Friend*, London, May 24, 1940, and articles about him in the same, August 26, 1936, and August 27, 1937. He should be called an Icelander rather than a Dane or Scandinavian.

I have reflected that other Friends saw the inside of Paris prisons long ago. Without consulting Henri van Etten's history of French Quakerism I can recall some instances. Friends crossed with their messages to France as early as 1655. John Harwood was imprisoned in the Bastille in 1657. He was kept without books and ink; but was finally released. Whether he is the prisoner in the Bastille whose good treatment and good diet are mentioned by George Bishop in contrast to the New England treatment of the Quakers, I do not know. George Bayly, his companion, was also imprisoned in Paris at the same time, and died there, after severe sufferings.

There are references to other British Quaker visitors imprisoned in Northern France in the following years. William Salt was so punished at Morlaix for sending papers to the magistrates in 1658, and returned home many months later in an emaciated condition. William Dundas, a Scotsman, living in Dieppe, tells of his own visits to Rouen, Caen, etc., and of the deportation from Dieppe of two women who came over from England and distributed Friends' books translated into French.

Charles Bayly, who was imprisoned in "the common gaol in Burkdou" in Northern France in 1661, must have had a varied career and one of special interest to Americans. He is mentioned in 1657 as in Maryland. About 1660 he crossed France from Calais to Marseilles and went on thence to Leghorn and Rome, where John Perrot and John Love had been imprisoned in the Inquisition. The latter died, perhaps was hanged; but Perrot with the help apparently of Bayly was released, as was Jane Stokes, who had accompanied Bayly from Dover. They were condemned to perpetual galley slavery, if ever they returned to Rome. So they travelled across France on foot, and after the aforementioned imprisonment

Charles Bayly returned to England. His own account of these journeys seems to be little known, but it includes some vivid episodes, including a twenty-day fast undertaken to prove that John Love's death was not due to fasting as the Papists alleged, and his interception of the Pope himself in the streets of Rome.

I doubt whether Charles Bayly continued a good Friend. Certainly John Perrot and Jane Stokes were not acceptable persons to Friends. Nor do I know whether Charles was related to the George Bayly named above. He does appear, however, to be the same as the Charles Bayly who became the first resident governor of the Hudson Bay Company! In May, 1670, Charles II had granted the charter to a group called "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," for the ostensible purpose of finding the Northwest Passage, but actually to attempt to monopolize the fur trade with the Indians of Canada. Bayly went with the first expedition of three ships the next month and settled at Fort Rupert. For this last unexpected chapter in Quaker biography we must wait until a promised piece of research is completed.

Passing to early in the next century, I may mention one notable prisoner, Christopher Meidel. Born in Norway and educated for the ministry, after preaching for the Danish Lutheran Church in London and later for the Independents, he finally joined with Friends. The last we hear of him after various other trials and imprisonments in England or in Norway is a letter he wrote in August, in 1708, from prison in Paris. How he came into the hands of the police he does not say, but he describes his companions at the Grand Châtelet as a great many prisoners of several nations and qualities, and he expresses the wish to find employment toward subsistence.

Meidel's influence has remained through

his writings. A copy of his translation of Barclay's *Apology* into Danish, published long after his death, was instrumental in converting some Norwegian prisoners of war who, when released in 1814, returned to Norway to found the Quaker group which sent to America its earliest Norwegian immigrants and which still remains at Stavanger.

In more recent times no Friend has seen more of French prisons than our well-known contemporary Henri van Etten, already mentioned as the historian of French Quakerism. His knowledge fortunately is not that of a prisoner, but of a friendly visitor and a student and advocate of penal reform.

There are, of course, Friends in prison today in other countries than France. Unless "this war is different" from its predecessors, the prison experiences it brings to some of our members and to friends of the Friends will produce in our circles some new concerned students of penology as successors to Elizabeth Fry, John Howard, and Roy Calvert.

12

Quaker Wills

I have been reading lately a lot of Quaker wills, probably a hundred of them. They are not my usual type of reading material, and these are particularly remote as they are more than two hundred years old and they belong to a Quaker community in Barbados, now extinct, and located more than a thousand miles from any living Quakerism.

What were the distinctive marks of a Quaker testator? Not always do these wills disclose their denominational origin, yet often such telltale phrases as "the parish called St. Michael" or "the eleventh month called January" indicate the fact. The Friends seem

to have had an equal aversion to pagan gods and to Christian saints, and hence used the apologetic "called." In identifying Friends' wills from among those which fill long rows of great folio copy books these clues are helpful. Sometimes the burial instructions offer negative or positive evidence. No Friend expressed a desire to be buried in such and such a churchyard; he would be more likely to say "after the plain manner of my friends the people called Quakers."

Still clearer are the actual bequests to Quaker uses. In a considerable number of cases I believe such bequests are purposely obscured. I think there was a fear that the Church would appropriate what was intended for Friends, but I often recognize as members of the Society the two or three persons named as recipients of a sum of money "to be disposed of as they shall see fit"; or, "according to conversation had amongst us." But when a will mentions gifts to "the poor among the people called Quakers," "the women's meeting," or "the surgeons meeting," the destination is clear to us. The governor of the colony wrote home in 1681: "The Quakers . . . are often very rich and have such influence on one another that few die without bequeathing something to their faction and worship." By painstaking search for Quaker wills I can confirm this statement two hundred and sixty years afterward.

The social testimonies of Friends are not conspicuous in these wills. The writers were staunch pacifists and suffered for refusal of military service; that we know, but not from the wills. Nearly every will mentions slaves, for they are all earlier than the beginning of the Quaker conscience against slavery. As one reads the specific disposal of Sambo or Papaw or Mammy or Cato one recalls that a turning point in the life of John Woolman took place when he was acting as scrivener of such a will. One smiles today to read of

Negro slaves given by a Quaker father to each of his unmarried daughters, with the subsequent provision that "the negroes above given to such of my children that marry but not according to the manner of the people called Quakers shall be divided among my other children." After all, different times make different scruples.

If Quakerism is a way of life, is it also a way of dying? May we reverse the old proverb and say, "Where there's a way there's a will"? What should be the marks of a modern Friend's will? Then as now there was much legal convention. The old-time Friend who signed with his or her mark apparently often had little peculiar language to insist on in the wording of his last will. But many of the old wills impress me with their originality and vigor, and incidentally with the light they cast upon a lost chapter of Quaker history.

They may at least remind the modern Friend of the specific concerns of our Society which deserve our financial support through bequest. We may not begin our wills as did one of these our forbears: "Firstly, I do hereby publish and declare that I die in the Christian faith professed by the Lord's people called Quakers," but we may well find some equivalent to a later item in the same will: "Sixthly, I do give and bequeath unto the Windward Meeting of my friends the people called Quakers the sum of ten pounds current money of the island for the use and service of the said meeting."

13

Semiannual Sessions

So familiar, so ancient, and so universal in Quakerism is the hierarchy of meetings—monthly, quarterly and yearly—that the "ad-journed joint Yearly Meeting" in Philadel-

phia this autumn seems like a radical innovation. Of course the time was when there was only one Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and when that met regularly in the autumn. The change to the spring, which must have seemed inconvenient to farmers, is said to have been dictated by the repeated autumnal epidemic of yellow fever. That dread plague visited the community just at this season, much as infantile paralysis was to later, only with much more serious effect.

Conservative persons may be cheered to know that there are good precedents for Friends to observe other intervals than the standard three. For each a half unit is known. In London were held Two-Weeks Meetings in the early days. So also between the quarters were the so-called Six-Weeks Meetings, not only in London but in Barbados and elsewhere. For the semiannual unit several examples can be cited from our history. Fishing Creek, a small isolated part of our own Yearly Meeting, unable I suppose to meet more often, formed what was called a Half Year Meeting. Friends in Maryland living on two sides of Chesapeake Bay had two Half Yearly Meetings, which met alternately. That was before there was any Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at all. Irish Friends, also, with their usual self-conscious independence, long called their general gatherings either a "National" or a "Half Yearly" Meeting. The present Genesee Yearly Meeting in Canada was preceded by two aggregations of Monthly Meetings that were called Half Year's Meetings.

Perhaps more like the present occasion in purpose was another semiannual gathering at Philadelphia or Burlington in the early days. It was "select" in the Quaker sense of the term. At first it was only for ministers. After 1710 it included elders. The sessions were called the Yearly Meeting of "publique" Friends, and the General Spring Meeting. It jealously watched the printed and spoken

messages of the Society. Its early minutes beginning in First Month (March), 1687, contain much information not otherwise available and should be commended to the historian and antiquary.

The monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings with their expanding geographical coverage will probably remain our staple organization. Their long-standing serviceableness bears witness to the skill with which the founding fathers provided for the structural needs of the Society. In giving this tribute to that system we may nevertheless welcome the present innovation. It is a mark of flexibility in the outer features of our life. May it be accompanied by more significant inner renewal and by awareness of the unprecedented spiritual needs of our time.

14

Lost Minutes

This letter, in spite of its caption, is not a homily upon the shortness of life, nor an exhortation to "redeem the time." It has to do with the missing written records of Friends' Meetings. Some of these are known to have been destroyed, but others either are known to be in private hands, or have disappeared at least temporarily.

That minutes are not private property must be obvious to every Friend, and when descendants of Friends take the minutes that have come down to them and keep them, it is much the same as when a certain Friend sold an old meeting house property and pocketed the proceeds, having made himself the sole heir by disowning the rest of the Meeting membership. But this principle of inalienable ownership of records by the corporate group of Friends is not easily instilled in the minds of members or heirs. Still less is it obvious to dealers to whom any piece of

old writing is considered of potential money value.

Fortunately most Friends' minutes are already in official Quaker custody and others are being slowly gathered in. A few central archives on our eastern seaboard, at Providence, New York, Swarthmore, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Guilford, with designated custodians, control most of the oldest of these irreplaceable records in reasonably satisfactory archives. Some smaller collections are not well housed. For example, several New England records are kept in a farmer's outbuilding. Not all custodians know all that they should about their records and their care. I recall one who showed me some minutes he had of a Meeting that he could not fit into any of the Quarterly Meetings represented in his collection. It was finally disclosed to him that they belonged to a Meeting on the other side of the Atlantic. This is like the story of the mother of a large family who was persuaded one evening to go out to an entertainment and leave her husband to put the children to bed. When she came home he reported he had put them all readily to bed except one, who offered some resistance. When shown the recalcitrant child, now asleep, the mother replied, "But that isn't our child."

The finding of lost minutes is a joy. Sometimes it is done by looking for them. The best instance of that was when William I. Hull some years ago insisted on looking for the long-lost records of Friesland Monthly Meeting in Holland exactly where they ought to be. Though assured they were not in the archives, he found them. But where shall we look for the minutes of Friends in Barbados? That a Philadelphia Friend saw them in the island in 1785 is no real help to us now.

More often minutes turn up unsought. I have had in my hands lately an original minute book of Perquimans Monthly Meet-

ing, on its way from a secondhand book store in Vermont to the rightful custodians in North Carolina. It covers the first three decades of the eighteenth century. What its recent history has been I do not know and I ask no questions. It certainly has had a history. It lacks the covers and many of its leaves, and those that remain have irregular bits worn or chewed off from the outside edges. A book from the same Monthly Meeting for a slightly later period was found in an abandoned house in Perquimans County in 1936 just in time to be included in the right volume of W. W. Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia*. This one turns up too late, and in distant New York or New England.

This old book is a slight thing and hard to read. Its many marriage certificates will delight the genealogist, but I have enjoyed it for other features. It is at least a change of diet from the Quaker wills which I reported on a few weeks ago. What a care over the flock it shows on the part of those pioneers!

Its first minute, dated 1702, has a warning against the marriage of widows or widowers within less than a year of "the decease of each widower's former wife or widow's former husband." (That was neatly expressed, wasn't it?) The plans for building a meeting house are mentioned soon after, 25 feet by 17-1/2, "with a good plank floor and a chimney at one end." The committee, the contract, the contributions, and the payments are all mentioned, until we read that the meeting is held "in the new meeting house."

Of course there are many disputes to be settled, many "outgoings" to be apologized for in writing, and in some cases testimonies of disownment to be "set up at court." I am impressed with the close connection felt with England, while there is, I think, no reference to any other part of America. In 1706, as near as I can read, the meeting sends home to the Lords Proprietors a com-

plaint about the government, though a year before the meeting acknowledges in flowery language the favors of Queen Anne. An interesting set of twelve advices follows immediately this last entry. I think it is original in wording, though it includes familiar subjects, like the excessive use of tobacco and of liquor—as one penitent describes it, "drinking more liquor than my body could bear."

There is nothing really unusual or unique about these tattered pages, yet I prophesy there will be more joy at Guilford in the presence of archivists and antiquarians over that volume than over ninety and nine minute books which went not astray.

15

Atlantic Raiders

I have often thought that someone ought to make a full collection of early Quaker adventures. I refer not merely to the famous episodes of our history or to our recent experiences. Of the former, a new selection for children has been published; of the latter, we have books with the word adventure in the title, by Edward Thomas and by Ruth Fry. There are many less known episodes of the past, and a book of them would appeal not only to children. For headings of the main divisions one could almost use the famous list of the Apostle Paul: "perils of rivers, perils of robbers, perils in the city, perils in the wilderness, perils in the sea," etc.

Take the last-named series. Having travelled a good deal myself on several parts of the Atlantic lately—eight journeys within eight months—I naturally read with special interest the sea journals of some of the ancient worthies. Aside from the danger of storms, there was in those days always the

danger of capture. In wartime there were enemy privateers lurking in obscure places, and even in peace the Barbary pirates plied their nefarious trade. A grim testimony to their place in Quaker experience is the pamphlet "Account of the Slavery of Friends in the Barbary States." The prisoners were kept sometimes fifteen or twenty years, and apparently more were convinced during captivity than were Friends when captured. They had meetings for worship at Mequinez or Algiers, just as Friends imprisoned more recently as Conscientious Objectors or as German aliens have held meetings where they were interned. George Fox was pleased to point out to the Christian authorities in England that Friends enjoyed more liberty to worship as they pleased from the heathen Turks than from them.

Threatened by such a fate, sea voyages, never too comfortable then, were doubly harrowing. Then, as today, any ship on the horizon might be an enemy. Rumor would be rife among passengers and crew, and stories of capture or escape would be equally thrilling. Modern tales, whether truth or fiction, have no qualities of adventure not matched in the first age of Quakerism.

An episode of George Fox's voyage to America, reported to us by himself in more than one record and by at least two of his companions on the *Industry*, is typical—and topical. In latitude 36 degrees, 20 minutes, on September 7, 1671, about four in the afternoon, they espied a vessel four leagues to the stern that seemed to give them chase. To prevent her, they altered their course; but the ship came within a mile and a half of them by eleven o'clock. Then, when the moon set, they altered their course several times till break of day and so saw no sight of her. The mariners conjectured from her sails that she was a Saltee man-of-war standing off the Azores Islands. A report from a later vessel when they finally came ashore con-

firmed their suspicions, though the sailors tried when once out of danger to make light of the episode and "to slight the mercies of God," as George Fox told them.

George Fox's own participation in the affair is full of interest. Through a porthole he watched the strange ship in the moonlight. His advice was asked, though he told them he was "no seaman." Confident that they would escape, he advised the captain finally to tack about and steer their right course, though he added that they should put out all the candles except the one they steered by, and should speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet. Next time I find myself sailing a zigzag course in a blackout I shall remember this episode in the life of George Fox.

The presence of such privateers and pirates in the Atlantic raised for Friends acute problems; not so much, however, when they were travelling in other men's ships; for strangely enough they did not always avoid travelling in armed vessels. John Taylor, for example, a good Friend and a sufferer for his pacifist principles, tells of travelling more than once in a man-of-war with various other Friends. In a later voyage from Boston to the West Indies the ship in which he travelled was captured by a Dutch "caper," or privateer, and he was carried to Martinique, where he found some other Friends who had been captured by another privateer; whence he was allowed to proceed by way of Hamburg and Rotterdam to Barbados! I mention this not as being a retribution, but merely another example of the vicissitudes of Quaker travellers.

It was the Quaker sea captains—and there were many of them—who had the problem so familiar to us of whether to equip merchant ships with guns. Pressure to arm came not so much from their own fear, but from that of their seamen, and even of other ship owners. The official and decisive judgment

of Friends was, like the attitude of President Coolidge's pastor toward sin, "agin it." Some were disowned for not conforming; but many trusted in the Lord and prospered though unarmed.

A somewhat different policy was pursued by some shipmasters, though probably not by Friends, which gave rise to an interesting use of the word Quaker. The arming of ships, then as now, was expected to scare off quite as many attacks as it would fight off. Accordingly it was found more economical, instead of installing real guns on deck, to substitute wooden guns. These bristling dummies would no more actually fight than would a good Quaker, and they were regularly called "Quaker guns." Perhaps we do not cherish such a use of our name, even for such peaceful duds; but it is a witness to the public acceptance of the reality of our peace testimony, much as I suppose "Old Quaker Whiskey" is a witness to our supposed excellence and purity. I haven't heard that the wooden bombers which lie like decoys about England in make-believe airports or the imitation guns on her beaches have been called Quaker yet; but, the name could easily be extended by the same principle.

16

Hindsight, Insight, Foresight

Pacifism has never been maintained by Friends on purely political grounds, least of all so in wartime. It is for them essentially an attitude of religious faith and moral conviction. Therefore the actual beginning of hostilities affects them less than it does others. They do not quickly approve what they lately condemned. The fact that their country is at war they cannot deny, but they do not assume what to others appears equally

axiomatic and realistic, that therefore their country is justified in being at war. The initial circumstances of the conflict, as officially interpreted, never cancel for them the long prior shared guilt, the real "occasion of war." That was a suggestive statement made by Lord Lothian in 1938: "If another war comes and the history of it is written, the dispassionate historian a hundred years hence will not say that Germany alone was responsible for it, even if she strikes the first blow." Accordingly, Friends, as distinct from isolationists and "politicals," tend to continue during war a religious testimony against it.

Friends have naturally been aware of the many confirmations with which common sense, and even purely practical policy, buttress their objection to war. It was once said of John Bright that, although as a Friend he opposed war on religious grounds, as a statesman he always argued against it on a "white book" basis. I think it may be worth while to remind ourselves of these supplementary considerations at a time when they are of particular value but also of particular difficulty to cling to. I refer to the causes of war, the course of war, and the consequences of war, and to the need for hindsight, insight, and foresight.

In 1936 President Roosevelt, speaking of the first World War, with its unfortunate and avoidable causes, referred to "the wisdom which is so easy after the event and so difficult before the event." It may be said that most wars in retrospect seem unfortunate, unnecessary, and futile. Not always does this well-deserved disillusionment come so widely and so quickly as it did after 1918, but it has happened often enough to establish a kind of principle. It was John Bright himself who, looking back over British wars since the time of William the Third, said: "Wars are always supported by a class of arguments which after the war is over people

find were arguments they should not have listened to." Probably Friends have always been aware of this postwar debunking of wars and it has helped keep them true to their principles, when others were assuming that, at least in the present case, a war was justified. There are people who can always disapprove the last war and the next one, but not the present one. Professor James wisely describes the drunkard not as one who means to be a drunkard, but as the man who will take just one more last drink. The pacifism of the early Friends began in part with disillusionment over the Cromwellian government whose early ideals had once secured their support. This general consideration based on wider experience with war has been a continuing factor in our Society's thinking, even amid the hysteria and emotion of actual war.

More difficult is the task of forming a contemporary judgment about the origin and course of a present war. During the war, many facts exist that tend to justify the pacifist's attitude, but they are often withheld or are overshadowed by the prevailing prejudice. Later historians or novelists can record them, but at the time the pacifist has no real knowledge of them. This was true of American Friends both in the Revolutionary War and in the Civil War. I am often surprised how in the former World War the pacifists kept their faith. No more than others were they aware then of the things we now know. They had no factual evidence against the prevailing theories and interpretations of their warlike countrymen. They did not know that Germany was not primarily to blame in 1914, they could not then disprove the atrocity stories that were later discredited, they were not aware of the secret treaties which were later revealed, nor of the lost opportunities for a reasonable negotiated peace that might have avoided both the continuance of the war and the

worse inequities of Versailles. None of these things the pacifists of 1914-18 knew, but they had a dim insight into the probabilities that some such things were true, and they had to justify their position to themselves by such correct instincts in spite of the absence of supporting evidence. The present day pacifist, prevented from knowing much of the evidence that would support his views, again has to walk by faith more than by sight. He cannot deny the facts on which his neighbors base their moral judgments, nor can he adduce all the data that would look the other way, though enough is known to him to assure him that there is another side. I can recall a few little items available even before the last war was over, and we can sense some such things today. For the full facts we must patiently wait until they say, "Now it can be told."

Finally, the outcome of war is never more than guessed by the pacifist. Little though he shares the reliance of his contemporaries that their side will win, and that if they do win all will be well, he cannot disprove their optimism. I can recall now the Utopian assurance with which the victory of 1918 was hailed when it came and I cannot now explain why it left me cold. Somehow I must have sensed that all was not to be well. I definitely predicted that a peace made in the spirit of those days could not be lasting. I did not know this by any prophetic clairvoyance; it seemed to me somehow involved in the moral order of the universe. No more than others did I know then that the real victors of the war were not the war lords—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando—but three unknown figures, Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler.

Only long after "the tumult and the shouting dies, the captains and the kings depart" does the real result of the victory appear in its stark futility. But the pacifist by a kind of foresight acts and thinks as though he actually foresaw.

George Fox After 250 Years

Perhaps others share my regret that the year 1941 has been allowed to slip by with so little recognition of an event in Quaker history for which it marked the two hundred fiftieth anniversary, the death of George Fox. It is not that the exact century with its multiples or divisors is so important, but numerical anniversaries do provide an opportunity for instruction from the past for the present. The tercentenary of George Fox's birth in 1624 was much more widely noticed—by meetings, articles and even books appropriate to the occasion. I am regretful that we have not used the year just past to revive some memories of the founder.

It has not been an easy year for Friends in any of the countries where they find themselves. The present has been absorbing, and, so far as Friends have met worthily its demands, one will not criticize their neglect of the past. Yet there is something about George Fox that would justify our applying to him the words applied to his contemporary by the poet:

Milton, thou shouldst be living at this hour;

England hath need of thee.

The world in which we live seems to represent the eclipse of so many things for which George Fox stood—an eclipse that is shared by those who are most active in deploring it in others. Just as in his day, the "professors" criticize our viewpoint for its "perfectionism." They ridicule our attempt to appeal to that of God in others. And in their disavowal of violence they rely on violence. Early Quakerism was consistent in

opposing both war and religious persecution. We are witnessing today the revival of both evils in close association.

I am not assuming that more attention to George Fox in recent months would have led to any important new discoveries about him. His teaching and personality are already reasonably well known and understood. We are quite fortunate in our sources of information about him, both primary and secondary. For over half of his public life we have his own *Journal* as he dictated it. We have hundreds of his pamphlets, hundreds of his letters, and many other memoranda. We have from one of the ablest and most competent of his followers, William Penn, a well-considered character sketch. But one of the various kinds of biographical material, and that one of the most important for many historical personages, is almost entirely lacking in the case of George Fox—the anecdotes of others about him. In spite of this, Neave Brayshaw's *Personality of George Fox* shows how intimately we can produce the man after two hundred and fifty years.

There are two things that I would like to mention as worth further study and consideration. One is his power to elicit affection and loyalty. Himself never indulging in anything sentimental as far as I can discover, he was able nevertheless to command in others a generally wholesome sense of fellowship. More impressive than the extravagant adulations of his correspondents in the early days—passages which with his own hand he has regularly crossed out in the original letters—are the recurrent and lasting expressions of affection in his later years and after his death by his long-time associates and even by less close acquaintances. Far beyond the number of his personal converts was the feeling of individual debt to him on the part of thousands of Friends.

Akin to this is George Fox's relation to Quakerism as a movement. In these days

when the relations of individuals and society are a matter of more than ideological debate, the type of leadership that George Fox provided deserves some careful analysis. His capacity to transmute personal loyalty into something more lasting and more significant might well arouse the envy of otherwise greater men. This phenomenon is noted by two New Englanders in expressions which I may quote for their unanimity of emphasis in spite of their difference of sympathy. One of the famous Mathers, probably Mather Byles, wrote in a copy of George Fox's *Battle-Dore* that belonged to him: "Strange that so empty and ignorant a person should be the father of so large a sect as that of the Quakers." A later and more appreciative comment is that of the philosopher R. W. Emerson: "An institution is the lengthened shadow of a man, as . . . Quakerism of Fox."

In a striking way George Fox suggests that individual lives can be built into a lasting fabric, and that such service is worth more than much that seems to secure more personal recognition. There is no record that George Fox ever held any office or appointment in any Friends' Meeting. His name occurs in no list of officers or appointees. We know further that the agreement of viewpoint among early Quaker leaders was largely spontaneous. But George Fox exercised undoubted leadership. How he did so without dictation is the problem I would commend for our study. The question reminds me of another one that I was asked lately by a student of religious history: How does it happen that the Society of Friends which makes the least demand for credal uniformity and has the least ecclesiastical machinery for standardization has produced the most distinctive type of any Protestant sect?

18

A Quaker M. P. on the War

Were I asked to select the most notable Quaker utterance in 1941 I would choose the speech delivered in the House of Commons on November 25th by Dr. Alfred Salter. In a year during which three great nations—Russia, Japan, and the United States—were added to the belligerents, one rejoices to know that in one of the world's parliaments one man's voice was raised "to oppose the present war and everything connected with it", and to implore his government "to seize the first opportunity for peace." That man was a member of the Society of Friends who for nearly all the last two decades has represented Bermondsey (West) in Parliament.

Probably other readers of these pages have read the full speech and have recognized in it something of the fearlessness and vigor which we like to associate with the best and oldest Quaker tradition. To be sure, Friends did not sit in Parliament before 1833. But in the century since John Bright entered public life, Bright himself most of all and others since him have established something of a tradition. I do not recall that even John Bright spoke so strongly at a time when England was actually engaged in war. He condemned war eloquently both in prospect and in retrospect; but here is a man who after two years of deadly conflict and mortal danger dares to urge his country to make peace without victory.

It has been said of John Bright that he always argued for peace on practical grounds. That is true, though he admitted the influence of his religious training and did not hesitate to appeal to the Christian and

humanitarian sentiment of the nation. Dr. Salter, speaking for only seven or eight in the House of Commons "who are resolutely opposed to all war for any purpose whatsoever, and [whose] opposition is based primarily on religious grounds," claimed nevertheless to speak for at least two million persons in Great Britain sharing these views, and he ventured to appeal on religious and moral grounds exclusively.

American pacifists who have painfully watched in recent weeks the behavior of our ex-isolationists in Congress have reason to ask why in a time like this there is not one member of that diverse and representative body to speak such words as these of Dr. Salter:

"For centuries the Churches have sought to harmonize the Christian command, 'Love one another,' with the nationalist slogan, 'Kill one another.' If you fully accept Christ and his gospel, the two positions are wholly incompatible.

"No one dare assert that Jesus Christ would have accepted the latter suggestion. His whole message was that any creed, however brutal and bestial, could only be overcome and finally eradicated by spiritual weapons and never by destroying men, women and children indiscriminately. His teaching was to meet evil with good and hatred by love and sympathy.

"I believe that it is my duty to proclaim my testimony against all war, whatever the bishops, the archbishops and the Free Church leaders may say to the contrary. I am thankful that my own religious body, the Society of Friends, of which I am a humble member, has spoken officially and with no uncertain voice about the wholesale slaughter which is going on.

"I can take no notice of the Church leaders, who declare in one voice that all war is opposed to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ, and in another talk war, preach war,

and pray for victory in the war. They are doubtless perfectly sincere and honest, but I am convinced that they are mistaken. There will be no spiritual revival in this country, no forward movement in religion, until the leaders have abandoned this betrayal of Christ and until they have repented of their apostasy. . . .

"A suffering and defenceless Christ went out to Calvary, though he could have called down legions of angels to defend him. Christ went unresistingly to Calvary, and it may be that we may have to undergo martyrdom first. But I have the faith that in the end the Kingdom of God will come, but it will not be as a consequence of this war. God will triumph, but not in the way the Allied Governments imagine."

19

Opposing a War in Wartime

In my last letter I compared the anti-war speech in Parliament of a contemporary Friend, Dr. Alfred Salter, with the similar utterances of John Bright. The latter deserve some further treatment here to remind us of our Quaker tradition. One cannot claim that Friends have had any monopoly in outspoken objection to a war in progress. Abraham Lincoln opposed the Mexican War, Charles Eliot Norton opposed the Spanish-American War, David Lloyd George opposed the Boer War—and there are many other instances.

John Bright's opposition is best illustrated by his behavior during the Crimean War of 1854-56. His biographer, G. M. Trevelyan, writes of this episode: "To attack the justice and wisdom of a popular war while it is still in progress requires more courage than any other act in a political society that has outgrown the assassin's dagger and the ex-

ecutioner's block. And it requires not only most courage but most power and skill. To perform it well is not only the rarest but one of the most valuable of public services, because to arraign an unjust and unwise war is the only way to prevent another." In such a time, he writes further, is seen the stuff of which a man is made. "He may stifle his conscience and take the popular side; or he may retire for a while from public life; or he may find courage to face the mob by lashing himself into a frenzy of impotent rage, saying everything that will sting, and scorning to say anything that might persuade. But if he aspires to preserve his dignity, both to himself and to the world, if he hopes to emerge when the times change with reputation and influence increased, if at the height of his unpopularity he would fain say words that shall impinge even on the heated brains of the angry multitude, and leave there an impress that shall be permanent when passion has cooled, then he should take for his example the conduct and speeches of John Bright during the Crimean War."

John Bright opposed the war before it began; he denounced the policies and forces that were leading his country into it. But he did not stop even after hostilities had begun. The first of his great Crimean speeches in Parliament was made two days after war was declared. A second speech, nine months later, concluded with words like these:

"I am not, nor did I ever pretend to be, a statesman. . . . I am a plain and simple citizen, sent here by one of the foremost constituencies of the Empire, representing feebly, perhaps but honestly, I dare aver, the opinions of very many, and the true interests of all those who have sent me here. Let it not be said that I am alone in my condemnation of this war, and of this incapable and guilty Administration. And even if I were alone, if mine were a solitary voice, raised amid the din of arms and the clamours of a

venal press, I should have the consolation . . . that no word of mine has tended to promote the squandering of my country's treasure or the spilling of one single drop of my country's blood."

The most famous of his speeches occurred two months later. It was a reasoned appeal for a negotiated peace, without waiting for a face-saving victory that might cost an additional amount of unnecessary loss. It was already clear to many in England that they were allied with one nation that they should have been opposed to, and that sweeping victory was undesirable if not impossible. The speech of Bright is famous for his appeal to the universal fear of casualties to be reported in the news from the East. "The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the beating of his wings." But its eloquence and its argument would never have been effective had it not been for the moral integrity of the speaker, and the essential truth of his pacific policy. It is reported that as he left the House, Disraeli said to him, "Bright, I would give all that I ever had to have made that speech you made just now," and Bright replied, "Well, you might have made it if you had been honest."

20

Kind Offices to New Settlers

Recent years have seen large wholesale movements of population, and in some of them Friends have played a useful rôle in helping new settlers to settle. Whether we call these shifts by one name or another (and we are expert in altering the name and its connotation), these transfers are bound to be harsh and difficult. It may be Negro freedmen or fugitives travelling to "free" soil by "underground railroad;" or French civil-

ians fleeing from the no man's land of the Marne or Seine; or Polish and Russian peasants driven far behind the Eastern Front; or unemployed coal miners resettled in homesteads like Penncraft; or Spanish internees in Southern French concentration camps; or German refugees to France, England, or America; or blitzed English urbanites evacuated to safer areas; or Japanese-born Americans driven inland under what we euphemistically call "relocation" authority—these and other great groups of pilgrims have met the sympathy of some devoted friends who were Friends.

Such movements, voluntary or involuntary, are nothing new in history. Two focal points in the Old Testament are called the Exodus and the Exile, and they represent much the same kind of experiences as the modern ones, either in flight from tyranny and persecution, or in the forcible transplanting of conquered peoples within a growing empire. Even willing colonists or immigrants have often been numerous. Movements similar to these are likely to take place on an even greater scale in the future. Only this week I read a proposal that the only safe thing to do with Germany when it is beaten is to scatter its people so thoroughly that no strong nucleus can be found anywhere. Even without such fantastic and vengeful policies, the future may well offer Friends further opportunities in this kind of ministration.

Two letters that have lately come to my attention show how appropriate to our history is this service. One was written this summer by a young Japanese woman from her place of detainment in the West, who says that her experience in a Quaker service camp was the best possible spiritual preparation for the then unanticipated distress she is now undergoing. The other is a quaint and reluctant testimonial in the report by the Royal Governor of North Carolina, one Cap-

tain Barrington, sent to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in England in 1733. He says: "The Quakers in this Government are considerable for their numbers and substance, the regularity of their lives, hospitality to strangers, and kind offices to new settlers, inducing many to be of their persuasion."*

"Kind offices to new settlers"—that is a critic's phrasing of a classic Quaker service. The Royal Governor complained of its proselyting effect. Probably some modern beneficiaries will be drawn to us in like manner. I heard more than one Friend comment last Christmas on how large a proportion of the Christmas cards that he received were from European refugees to this country. There is a story out of another chapter of emigration to America of an Irishman who settled in Eastern Pennsylvania and later applied for membership in the local Meeting of Friends, because, as he put it, "they are a God-fearing and money-making people and I want to be one of them." But neither gratitude nor other embarrassing results ought to deter us from practicing more extensively such "kind offices" in a world that desperately needs "friends indeed."

Besides the literal refugee who is physically transplanted, nearly all men are in our generation spiritually and figuratively pilgrims and aliens. "Humanity," said Jan Smuts during the last war, "has struck its tents and is on the march." The future will be for all men a strange and unfamiliar land. Ought we not as Friends to be doing all we can to meet this larger refugee problem of adjustment of peoples who, though geographically no migrants, are to pass through revolutionary changes of environment and viewpoint? To do so we must first adjust ourselves and prepare ourselves in advance to feel at home in order that we may be of help to others.

*North Carolina Colonial Records, III, 430.

Putting Quakerism on the Map

The text of the last letter was taken from a report of a colonial governor of Carolina to the Lords of Trade and Plantations. A report to the same body from another governor was brought to my recollection this week when I read in the papers that an Axis submarine had entered Carlisle Bay, Barbados, and fired some torpedoes, and that the shore batteries had replied. There have always been military defenses on that excellent harbor. In 1680 Governor Atkins of Barbados, in response to an order from London, sent to the Lords of Trade and Plantations a map of the colony which he governed with the following statement about it:

"I have at last procured a Chart of the Island but I cannot commend it much. It cost the fellow a good sum of money to get it perfected, for he was forced to send it for England, but that it is true in all particulars I cannot assume. There is none that ever undertook it here except himself. He is a Quaker, as your Lordships may perceive by his not mentioning the Churches nor expressing the fortifications, of both of which they make much scruple."

While the actual map sent is not preserved in the Colonial State Papers, other copies of it confirm and supplement the description given. The numerous forts are all missing and the word "church" nowhere occurs, thus indicating the Quaker scruples of the cartographer. The name of "the fellow" can also be supplied; it was Richard Ford, Surveyor. One other feature of the map may be noticed—one wonders whether the Governor or their Lordships noticed it too—the conspicuous indication of no less

than five Friends Meeting Houses, with the abbreviation "Q. M. H."

Coming down to more recent times, most of us are familiar with maps that show the Quaker landmarks. At conferences or at Yearly Meetings we have seen our centers, our meeting houses, our relief offices, our schools, indicated by colored pinheads on display maps. About a hundred years ago several Yearly Meetings had published handbooks that gave the data about each of their meetings and usually included a folding map. Probably many readers have wished for some modern edition of these maps, and indeed for the Philadelphia area such a map is now available. But there is a figurative sense in which Quakerism needs to be "put on the map." The positive expression of its ideals in life is more important than the conscientious omission of steeple houses and military forts or the inclusion of its meeting houses on a geographical chart.

Quaker as Place Name

A recent journey that took me by way of Quaker Bridge, N. J., and Quaker Street, N. Y., and home by Quaker Springs, N. Y., has suggested a further method of getting Quakerism on the map, namely, its inclusion in place names. Such names are not rare in the United States. The latest Postal Guide has eight of them, including Quakertown (in Pennsylvania and New Jersey) and even the simple Quaker (in West Virginia and Missouri). Fifty years ago there were nearly twice as many such post offices, including a Quaker Gap in North Carolina and a Quaker Farms in Connecticut. Other places too small for a post office still bear the name, like Quaker District in Massachusetts, and Quaker Hill in Indiana and New York as well

as in Connecticut, and Quaker Neck in Salem County, N. J. I have lately read an article by the State Historian of New York on the four places in that state which have the word Quaker in their name. No doubt it often indicates a historical connection, and in some instances meeting houses and living Meetings perpetuate the connection. But in other cases the Quaker connection, if any, is entirely forgotten. There is a collection of Negro shacks in Barbados known as "the Quakers." It is at the site of one of the old meeting houses there, but few of the local residents, even of the "longest livers," as they call them, have any idea of what the word means. If the *Gazeteers* may be trusted, the British Isles show fewer Quaker place names, an indication perhaps that the rise of Quakerism did not precede the settlement of the old world as it preceded the settlement of America. But they increase the variety with a Quakers Yard (Wales) and a Quaker's Island (Ireland).

Streets as well as places sometimes bear the Quaker name. London's Quaker Street is appropriately at Spitalfields. Whittier, California, has an unusual assortment of street names of Quaker connection, but perhaps no Quaker Street; while Winter Park, Florida, has at least on the city plan a Quaker Street for whose name no reason is forthcoming. Quaker Lane, Boston, has lately been placed on the city map in recognition of the Friends Meeting House that once stood on Congress Square; but what is the origin of Friend Street in the same city and in other cities? Does France still commemorate our rebuilding there in 1920 with a Cité des Amis? And is there not a Kwakerlaan in Amsterdam?

Those of us who dislike the prominence of "Quaker" in commercial advertising of spirituous liquors will take little offense at such names, and none of them are conspic-

uous places, unless it be Quaker City as a nickname for Philadelphia. Only Ohio has an officially recognized "Quaker City." Nor can others accuse Friends of self-display like the wicked persons whom the Psalmist condemns because "they call their lands after their own names." Probably in every instance the name has been given by others, as until recently Friends themselves avoided the word Quaker. It is, however, a picturesque and striking word and its modest perpetuation on the maps of America is not to be regretted.

23

Some Woolman Items

Authors often have the experience that almost immediately after they publish a book important new information on the subject comes to light. Janet Whitney's charming life of John Woolman may not have just that experience, but certainly it lends greater interest to every minor new discovery that throws light on her hero.

Her book has started me to puzzling once more about a quite minor matter on which, with help from various quarters, I have come to a tentative solution. Among the books which Woolman owned and which he recorded as having lent to others is one called *Desiderius*. I have never been satisfied that this stood for Desiderius Erasmus, the famous humanist, partly because the name seemed to me inadequate, and partly because the writings of Erasmus did not seem to be likely to appeal to Woolman. Lately I have come upon an obscure little book published in England in 1717 that seems to me likely to answer the problem. Its title read *Desiderius, or the Original Pilgrim*. Its translator was one Laurence Howell. Its style

is in dialogue form, Desiderius (Spanish *El Desseoso*) being one of the characters; and its theme is of the kind once popular in pious circles and best known to us in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. The work was originally published in Catalan at Barcelona in 1515 and later in Latin (three versions), Spanish (Castilian), Italian, French, Dutch, and German. An Irish translation in 1616 was reprinted in 1941! The work is anonymous but its author was certainly a Spanish Catholic mystic, probably a priest of the Order of Saint Jerome. Its devotional character exactly suits the taste of John Woolman, as is shown by such alternative titles as *The Mirror of Saints*, *The Treasure of Devotion*, or *The Compendious Way to Salvation*, and by its emphasis on divine love. If the identification is correct, we have a new evidence of the unsuspected influence of Roman Catholic mystics upon Quakerism in the quietistic period.

As for John Woolman's own writings, I have lately seen three brief autobiographical scraps in his own hand. Two of them exactly fill gaps noted by Amelia Gummere as existing in the earlier manuscripts of the *Journal*. The third is from an account of his visit to an Indian chief. More recently there has come from England an enthusiastic letter rehearsing the discovery there of what is believed to be the original draft of his sea journal in which he entered his daily observations during the voyage to England in 1772. It is the very copy which he committed to the care of his host in London, John Townsend.

We Friends are, I trust, no worshippers of relics, but every experience one has of comparing original manuscripts with printed Quaker journals, or even with other manuscript copies, leads one to anticipate finding perhaps slight but significant variations in wording. At least these recent finds whet the

appetite for more information about Woolman. Meanwhile I know there are in existence several of his letters that have never been published.

24

Quaker Longevity— Personal and Periodical

Like others who glance at the death notices in the Friends papers I am often impressed with the long lives of the deceased. Sometimes the ages of all persons noticed in this department in a single issue will average over seventy or even over eighty years. Of course the listings are not complete, and yet even complete vital statistics compiled from Quaker records in the past have shown in the case of Friends what seems to the life insurance companies—except when speaking about annuities—a “favorable risk.” As others have told us how much better than average chances a Friend has of being elected Fellow of the Royal Society in England or of making the pages of *Who's Who in America*, so some enterprising actuary could calculate the better expectation of longevity that exists in belonging to our Society.

More important than the advanced age at which Friends die, and more pleasant to mention, is the advanced age to which they live. Fortunately one can think of many who at three score and ten, or even at four score, do not confirm the psalmist's gloomy description, “Yet is their strength labor and sorrow.” I think, for example, of our octogenarian in New York City, who to emphasize his verdant youth still insists on appending to his name “Junior.” I understand that “the most influential Friend now living” is due to

celebrate his eightieth birthday next month unless he is too busy to do so. But "time is not life," as the Friend just mentioned has frequently reminded us by the illustration of Methuselah, and length of days should be measured by the quality of life rather than by the number of years.

Perhaps more remarkable than any individual feats of patriarchal longevity is a persistence to be observed in another field of Quakerism, our Quaker newspapers. Since these celebrate their birthdays generally with the calendar year, now is a suitable time to mention them. To American Friends four such papers are most familiar. Let me recount their years. *The Friend* (Philadelphia) is now publishing its annual volume 116. Its London namesake began its second century at New Year's, 1942, the *Intelligencer* a year later. Even *The American Friend*, whose current issues are described as "Volume XLIX, Old Series," is not really fifty years younger, since it is the continuator of forty-eight volumes of the old *Friends Review*, born in Philadelphia in 1847. Probably some women who change their names would also like to begin counting the years again from scratch, but neither they nor our Quaker contemporary from Richmond can conceal their real antiquity.

Of course these are not all the Quaker periodicals. Others have lived and died mere infants. The year just past has seen the suspension of the German monthly, *Der Quäker*, which, after outliving many other religious papers in its country, finally (let us say rather, temporarily) succumbed to the paper shortage. Even three of the older papers have recently suffered change, one in England to pocket-sized pages but without reduction of meatiness, and two in America to fortnightly appearance. The *Friends Intelligencer* is still published weekly. Without scanning the files of religious journalism for certainty, one may at least con-

jecture that none even of the larger denominations can point to four principal publications that will average at their next birthday 103 years. But "time is not life," and for periodicals, as for persons, our best wishes for the new year or the new century will be couched in terms of the quality and the usefulness of the Quaker publications, a quality and usefulness to which many pens and many minds may become contributors.

25

Pennsylvania Quakers— an Early Lutheran View

Believing it salutary for Friends to see themselves as others see them, I quote now and then in these letters impressions of their ancient or modern contemporaries. Lately the Lutherans of Pennsylvania have published the first of three stout volumes, which are to contain in English translation the Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg,* their pioneer preacher in this colony. Of a score of references to Quakers in the first half of this book none could be called flattering.

Just two hundred years ago this German-trained pastor arrived to begin a forty-five year career in an attempt to reclaim to the orthodox faith of their fatherland the German or Swedish settlers or their descendants. Though a few small churches were gathered in southeastern Pennsylvania—he himself served those at Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hannover—he found that many potential Lutherans were either unchurched entirely or had been affected by continental or British sects. He could not get even land to worship on. "The Quakers," he

*The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, vol. I

writes, "are owners of most of the sites here, and as such they have the upper hand and will not sell even a foot of it. Indeed they even refuse to lease any for ground rent when they hear that a church is to be built upon it." As first comers to the province, "the English and German Quakers, Inspired, Mennonites, Separatists, and like small denominations" had bought the best land and had bought it cheap; the Evangelicals who came later could not get a foothold. To Muhlenberg's regret these same groups alone had the money to maintain schools. "But they will not permit the children in their schools to be taught the Catechism or any kind of Order of Salvation. Their children must learn only the necessary writing, reading and reckoning to fit them for trade and commerce in the world."

The ignorance of orthodox religion and the indifference to the Sacraments in many of the population grieved this good churchman, and he attributed it to the influence of Friends, who had "the control, wealth and prestige" in the community. Again and again he notes with satisfaction that he baptized persons who had long been subject to Quaker influence. At times he represents Friends as ridiculing the sacred rites of religion, as at the dedication of a church, or as calumniating the clergy. "The Quaker civil authorities say, we have no use for preachers in this country." "These poor Quaker people are quite capable of blaspheming against God's Word and Sacraments, but at the same time they are very blind in spiritual things, because they have no regard for God's revealed Word and they look for an immediate revelation which God has not promised." The same depreciation of the Inner Light versus the Scripture appears in an account he gives of three Quaker women, who, when fellow travellers with him on a stormy voyage, "kept shouting and crying for help whenever the ship seemed to be losing its

balance." "I told them they ought not to scream and act like heathen if, as they professed, they really had an inborn light and inner spirit, etc. It would be much safer to learn and believe and live according to God's revealed Word; then in time of danger and death the Holy Spirit would bring it to their remembrance and comfort them."

Muhlenberg would have been more than human if he had refrained from observing the delinquencies of Friends on occasion. Twice he notes that the rioters he encountered at inns on his journeys were Quakers. "So far have even some of the Quakers fallen into the mire from their boasted morality (that is, their own righteousness)." "Among them was a young Quaker whose flat hat and plain coat were symbols of his profession, but did not prevent him from behaving as wildly as the others." No doubt Muhlenberg could have found material for even harsher judgments. Perhaps he was restrained by his observation of unfair criticism in others. "False rumors and loveless judgments," he writes, "gain easy access here among the various religious parties. They usually originate in the party spirit which has never instigated any good." We may conjecture that even to the Quakers he was charitable, and sometimes positively friendly as was his father-in-law, Conrad Weiser.

In the period covered in this volume the military patriotism of the Muhlenbergs as a family or of the Lutheran Church was not yet in evidence. As a very small minority they watched the growth in their neighbors of a cleavage into two policies, and waited to decide which one to adhere to. Both the war party and the peace party had their printers (Benjamin Franklin and Christopher Sauer). Their support followed denominational lines. The contemporary picture of this situation, long before it came to a head, as given in the journal for 1748, is of sufficient interest to quote at length:

"During this year a great deal has been conjectured and said about a hostile attack by the Spanish and French. Consequently there are two chief parties here among the English and they have entered into a violent newspaper war long before the Spaniards and the French have come. The Quakers, who are the foremost party in this province, have on their side the German book publisher Sauer, who controls the Mennonites, Separatists, Anabaptists and the like with his printed works and lines them up with the Quakers. All of these speak and write against the war and reject even the slightest defense as ungodly and contrary to the command of Jesus Christ. The Church party has the English book publishers on its side, and they maintain in speech and printed word that defense is not contrary to God's command but right and necessary and in accord with the laws of nature. This party makes use of the preachers of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches on its side. The latter party held several lotteries and used the proceeds to build a fortification on the coast; they have organized for defense, dividing up into companies and regiments which drill at regular times. . . ."

26

"Jones Lauded for Quicker Work"

The above caption, copied *literatim* from a headline in the *New York Times* a few months ago, seems at first sight irrelevant to this column. But if the reader will substitute for the undistinctive first word the unique "Rufus," and will correct a misprint in the fourth word to "Quaker," he will recognize that the reference was to one of the many honors paid to our newly turned octogenarian, an honor conferred on him in his own right and as representing the Society of

Friends—in this instance because of his and our supposed kinship to the interests of Theodore Roosevelt!

A scholarly sermon-taster assures me that the Bible texts that make the best homilies are mostly mistranslations. By the same token I assume that a misprint may sometimes be used in these letters for a correct characterization of the Society of Friends. In an earlier one I mentioned the all too true substitution of the type-setter who represented Violet Hodgkin's delightful volume as "A Book of Quarter Saints." For this letter with the eightieth birthday of Rufus M. Jones, we may with less modesty adopt as our denomination the often too laudatory word "quicker."

Quakerism and quietism do not usually suggest quickness or haste. There is, however, a sense in which we and Rufus Jones inherit a tradition of being beforehand. Even at eighty he gives the impression of a pioneer rather than of a survivor. At his birthday celebration the title of his talk was not "Reflections" but "Pisgah Reflections." Like other Quaker leaders in the past, he has many firsts to his credit. Instead of "too little and too late" he believes in "mostest fustest." He was the first, I believe, or at least the most influential, to associate with Quakerism—for better or for worse—the term "mystical." More than anyone else in America he has helped us see our mission as a "peculiar people," and he has interpreted us to others. His influence has been paramount towards a greater unity, first between Yearly Meetings in forming the Five Years Meeting, and then between branches in the American Friends Service Committee, and then between Friends and like-minded seekers in the Wider Quaker Fellowship.

To accomplish what he has accomplished he has had to be quicker. A boy was once asked in school why he was late to class. He replied reflectively and innocently, "I must

have started late." Conversely, Rufus Jones arrives early because he starts early, and he can start early only because he has finished the preceding task early. In this respect his initiative is no more important than his "terminal facilities." It is because he knew how to finish a book he was writing that he could begin the next one, and this amazing succession of publication is only typical of other productive phases of his life.

In what sense can we apply "quicker" to Quakerism? It too, at its best, has been before its time, living ahead of schedules. It was not a Friend, but an American ex-president, William H. Taft, who remarked once, in advocating a league to enforce peace, that he recognized that it was dangerous to disagree with Friends, for they were usually a hundred years ahead in being right. It was William James who said: "So far as our Christian sects today are evolving into liberality, they are simply reverting to the position which Fox and the early Quakers so long ago assumed." Even in practical fields—of science, of invention, of social reform, etc.—many "firsts" have belonged to our members. A partial list was published some years ago under the heading "Leading the Way."

The merit of such priority is not wholly dependent on success. Beside the Quaker Benjamin Huntsman, creator of the steel that made Sheffield famous, must be placed another Quaker, Horatio G. Spafford, who, though prevented from putting it into practice, anticipated and enunciated the principle later associated with the name Bessemer. Besides the Friends of the generation of Benezet and Woolman who did so much for the abolition of slavery must be considered and lauded their less successful but no less clear-sighted predecessors in the Society beginning in 1688.

In no field is priority more commendable than in social conflict. To anticipate the

approaching causes of war and to try to avert war or bring it to a speedy conclusion belongs to our Quaker tradition. Strangely enough the successes are less easily known than the failures. What Caleb Pusey and other members of the Quaker Council of Pennsylvania did with success in 1688 to avert an Indian war was tried without success by John Easton and other Quaker officers of the Rhode Island government in 1676. The Quakers' record must be tested by the insight and intelligence and effort, not entirely by the results, which are often beyond their control. Neither the Revolutionary nor the Civil War was averted, but none were earlier to foresee the friction between Great Britain and the American Colonies than the Friends who lived in both countries, nor did anyone appreciate better the danger of the un-Woolman-like abolitionism in the North than the Northern Quakers of the 1850's.

The widespread relief activity of Friends in recent years has too often been regarded as following disaster, a kind of mopping up after the damage is done. It is more correctly understood as preventive and prophetic towards the future. Joseph Hoag tells in his journal of arguing his pacifism with a group of soldiers, until one of them finally admitted, "Well, stranger, if all the world was of your mind, I would turn and follow after." The Quaker answered, "So then thou hast a mind to be the last man in the world to be good. I have a mind to be one of the first, and set the rest an example." To be a forerunner may be for us, as for John the Baptist, to be a voice crying in a wilderness. But that is better than being an echo.

In Other Mouths

An American and a European were trying to converse. Neither of them knew very well the other's language. But, as often happens in such circumstances, more out of courtesy than efficiency, each attempted the speech he knew less. When they parted with mutual apologies, the American was a little surprised to receive the final compliment: "I like my tongue in your mouth."

Something like this is the feeling of Friends when they hear or see their own phrases in alien settings. To some kinds of occurrences we are hardened. I expect to meet the word "Quaker" in almost any serious new book, and even in novels. In America it often stares at us from the bill boards. Other phrases of ours, like "the Spirit moves" or "have a concern," whether in quotation marks or not, are common to other lips and other pens. No doubt they are well on their way into the dictionary of general English.

When, however, the terms are used too early to be derived from our own usage, or are otherwise obviously coincidence, then we open our eyes. In an earlier letter I reported finding the word "Quaker" in the newly published proceedings of the Quarter Sessions of an English county for the year 1607, a full generation before George Fox was nicknamed a Quaker. Haverford School was founded in 1833 and became a college in 1856; yet in a book published in 1811 and written by an English traveller to America, Robert Sutcliff, I find a poem "to Ha'rford's Hall" with the explanation that it deals with an Indian boy sent to "Haverford College" for his education. One might suppose the author, who was himself a Friend,

was also a prophet. But both of these examples are due to error, the first to misreading the handwriting of the ancient manuscript, the second to the unfamiliarity in Great Britain with the name Harvard.

Probably no terms seem more distinctive-ly ours than the two terms "Society of Friends" and "Light Within." (I may add that the latter is the correct original phrasing of the term, going back to the first years of the Society, and that "Inward" or "Inner Light" is an inaccurate modernism.) I shall relate an experience with each of them in another's mouth. Among the forerunners of Quakerism—not those made familiar to us by Rufus Jones in his articles under this title in the *Intelligencer* and in his other writings, but more obscure English writers listed by Ambrose Rigg or William Penn—is a certain Seeker, occurring on both lists, named William Erbury. In one of his pamphlets, in which Erbury criticizes the ecclesiasticism of his time and contrasts with the primitive church the gathered churches of England with their covenants, creeds and closed church membership, I came upon these words (quoted without his italics but with mine):

"Admission intimates the Church of Christ to be a Corporation, as if there were a Common Council among them, whereas the Church is a Free company or *Society of Friends*, who come together, not as called by an outward power but freely closing by the inward spirit."

As our earliest predecessors did not use of themselves the term "Society of Friends," its occurrence here in 1652 anticipates them by about a century and a half.

The other day while travelling by subway in one of our seaboard cities, I found myself standing transfixed in a station before a large poster. It showed a night scene—a house, a garden, a wall, a tree, all suffused in a continuous very dark blue. Only a narrow

strip in each window of the house, beneath shades duly drawn to near the bottom for wartime dimout, showed a bright contrasting golden color. I read a stanza with a familiar caption:

"The LIGHT Within"

When Evening comes and shadows fall
And darkness hovers over all,
When dimmed out dreary hours begin
Thank God we've still the Light within.

The originator of this "transitad" had never heard of Quakerism. He did not know his phrase had ever been used in a religious sense. An amateur song writer and promotion man for the city's electric company, serving as air raid warden one night and urging his neighbors to keep their lights within, he hit upon an idea for his personal Christmas card, which he subsequently transferred for a wider and more public use. Borrowing his color "Urban blue" from marine staging at Ziegfeld Follies and supplying four lines of verse, he unconsciously created a placard that would make a good sermon in any Friends' meeting.

A "society of friends" and the "light within"—could any two terms be more fitting in days of hostile dissociation and of outer darkness? Friends are fortunate in possessing in classic phrases such appropriate expressions for our ideal for all mankind and for the spiritual basis on which we dare even in these dark days to base our hope and our personal loyalty.

28

Friends Fast

The ambiguity of the English word "fast" mentioned in this paper lately under

"Fun"—including both movement and fixity, both prodigalism and abstemiousness—could well be illustrated by the three phrases "fast friends," "fast Friends," and "Friends fast." It is the last of these that claims our attention now.

Like many others I have followed with keen interest the salt water experiment, by which from one to six Conscientious Objectors from Civilian Public Service Camps have been fasting for longer or shorter periods with greater or less strictness. Under carefully measured and controlled conditions in a Boston hospital, information of considerable social value is being secured by the voluntary and cheerfully borne discomfort of men who live for days on restricted water (salt and fresh) and restricted food. The subjects and the objects of this ordeal meet with our deep appreciation and approval. We hope the scientific results will prove useful.

Close contact with these experiences has called to my mind the fastings of the early Friends, while the recent and better known episodes of Eddie Rickenbacker and Mahatma Gandhi have reinforced those memories. For the early Friends under quite different conditions were also exponents of voluntary fasting. The formal fasts of the church they naturally eschewed, like everything else that smacked of popery. The special fast days declared by the state were also condemned, since they seemed insincere—as when Oliver Cromwell, himself a persecutor of Friends, in 1655 declared a fast because of persecution of the Protestants in France; or when the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in a proclamation in 1675 during the Indian War, listed as an appropriate ground for penitence their allowing the Quakers to remain in the colony. Indeed all fasts connected with military defeat or with prayers for victory were naturally anathema to Friends. As John Pemberton noted in his diary in 1777, fasts were proclaimed at the same time, to the

same God, in England and in America, each side praying for success of its own arms.

One curious form of early Quaker fasting was in religious controversy. In order to vindicate their own claim or to refute that of their opponents, Friends proposed competitive fasts as a kind of challenge or judicial ordeal. So Richard Farnsworth proposed in 1655 to the Manifestarians that they and the Quakers should both of them go for two weeks without food or drink, except for a little spring water. Since the test was to see which of them could preach the better at the end, they were also to go without a Bible. Three years later George Fox made a like challenge to the Papists. A similar challenge to the Baptists and others in 1668 by Solomon Eccles included going without sleep as well as without food and drink.

Though there is no evidence that these challenges were accepted or that the Quakers proved theirs the true religion by outlasting their rivals, there is plenty of record of long private fasts. On his way to Barbados the same Eccles fasted seven days, "having neither eaten nor drunk all the time, unless sometimes he washed his mouth with vinegar." "Many of the Quakers," wrote George Fox, "have fasted thirty days, twenty days, fifteen days, ten days, seven days together, . . . and . . . they never had more strength than when they have fasted two and twenty, and thirty days together." There are explicit records of long fasts by James Naylor (fourteen days, and again fifteen or sixteen days), by Richard Hubberthorne, by Samuel Watson (ten days except for water, apples, and nuts), and by others. A rather pathetic note from Swarthmore Hall in 1659, endorsed by George Fox "how the children fasted," reports: "Bridget Fell fasted twelve days, Isabel hath fasted about seven, and is to fast nine, little Mary hath fasted five, and a little maid that is a servant in the house called Mabby hath fasted twenty. And one Mary

Atkinson of Cartmel hath fasted above twenty, and two more in the family are exercised in the same thing."

The motive of these fasts has been little discussed and I think not adequately explained. I believe they were occasioned mostly by outer threats and dangers. In 1652, when called up before "forty hiring priests," George Fox explains that he was to fast and not to eat until he gained dominion over them and the work of God was established. A ten day fast of his a little later was in connection with an early defection or aberration of two Friends. If the fasts were intended as a form of appeal or persuasion, they were directed rather to God than to men.

In two famous instances Quaker prisoners were reported to have killed themselves by fasting. This at least is what their opponents said of James Parnell, who died at the age of 19 in Colchester Jail, and of John Luffe (or Love), who died in the Inquisition at Rome. "We do find," runs the verdict at the inquest, "that James Parnell through his wilful rejection of his natural food for ten days together . . . to be the cause of the hastening of his own end; and by no other means that we can learn or know of." A Prussian Jesuit writer reports that John Luffe died at Rome "on the 22nd day of his obstinate pretended miraculous fast."

Probably neither victim had fasted voluntarily. Friends had plenty of fatal experience with British prison cells like the "Hole in the Wall" and the "Oven" in Colchester Castle to justify assigning Parnell's death to another reason, while on the authority, George Fox says, of some French nuns, they declared that Luffe had been executed by the Holy Office by hanging. These were neither the first nor the last times in history that the issue was raised: "a martyr or a suicide?"

Behind the Date Lines

As a globe is useful to teach geography, so—more expensively—is a global war. To millions of ears and eyes outlandish place names have become familiar through radio and press. Let those who hate this war get such satisfaction as they can thereby. It could be wished that some knowledge of history would be imbibed with the geography. There is much of the past to be learned behind names like Tunisia and the Solomons, more than appears merely in the Aeneid or the Bible.

Even Quaker history has some connection with places of contemporary interest, as these Letters frequently attempt to show. In its very first decade the Society of Friends had an extensive front, or set of fronts, as does the Friends Ambulance Unit today. Perhaps never since then have Friends been prisoners in such widely scattered places as they are today. To one who knows his Quaker history the date lines of his morning paper and the news items in his Friendly weekly "bring up memories."

When one reads of Friends Ambulance Unit men in Egypt one recalls that in 1662 complaint was made by the British consul in Cairo of Quakers who "did throw pamphlets about the streets in Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin, and, if they had stayed a little longer, it might have set them a-burning." When we hear from Valetta that the island of Malta had its thousandth bombing after three and a half years of war, we remember Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers who at that early period of history endured three and a half years of confinement in the same island bombarded by the third degree of the Inqui-

sition, but summed up their experience: "the deeper the sorrow, the greater the joy; the heavier the cross, the weightier the crown."

Sometimes these names need translating. George Fox never heard of Haile Selassie and Addis Ababa, the emperor and capital respectively of the country which welcomed lately another group of the Friends Ambulance Unit. Yet he addressed a letter in Latin and English to Prester John, who, if not a completely mythical being, must be regarded as the predecessor of the present Ethiopian or Abyssinian emperor. "Somewhere in North Africa" is the equivalent of the Barbary Coast or Sallee, the dread destination of many early Quaker captives.

The first heroic age of Quakerism is not the only period for all the parallels. In the same Ethiopia the Friend Theophilus Waldmeier engaged in his earliest missionary work. The Pacific theatre of war was also a theatre of operations for another Quaker missionary, Daniel Wheeler. How many Friends who read daily communiques from the temporary Russian capital Kuibyshev recognize in it merely a new name for the city of Samara which but two decades ago was the capital of the remarkably varied and prolonged relief work of a unit of the American Friends Service Committee? The British Ministry of Information publishes from time to time elaborate posters showing on a map of Germany the progress of the allied air offensive—the location, number of raids, type of objective, and total tons of ammunition used. The names are all familiar to those Friends who recall from 1920-24 other maps of Germany on which the totals marked for each "target" were of thousands of little children whose lives were being saved by *Quäkerspeisung*.

Perhaps these letters seem to deal too much with the past. But let us recall that in contrast with "now", the future as well as

the past is represented by "then." "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." The heroic age of Quakerism may still be in the future. More than two thousand years ago Polybius wrote, "The soundest education and training for life is the study of history, for there is no more ready corrective of conduct than knowledge of the past."

30

As Seen from Monticello

There is, according to the Bible, "a time to be born, and a time to die." For the latter, the first Presidents of the United States usually chose a Fourth of July, but for their birthdays no such unanimity or convenience to memory was exercised. Hence it is that we are being reminded this week not only that Thomas Jefferson was born 200 years ago but also that he was born precisely on April 13, 1743.

In his long and varied life the famous Virginian must have had many contacts with Friends, even though our members were not very numerous in the Old Dominion. His times in Philadelphia, though significant, were brief, and he must have known many Friends there. From 1797 to 1815 he was president of the American Philosophical Society, whose membership was largely Philadelphia, and he was succeeded in that office by the Quaker Professor of Medicine, Dr. Caspar Wistar. He corresponded about seeds and plants with William Bartram, the botanist. The first President to be inaugurated at Washington, he knew Andrew Ellicott, surveyor of the District of Columbia, and Benjamin Banneker, the famous Negro astronomer, who was Ellicott's assistant. Both these had Quaker connections, while Dr. William Thornton, the architect and first contractor of the Capitol, was a Friend from

Tortola in the West Indies and for twenty-five years head of the Patent Office. Another surveyor and astronomer was Isaac Briggs, a Friend and long time friend of Jefferson and the recipient of many favors from him.

With Friends' ideals Thomas Jefferson also had much in common. It will be recalled that the Declaration of Independence as he first drafted it had a vigorous article against the slave trade. In 1808 he subscribed to a copy of Clarkson's history of its abolition. So characteristic was this attitude of his that a recent monograph on Virginia's later proslavery development is entitled *The Road from Monticello*. In his Indian policy he was sympathetic with the position of Friends and particularly with their efforts to provide the natives with practical as well as with religious education. To James Pemberton, to whom he signs himself "with friendship and great respect," he wrote more than once commending the work of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting with Indians as he read of it in their committee's reports. He says:

"It is evident that your Society has begun at the right end for civilizing these people. Habits of industry, easy subsistence, attachment to property, are necessary to prepare their minds for the first elements of science, and afterwards for moral and religious instruction. To begin with the last has ever ended either in effecting nothing or in engrafting bigotry or ignorance."

Against religious bigotry and persecution he cites not only the evil example of those who maltreated the Quakers but their own freedom from creeds. He admits in his *Notes on Virginia*, a very early book, that that colony passed as severe laws against them as did Massachusetts. "If no executions took place here as did in New England it was not owing to the moderation of the church or the spirit of the legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself, but to historical circumstances that have not been handed

down to us." In his later years he admired the Friends for the absence of any creed. "I have never permitted myself to meditate a specified creed. These formulas have been the bane and ruin of the Christian church, its own fatal invention, which through so many ages, made of Christendom a slaughter house, and at this day divides it into castes of inextinguishable hatred to one another. . . . The Quakers have none, and hence alone, the harmony, the quiet, the brotherly affections, the exemplary and unschismatizing Society of the Friends." These words written in 1822, together with others like them, and frequent references to Unitarians, show where his sympathies lay and also that he little anticipated the evangelical wing of the Society and the imminent Separation. The next year, acknowledging receipt of a copy of the "pre-Hicksite" *Letters of Paul and Amicus*, he adds, "I think with them [the Friends] on many points, and especially on missionary and Bible societies."

On the subject of war, however, Thomas Jefferson had neither sympathy nor understanding for Quaker principles. Like other founding fathers, he was pretty much of an isolationist. In words that sound quite modern he said, "The American who seeks by force to reform Europe is a maniac." Yet when America was faced with European war he sometimes opposed participation and sometimes favored it, and he accused the Quakers of taking the opposite eclectic course but on grounds of their incurable pro-British prejudices. "Their attachment to England is stronger than their attachment to their principles or to their country. The Revolution War [sic] was a first proof of this." So Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison in 1798. In 1810, when he himself was ruled by "the outrages of Great Britain on our navigation and commerce," he complains:

"Both the late and present adminis-

tration conducted the government on principles *professed* by the Friends. Our efforts to preserve peace, our measures as to the Indians, as to slavery, as to religious freedom, were all in consonance with their *profession*. Yet I never expected we should get a vote from them and in this I was neither deceived nor disappointed. . . . The theory of American Quakerism is a very obvious one. The mother society is in England. . . . A Quaker is essentially an Englishman in whatever part of the earth he is born or lives. . . . In 1797-8 when an administration sought war with France, the Quakers were the most clamorous for war. Their principle of peace is a secondary one, yielded to the primary one of adherence to the Friends of England."

And so on repeatedly and at length. Even in 1817, when peace was restored with England, Thomas Jefferson writes to General Lafayette, again showing his scorn of the Quakers as "a homogeneous mass, acting with one mind, and that directed by the mother society in England. Dispersed, as the Jews, they still form, as those do, one nation foreign to the land they live in. They are Protestant Jesuits, implicitly devoted to the will of their superior and forgetting all duties to their country in the execution of the policy of their order. When war is proposed with England, they have religious scruples; but when with France, these are laid by and they become clamorous for it. They are however silent, passive, and give no other trouble than of whipping them along."

While the criticisms made of Quakers are not always the same, Friends in all periods are familiar with the inscrutability to others of their pacifist behavior.

The quotations given, taken from the public correspondence, must suffice for this little contribution to the Jefferson bicentennial. There is little to quote to show the obverse side of the picture—what Quakerism thought of Jefferson—though repeatedly

during his presidency Joseph Brinhurst wrote to him that the Society of Friends was "among the warmest supporters of the pacific and dignified measures of the administration" or that the majority of the Quakers were satisfied with it. Meanwhile some ten thousand other letters from his private correspondence, unpublished, uncalendared, and unindexed, are only four miles from my home, tempting me some day to inquire further what Friends looked like as seen from Monticello.

31

Where the Martyrs Died

These letters, though written under very various circumstances, have usually emphasized how "history repeats itself," often with coincidence of time and place. But history also reverses itself, and this letter is based on many items of the writer's immediate circumstances which show the reversal. For I am writing on April 19th, which as Patriots' Day is annually kept hereabouts as a holiday, and I am writing in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In one direction is Boston Common, where in 1675 old Edward Wanton, the Quaker, set up over the graves of two of his predecessors the shortlived inscription:

Although our Bodies here
in silent Earth do lie,
Yet are our Righteous Souls at Rest
our Blood for Vengeance cry.

In the opposite direction is Concord, where in 1875 was erected the statue of the Minute Man, with the inscription from Emerson:

By the rude bridge that arched the flood

Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world.

Close by is Harvard College, or University, famous in 1675, 1775, 1875, and both before and since.

I.

There are of course those who regard the present war as analogous to the American Revolution. In fact, all American wars have been professedly fought for peace as well as for freedom. This morning's local paper connects the "significance of the familiar Minute Man statue at Concord bridge" and "this 168th anniversary of an earlier struggle for freedom" with the \$13,000,000,000 Second War Loan drive.

But an opposite view is equally tenable. Throughout "the land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrims' pride," collaboration with the British Empire and new ties with England appear to be the order of the day. The *Mayflower* sails back, full not of Pilgrims and old furniture but of soldiers and of lend-lease war goods. In 1776 George Washington was encamped right here in Cambridge. He was in fact living in the very property where the Friends Meeting House now stands, while British troops invested Boston. When a group of Friends asked his permission to distribute civilian relief neutrally in both territories he consented without consulting the premier of George the Third or even his general across the river. Today in the city that bears his name his successor does not give a similar permission and thereby oppose "the first minister of his majesty" George the Sixth.

In the city of Boston two and a half years ago that same American President

promised the city's fathers and mothers: "I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again; your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars"; but yesterday's local paper listed dozens of New England casualties in North Africa and in the Southern Pacific.

A few weeks ago in this column I recalled how Jefferson, the first occupant of the White House, vigorously criticized the Society of Friends for their incurably pro-British attitude. Today, so far as England is concerned, his famous Declaration of Independence is virtually repealed, while the proposed manpower legislation threatens to repeal with a new slavery the Emancipation Proclamation as well. O shades of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln!

II.

Now let us look at another picture. In 1663 Elizabeth Hooton, perhaps the first convert of George Fox, and probably the earliest Quaker woman preacher, came to Massachusetts Bay to buy a house in which to live and worship God. According to her own account she was the first Friend to come to Cambridge, and she describes it as "a cage of unclean birds." She was arrested, tried before the magistrates, imprisoned, ridiculed by "the college masters and priests' sons," and twice whipped and driven out, probably along the very road where stands today the aforesaid Friends Meeting House.

Last week, two hundred and eighty years after these events and on the very day of the bicentennial of Thomas Jefferson's birth, was held in the same city and university the annual convocation for the Divinity School alumni. Two lectures, on ancient foundations, were as usual delivered on that occasion. The first, established by the Chief

Justice of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1751 (I suppose the oldest annual lectureship in America), was delivered by a member of Swarthmore Monthly Meeting of Friends, himself an honored ex-dean and the holder of one of the coveted roving professorships of Harvard University. The second, the Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man (I suppose the most famous annual lecture in America), was delivered to an appreciative audience of "college masters and priests' sons" by another Friend, the professor emeritus of philosophy at Haverford College. Furthermore this same famous lectureship was held last year by another Friend, successor in the same professorship at Haverford, who also this year has just completed an appointment at Harvard on another foundation—four lectures and also a semester course as the William Belden Nobel lecturer.

Finally, I may add that for the last ten years the Hollis Professorship, founded in 1721 (the oldest chair at Harvard and I suppose the oldest academic chair in America), has been held by another Friend; and when, as sometimes happens, he goes to the University Library to verify for the present writer some reference to Quaker history, he finds there not what Keith, the ex-Quaker, found in 1702, a collection "but meanly stored with books of good learning" without a single Friend's writing, but one of the four or five best Quaker collections in the world. O shades of the pious John Harvard and "the worshipful Governor Endicott"!

The last-quoted phrase is from Whittier in *The King's Missive*. The final stanza of that poem, better than the two inscriptions quoted above, suggests the continuities as well as the reversals of history that I have been considering:

The Puritan spirit perishing not
To Concord's yeomen the signal sent,

And spake in the voice of the cannon-
shot
That severed the chains of a
continent.
With its gentler mission of peace and good-
will
The thought of the Quaker is living still,
And the freedom of soul he prophesied
Is gospel and law where the martyrs died.

32

"If It Were Not for Bonaparte . . ."

Except for World War I, no period of history is more often thought of as parallel to the present situation than is the Napoleonic era. One hundred and fifty years ago began the movement which put Europe at the mercy of an upstart whose growing ambition succeeded in planting his power from Scandinavia to Spain and to the Near East. Napoleon's Russian disaster has often been held up before us as a likely parallel to Hitler's, while his threatened invasion of England has been for months the conscious parallel of an anxious Britain. This latter story is presented vividly in such books as Mrs. Lenanton's *Napoleon at the Channel* or Arthur Bryant's *Years of Endurance, 1793-1802*.

Naturally British Friends were in much the same situation then as today. The epistle of London Yearly Meeting in 1803 urging fidelity to principle and quietness of spirit was effectively cited in English Quaker circles after Dunkirk and during the Nazi "blitz." Obviously British Friends, neither in 1803 nor in 1940, had any more reason than their fellow citizens to doubt the willingness or ability of the "scourge of Europe" to cross the channel and inflict disaster on the whole population. Their fellow citizens believed, however, that in spite of their pac-

ifism, Friends shared the popular bravado against the invader. A cartoon entitled "Bonaparte and the Quaker," published in May, 1803, shows the two figures talking to each other across the Channel. To the threatening corporal Brother Broadbrim replies, "Little man, . . . I myself encourage not fighting. But if thou or any of thy comrades darest to cross the great waters, my countrymen shall make Quakers of you all."

More often the Quakers' pacifism seemed incredible to their compatriots. The "Corsican Ogre," like his modern counterpart, seemed the complete refutation of the intelligence or the morality of the Quaker position. Perhaps this came to expression more definitely then than recently. But the statements made by their opponents then sound familiar to the Quakers of today. The leading periodicals carried anti-Quaker criticisms; the best talent of the Society was constrained to answer them. Thus, to mention only two outstanding scientists, it was Luke Howard, the great meteorologist, who wrote anonymously in 1808 *A Brief Apology for Quakerism, inscribed to the Edinburgh Reviewers*, while "Philanthropus," the Friend who answered "Antifanaticus" in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1803 and 1804, is apparently no other than the leading physician, John Coakley Lettsom.

The British critics vied with each other in their ideological and moral vituperation of "Boney," as he was often called. As the political bogey in modern times has suddenly changed from communism to fascism, so the British of Napoleonic times, having detested the republicanism of the Terror, shifted to an extreme fear of the autocracy of the dictator and even defended publicly the French Revolution in contrast.

The clergy were especially vigorous in their moral protest. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, whose advice in England a generation earlier had been for "appeasement" of

the American colonists, carried—perhaps for that reason—more weight when he took the pro-war position against France. He left no excuse for Quaker aloofness. A fellow cleric in a sermon on *Obedience to Government, Reverence to the Constitution and Resistance to Bonaparte*, described the last named as “the violator of treaties, the plunderer of defenseless and neutral nations, the oppressor of his allies, the murderer of his prisoners, the poisoners of his sick, the professor and disbeliever of all religions, apostate from his Saviour and blasphemous of his God.” As another writer quoted on the same page of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* puts it: “But one alternative attends all civilized society—either to triumph over its implacable enemy, or to be crushed beneath his unappeasable fury.” “Bonaparte,” remarks a third writer in the same issue, “has robbed the world from the borders of Denmark to the confines of Jerusalem. When his myrmidons have ransacked every treasure in this country, will their pride and lust of cruelty respect the modesty of a Quaker’s wife, or the virgin innocence of a Quaker’s daughter? . . . That robber would leave to no one man of any description on this island the shelter of even the most wretched hovel to make a fire in.”

In such circumstances failure by the Quakers to assist in the common cause seemed positively immoral. Of course their critics were ready to follow their example “when the whole world shall be converted to the spirit of Friends,” but—as an American Quaker at that time remarked—they wanted “to be the last to do right.” The Friends were accused of defending neither themselves nor others, but of letting others protect them. It is absurd, writes a reviewer in 1807, for the Quaker to urge non-resistance upon the bishops, for “till the voice of all the Bishops in Christendom can be heard by Buonaparte inculcating peace in the strong-

est terms, does he imagine one universal peace will prevail over the whole world? What have the society of Quakers effected during 150 years of uniform refusal to learn war or to take up a sword, towards bringing on this desirable state of things in the *right* way?” Evidently peace through fighting seemed to the many in 1807 the right way and an effective one.

A typical attitude now as then is probably to be found in a quotation from Robert Southey. Writing in 1807 to a friend in Parliament, he said:

“My views of religion approach very nearly to Quakerism. . . . The Quakers err in prohibiting things which it is sufficient to despise. . . . Their opinions concerning war go against the instinct of self-defense. If it were not for Bonaparte, I should have little hesitation in declaring that it is the true system of the Gospel; that is, my reason is convinced but I wanted to have the invasion over before I allow it to be so. Their morality is perfect.”

There are plenty of people today inside and outside our membership who plan to be good Quakers after this war is over or who think they would be so now “if it were not for Hitler.” When he too, like Bonaparte, becomes a name of a distant past, what other name, one wonders, will be regarded as the all-sufficient argument against Quakerism? Will then some British Premier speak of Hitler in those laudatory terms which the present Premier uses of “the great Corsican,” and which indeed he used not five years ago of the Fuehrer himself among his “great contemporaries”?

From H.M.S. Quaker to
S.S. John Woolman

The christening of ships with Quaker names is no new phenomenon, but when the naming is done by non-Friends the results are sometimes incongruous. I remember noticing the name of a ship mentioned as engaged in the slave trade off the coast of Sierra Leone in 1792. It was *The Willing Quaker*.

Many new cargo ships are being produced nowadays in America. Among a group bearing the names of educators launched by a shipyard in South Portland, Maine, two Friends are included, Ezra Cornell and Isaac Sharpless. The climax of inappropriateness was reached when, more recently, the Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyard in Baltimore launched with great eclat the S.S. *John Woolman*. To name a "Liberty Ship" for a great opponent of slavery seems at first sight suitable enough; but when one recalls that Woolman was opposed not only to slavery but to war and even to many features of sea-borne commerce, such an act seems to demand an apology to the saint's memory. In announcing the event the *Baltimore Sun* seemed much more concerned, however, to explain that John Woolman's abolitionism was not of the militant kind that might arouse prejudices of readers south of the Mason and Dixon Line.

Among the earliest and most noteworthy of these misnamed vessels was undoubtedly one that was generally spoken of as "the Quaker ketch." The name often catches my eye whenever I am glancing through English and Colonial records of the later seventeenth century. This warship, for such it was, had an eventful history which some non-pacifist

Friend might enjoy writing up in detail. From the calendars of state papers alone it is possible to follow its career from 1671, when we are informed that "the shipwright's work on the Quaker ketch is nearly finished," to 1697, when a list of the 297 vessels in active commission in the Royal Navy concludes:

"Ketches: Providence, Martin, Quaker, Roy."

Under a dateline of Portsmouth, 1672, is reported: "Yesterday the Quaker ketch brought in a small Dutch pink having on board about 100 pipes of Canary." Later in the same year H.M.S. *Quaker* is reported as intending for Malta to buy slaves for the British galley being built at Genoa. Quakers in the American colonies often had news of their namesake in local waters. In May, 1677, she sailed for Virginia; in 1678 she took some Negroes off Tobago. The same year Governor Stapleton of Nevis complained that he had but "the Quaker ketch here for the reputation of the nation, but as meanly manned as ever I saw a King's vessel." In 1685 Joseph Allen, the ship's captain, wrote home to the now famous Samuel Pepys at the Admiralty:

"The Virginians are very angry at my staying here because I won't let them cheat the king. They say I spoil the trade, call me old rogue and old dog, and when they see the ketch, say, 'Here comes the devil's ketch.'"

(Such language reminds me of the sign on the sleeper from Boston to Philadelphia: "The Quaker via Hell Gate.") In 1689 she was preparing to take a squadron for the West Indies. Evidently the little ketch was an important member of the King's navy and was occupied in various duties of a very un-Quakerly character.

Quaker names for really Quaker ships

are comparatively rare. Without exhaustive study of Lloyd's Register one can find a few, but only a few, in spite of the fact that Friends were active in the shipping of Yorkshire, London, and Bristol in the early days, and in the whaling industry of Massachusetts at a later time, and were the owners and founders of the packet lines, the Cunard Line, and many other transatlantic services. Obviously the bark *Benezet* of New Bedford, mentioned in a local diary in 1823, was of Quaker naming, and so was the *Barclay* (1819-1856), a ship of 301 tons from Nantucket which was finally condemned at Tahiti. Among the names of other ships from these ports, which I find in a list of over twelve thousand whaling voyages, it was Friends who probably chose *Fenelon* and *Clarkson* as well as the names of their fellow members *William Penn*, *Henry Tuke*, and *Ann Alexander*.

The last named deserves a special word of mention for it shares with the *Essex* of Nantucket the distinction of having been sunk by a whale. Log books for some of its voyages, as for its long voyage in 1845-49, can be found in the New Bedford Public Library, but not for its last voyage. The good ship *Ann Alexander*, John S. Deblois, captain, sailed on June 1st, 1850, and on August 20th, having reached the "Off Shore Grounds" west of Chile and Peru, sighted a whale and sent out two boats. The animal promptly and deliberately crushed these one after another and, pursuing a third boat which rescued the men from the other two for a distance of seven miles to the ship, with a single blow stove a great hole in the hull. Before it sank, the captain and crew abandoned the *Ann Alexander*, with only a day's rations, but fortunately they were picked up by another ship two days later. The whole episode bears a strong similarity to the experiences of contemporary craft with modern submarines. Let us hope that

the new *John Woolman* meets neither whale nor torpedo.

34

Whaling and "Quaking"

When I mentioned in the last essay the sinking by a whale of the ship *Ann Alexander* I knew that the episode had been treated in a humorous poem in *Punch*, the London periodical, for December, 1851, but I did not know that the same ship was the heroine of a current magazine article. The story told by Llewellyn Howland in the May, 1943, *Atlantic Monthly*, rests substantially on fact and deals with the same ship, named for the Friends' minister from York who had visited America the very year before. In 1805 the *Ann Alexander* must have been almost on its maiden voyage, though not then as a whaler. Morison's *Maritime History of Massachusetts* tells the story in a single sentence:

"As Nelson's fleet lay licking its wounds after Trafalgar, who should heave in sight but the ship *Ann Alexander* of New Bedford, Captain Loum Snow, with a cargo of lumber, flour, and apples—just what the fleet needed."

Evidently the Quaker-named and Quaker-owned boat came close to smelling real battle smoke, nearly fifty years before a whale sank her off Peru.

That whale also had some wounds to lick, for it is recorded that five months later another New Bedford ship bearing the name of another Quakeress, Rebecca Simms, captured and killed a whale with a head badly battered and with ship timbers embedded in it, and with two harpoons of the *Ann Alexander*, which identified it as the assailant of that ship.

Besides the *Essex* of Nantucket, which I

mentioned before, there were other ships sunk by whales, from the *Harmony* in 1796 to the *Kathleen* in 1902. The *Barclay*, which also bore a Quaker name, had a different adventure. In 1832 the first mate lost his life in fighting with a whale, but two of the ship's irons that the victim had sunk into the victor were identified three months later when the same whale was finally killed by the crew of the ship *Hector* after one of its boats had been crushed in the whale's jaws.

Such adventures seem a far cry from Quaker peacefulness, and it was not merely the boats that carried Quaker names. The historians of both New Bedford and Nantucket remark the peculiar combination of the two distinctive elements in their history—Quakerism and whaling. One writes:

"Two great factors were at work in Nantucket. One had to do with the means of making a living; this was whaling. The second had to do with the art of living; this was the Quaker religion. In both these matters Nantucket was preeminent. For many years she was the whaling capital of the world. In that same epoch she was the Quaker capital also, in the sense that in no other community was there so large a proportion of Quaker citizens."

The combination is one of fact, as well as of film (*Down to the Sea in Ships*) and of fiction (*Moby Dick*).

In New Bedford, Friends were prevailing-ly ship owners, while from the island town Friends not only captained and manned their own boats but were the experts employed by the whaling industry in other places in America, and in England, and France. This enterprise carried them to seas then almost unknown, so that, as I remarked in an earlier letter, even the remotest date lines of our current news have often older Quaker associations. Those old whalers certainly got places. Nantucketeers found the survivors of the *Bounty* at Pitcairn Island.

Their fellow townsmen fished the Japanese coastal waters more than a generation before Japan was "opened" by Commodore Perry—himself a scion of an old New England Quaker family. Any map of the present Pacific war theater shows such characteristic Quaker family names as Howland Island and Starbuck Island. No place names in current history are more famous than Dunkerque and Pearl Harbor. Do you know the romantic story of the Quaker whale fishery at Dunkerque? Or of the many early Quaker visitors to Oahu before and after New Year's Day 1836, when Daniel Wheeler, at anchor in his own ship in the harbor of Honolulu, received from Queen Kinau a friendly present of five barrels of potatoes, five turkeys, five fowls and one hog?

These and many other stories must be told when a "maritime history" of Quakerism comes to be written.

35

Q as in Quaker

Psychologists, especially psychologists of advertising, tell us that some letters of the alphabet have much more striking effect upon the attention than others. Thus a middle initial K or Y in a man's name is much more unforgettable than L or S. Among the impressive letters are the rarer ones, and they are more impressive at the beginning of a word than elsewhere. If one adds the further distinction of capitalization, the claim on attention rises to its highest power.

The word "Quaker" enjoys all these distinctions. Not only does it easily catch the eye on any printed page but, when seen or thought of, it has a kind of distinctive flavor. I feel sure that both the legitimate users of the name and those who have borrowed it

for commercial purposes reap some benefit from the sheer verbal and literal distinction that the word accidentally possesses. Contrast, for example, the otherwise similar name of a sect, the Shakers.

Possibly the Q in Quaker has for some of us an effect on other occurrences of this peculiar letter. In German as in English it is quite rare as an initial letter and one is not surprised that, when in 1920-24 *die Quäker* became heard of in Germany, the impression was deeper than when in 1917-20 the same group were widely known across the Rhine as *les Amis*. A few months ago Ruth Borchardt, the winner in an essay competition arranged by English Friends, made the following statement: Her first knowledge of Friends was when she was eight years old and one day found on her desk at school in Hamburg a bottle of milk and a crisp white roll provided by the *Quäkerspeisung* scheme after the last war. "The letter Q," she adds, "still invariably recalls the taste of that roll to me."

There is a certain feeling that words that begin with the same letter have some affinity in meaning. This, of course, is absurd, as a moment's reflection should have shown the preacher who waxed eloquent on the fact that home begins with the same letter as heaven. But who will doubt that to outsiders we seem queerer or quainter just because of our name?

Alliteration is an easy temptation always, especially in ridicule, and how much more alluring it is when so distinctive a letter as q is to be played with. Among *noms de plume* in periodicals that many Friends read today one is Q. Q. and another is Quintus Quiz. Two articles that have come to my attention lately were entitled, respectively, "Quaker Qualms" and "Those Quiet Quakers". The author of the former hardly knew how nearly he quoted a pro-slavery speaker at the first session of the United States Congress a

century and a half ago who waved aside all antislavery feeling in the country as the mere "qualmishness of the Quakers."

The older anti-Quaker literature indulged abundantly in such alliteration, as is widely evidenced by their often long and fantastic book titles. Of course, Quaker controversialists indulged in the same practice, though they were often at a disadvantage because of the commonplace character of their opponents' names. Samuel Fisher, the Baptist turned Quaker, could write voluminous works about "Baby Baptism" or "the Bishop's Business" but such quips were outclassed by the possibilities provided by a vocabulary that included quailing, quash't, quibbles, quiddities, etc. I recall a very early title: "The Querers and Quakers Cause at Second Hearing." This is not the time to give a full catalogue. Having suggested a cue, I may leave further research to the anti-Quaker antiquarian.

36

Friends Start to College

We are all familiar with that stage in childhood that is marked by the incessant asking of questions. I once knew an adult who escaped the monotony of this barrage by inverting the process. He invented a game in which he made statements first and then required Junior to think up the question which had been answered.

Similar inversions sometimes occur in normal experience. A fact comes first to our attention, and only subsequently does the question formulate itself to which the fact is an answer. For example, I learned lately that a Friend of Nantucket, named Stephen Hussey sent his son George to Harvard College in 1711. The question which this fact seemed

subsequently to raise and to answer is: Who was the first Friend to go to college?

I reasoned like this: while a number of notable college-bred men became Friends in the early days, there was probably almost no sending or going to college on the part of those who were already Quakers. The English universities did not admit nonconformists until the nineteenth century, while the Quakers on their part abhorred every college as "a cage of unclean birds" that was engaged in training hireling ministers. The law with its oaths, as well as the ministry, was a profession closed to Friends, and in England medicine was not usually acquired in universities. Of course a Friend who relapsed might go to college, like a certain student at Leiden of whom William Caton wrote in 1665:

"As concerning John Coughen he is gone againe to the filthy ffountains of the unversatie to drink yet deeper of the foul streams thereof, that hee may become a doctor."

But such renegades are no real exceptions. Probably first in America could a Friend in good standing (one cannot use the word member so early as this) be admitted to a college. Since Harvard was founded long before any other American college, and since George Hussey is the first Quaker known of among Harvard matriculates, I conclude that he started the procession so abundant today of Friends attending college.

This distinction naturally rouses our curiosity about him. It is hard to imagine why he was sent to Harvard. Though it was then fifty years after the last Quaker had been hanged on Boston Common, there was still little in common between the followers of George Fox and the Puritan clientele at Cambridge. There has lately turned up an almanac with a manuscript note which shows that someone else raised the same question at the time. It reads:

"Somebody asked Mr. Hussey the quaker of Nantucket why he sent his Son to college

seeing they were such Enemies to humane Learning, he said he did not perceive that his Son was ever like to've the Spirit and he need've something else."

Whether this was Stephen Hussey's motive in sending George to Harvard or whether it was, as another version has it, that, being a quarrelsome and litigious person always at odds with his fellow proprietors, he "sent his son George to college, saying that he was going to bring him up to be a thorn in the side of the proprietors," I do not know. In either case such unworthy motives evidently failed, for in George's first term at college occurred an event which led to his prompt retirement. The official record reads:

"Hussey being Convict of dressing himself in Women's apparel and walking in the street of the Town at Noonday on the Election day with inferiour Company and in View of Scandalous People was sentenced by the President & Fellows of the house to make a publick Confession, to be publickly admonish'd and degraded, which Sentence was Executed in the College-Hall after morning prayers this day."

Poor Hussey, perhaps he was only trying to live up to his name! At any rate, he had better standing as a Quaker, for he was not disowned from the Society until more than sixty years later, when he was almost eighty!

I have still another suggestion to offer as to why George was sent to Harvard. His mother's father was not a Friend, but was one George Bunker, a wealthy settler of Charlestown for whom or for whose property the famous Bunker Hill is said to have been named. Although I have not been able to confirm the matter from the records of the college treasurer, he is said to have given the young neighboring college at what was then called Newtown a munificent gift of \$10,000. That would show his interest in Harvard, and, even without that, we may guess that he was responsible for the short-

lived college career of his grandson and namesake, Master George Hussey of the Class of 1715.

I do not need to link this letter from the past with any one present event, for in these days boys and girls start to college not at one period of the year but at more frequent intervals. A psychological, if not a logical, reason for my writing about it today is that yesterday I listened to the holiday parades that celebrated the Battle of Bunker Hill, while the day before at the Commencement of a Friends' School I saw a host of young Quakers who will soon be entering college. May they fare better than their first predecessor!

37

Lion Proselytes

The parallel with Napoleon mentioned in Letter 32 continues to attract attention. A Quaker correspondent in England, compelled to give up his factory for civilian goods by the government's hoarding of manpower, has had leisure to pass on to me one of those chronological observations which are used as a kind of apocalyptic prophecy of the future. It is based on the magic number 129, and after pointing out that the French Revolution in 1789 followed the English Revolution of 1660 by just 129 years and was followed at the same interval by the German Revolution of 1918, it continues with the parallels and final question-mark:

Napoleon proclaimed Emperor	1804	129 years
Hitler made Führer	1933	
Napoleon invaded Austria	1809	129 years
Hitler invaded Austria	1938	

Napoleon invaded Russia	1812	129 years
Hitler invaded Russia	1941	

Napoleon banished to St. Helena	1814	129 years
Hitler ???	1943	

I have not seen the new British book, *We Laughed at Boney*, but the cartoon quoted in my earlier letter has received lately an unexpected and unintentional parallel. (The cartoon, drawn in 1803, showed a very belligerent Quaker broad-brim threatening Napoleon as he stood poised across the channel, and saying *inter alia*: "If thou or any of thy comrades darest to cross the great waters, my countrymen shall make Quakers of you all.")

Brendan Bracken, British Minister of Information, at a press conference in New York delivered himself of the following threat as to the bombing of Germany by air: "They are going to get such a dose in the next six months that a lot of people in Germany are going to believe there is a great deal of soundness in the Quaker religion."

No doubt other Friends who noticed this somewhat jocose remark were led, like the undersigned, to various reflections. We should probably leave it to our English cousins to enlighten their government about the implications of such a caricature of Quaker pacifism. The remark inclines us more than ever to put the word "information" in quotes whenever it is used of war officials. Minister Bracken's opposite number across the channel, Joseph Goebbels, is at least more accurately called a "minister of propaganda."

No doubt it is not merely in jest that Quakerism is thought of as taught by military defeat. The allied governments wish, without themselves becoming object lessons of war's losses, that the Germans should learn that war does not pay. They would welcome more Quakerism and more pacifism in Germany and Japan. Indeed, a recent,

published criticism of the relief work that Friends did in Germany in 1920-24 says specifically that we should have made much more explicit our pacifist propaganda.

Our experience, however, does not confirm either this or Minister Bracken's assumption. The idea that doses of bombs teach lessons—to mix the metaphor—is not a conviction that bodes well for those who hope thus to begin the much talked of re-education of Germany. After the last war those who in Germany were drawn to Quakerism were drawn, not by the efforts of those who defeated them at war, but precisely by the example of English and American Friends who maintained and practiced a better way. Their way of conversion is illustrated in William Hubben's *Exiled Pilgrim*. They became "friends of the Friends" and finally "Friends indeed." No doubt disillusionment with war has played its legitimate role even from the earliest days in the acceptance of our peace testimony, though such disillusion is likely to be extensive on both sides, no less on that of the so-called victors. Conversion to Quakerism by threat and the terror of force is another matter. I once heard a Friend tell how, as a boy in the battle of Gettysburg, he found the fighting so hot about him that he hid behind a rock and promised himself that if he got out alive he would become a good Quaker. "And he did"; but this seems somewhat exceptional.

The Jewish rabbis who in their quaint way classified proselytes under various terms named some "lion proselytes" after those settlers in Samaria who took to the worship of the Lord out of fear of the lions (2 Kings, 17:24-33), and they rightly asserted that such were no real proselytes. Neither the Society of Friends nor the peace of the world has much to gain from those who come "to believe there is a great deal of

soundness in the Quaker religion" in the way anticipated by the British spokesman.

38

Alternatives to Frustration

I understand that the psychological term "frustration" is often used in Civilian Public Service camps to analyze the less happy condition of certain persons' minds. This feeling has been prevalent among pacifists outside the camps, and not only in this war but in earlier wars. When a great and catastrophic crisis holds the center of the stage those who cannot conscientiously assist in the war effort, and who find themselves too few and feeble to do anything effective to stop the mass suicide, naturally feel themselves thwarted and frustrated. Some have recourse these days to post-war planning or to the limited opportunities for war relief, but it would be well if more of us could recognize the situation and, instead of feeling defeated about doing anything worth while, could learn to be more earnest and content about the things we may do, even though they seem irrelevant to the more imposing events of our time. To do so is not escapism, nor is it the cult of the "ivory tower." It is far more realistic than the ostrich-like absorption of belligerents in their own self-defeating enterprise.

Several illustrations from Quaker history occur to me. One is the structure at Ironbridge across the Severn, the first of its kind ever built and an interesting monument to the social conscience in wartime of a Quaker business firm. The Darbys of Coalbrookdale could not as Friends either connive with war-making to turn their steel forges into the manufacture of munitions or lightly bring unemployment to their faithful workers

merely because of the employers' pacifism. They accordingly, out of their own resources, devised a primitive form of W.P.A. and tided over the period of the American Revolution by diverting their products to the useful and then novel enterprise of building a cast-iron bridge.

In Pennsylvania the American Revolution brought to Friends not only all the inconveniences that it brought to other inhabitants but special disabilities and much pressure of public odium. As the authorities on each side testified, Quakers were no real support to either party. They could have been excused if they had been content to lie low and do nothing until the storm had passed. On the contrary, it was precisely in those years that they turned their attention most earnestly upon the inner purity and integrity of the Society of Friends, and carried out what they called a "reformation of society" of profound effect. This included sound and lasting educational efforts and the final steps in the complete elimination of slavery from their own membership.

It is interesting to note that the late Isaac Sharpless, who in his histories of Pennsylvania Quakerism most clearly understood this phenomenon, had little realization of the similar vitalizing effect on Quakerism in 1914-18 of the then current activities of the Society. One may further wonder whether in these present war years Friends recognize the opportunity and necessity of further inner reformation and development if we are to play our appropriate part in the future. The abolition of slavery by Friends during the Revolution gave them a position of vantage when the general issue of slavery became paramount. A similar getting right on the race question today—war or no war—might be the best possible occupation for our collective attention as a Society. That question may hereafter be crucial and may

become the final cause of further war, as slavery became three to six generations ago.

For individuals there are doubtless these days many fruitful alternatives to nursing a sense of frustration. Fortunately many normal processes of life are still possible in America, and these can be cultivated and extended. Even in England the headmaster of a Friends' school could write: "It is an inspiring job to be in this country now and to work for such an institution as this. We keep our head above water financially, manage fairly well to maintain former standards, and the young keep us bright and lively." Perhaps not all the children we are educating these days are destined to become cannon fodder or worse. At any rate the teacher's profession is a most rewarding one.

Then there is Quaker history. What a delightful escape from the present such study offers, as well as what profit for the future! Escape is sometimes legitimate. In the busy days of Quaker relief in Russia I can recall visiting Rufus Jones, with all his complicated duties as chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, and I observed—intermingled with telephone calls and correspondence that were making Quaker history—the memoirs and periodicals of an earlier age which he was using for the writing of his *Later Periods of Quakerism*. In the preface to that work, dated "Haverford, Midwinter 1921," he says:

"The six years during which I have been writing this book have been crowded with practical tasks, but I have often found solace and relief from the strain and agony of the world tragedy in the calm and quiet Journals of the past, and in the patient constructive spiritual labours of these holy men and women, and I have renewed through these contacts my faith in the slow but irresistible might of silent spiritual forces."

He little knew how similarly an earlier

Quaker historian had expressed himself of a like period. Robert Proud, an unsympathetic contemporary of the American Revolution, compiled and wrote in his retirement, "at the particular request of some Friends, the *History of Pennsylvania*, a laborious and important work." He describes the situation thus:

"Between the years 1775 and 1780, there being a great change from the former happy condition of this country since called the United States, with a general cessation, at that time, from the former usual and useful employments among the people who were then strangely disposed for revolution, rebellion and destruction under the name and pretense of Liberty, I endeavoured to divert my mind from those popular and disagreeable objects at times, by such meditations and reflections as took my attention; which in part I committed to writing on various subjects, both in prose and verse, . . . beside the compilation of the *History of Pennsylvania* since printed."

The interference of war with normal life, instead of being used as an excuse for doing less than we can do in profitable lines, should rather stimulate us to special and extra achievements.

39

Anarchism and Quakerism

Joseph Holmes Summers has written a thoughtful article in *The Christian Century* on "Quakerism, Pacifism and Democracy." Though the word anarchy does not appear in his title, and only once occurs in his article, I gather that it is really what worries him. He finds Friends "suspicious of any government power, however just," "irresponsible" to contemporary issues, with a humanitarian

aim so neutral as to be "incompatible with formal allegiance to any sort of government—even democracy."

The suspicion that Quakerism tends to anarchy is old and recurrent. Before Friends were pacifists their leveling tendency worried those who met them in the army. Their neglect of rank and title, according to General Monk, made them a very dangerous people should they increase in the army, neither fit to command nor to obey. A classic description is the complaint made in 1657 by Colonel Daniel at Perth of one of his subordinates who had turned Quaker:

"My Captain-Lieutenant is much confirmed in his principle of quaking, making all the soldiers his equal (according to the Levellers' strain) that I dare say in a short time his principles in the army shall be the root of disobedience. My Lord, the whole world is governed by superiority and distance in relations, and when that is taken away, unavoidably anarchy is ushered in. . . . There was one example last day when he came to St. Johnston Perth; he came in a more than ordinary manner to the soldiers of my company, and asking them how they did, and the men doing their duty by holding off their hats, he bade them put them on, he expected no such thing from them. My Lord, this may seem to be a small thing, but there lies more in the bosom of it than every one thinks, and though it's good to be humble, yet humility would be known by the demonstration thereof, and where all are equals I expect little obedience in government."

It was not forty years before the Quakers themselves were in government in Pennsylvania, and much worse fears came upon the non-Quaker settlers in the province, for the Quakers had abolished, not merely army salutes and etiquette, but the army itself. Signing themselves "his majesty's most loyal

subjects," these complainants wrote in 1697 to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations about the Quakers in control:

"The principles they maintain do militate against the very end and essentials of government, which is the protection of the people in all their just interest, bringing in of those to condign punishment that shall invade them. So they overpowering us with their votes in our public assemblies no bills can pass for the forming of a militia, levying of forces, etc. for the defense of the country or for the collecting or sending of any assistance or quotas for the common defense of frontiers or the raising of moneys to answer any such exigencies of government. And for such their proceedings they allege that it is unlawful that men should be hired to fight, or that the sword should be drawn or made use of in any case whatsoever, by which means the country lies naked and defenceless and exposed to be ruined and made a prey of by any enemy that shall first invade it."

Although the expected danger did not materialize in the next fifty years, there were plenty of American patriots who continued to be worried by the anarchy of the Quakers. I turn to the letters of one signer of the Declaration of Independence to another. To the founding fathers, it should be remembered, the words republican and democratic—both without capitals—were far from synonymous. A republic could still be a very aristocratic affair. John Adams had expressed himself to that effect in print and his expression nearly cost him the Vice-Presidency in 1789. Writing that year to Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, Adams uses the Quakers—in a way characteristic of outsiders on whatever point they argue—now as providing by their horrible example evidence of the truth of his position, and now as not opposed to the position but really, if ob-

scurely, concurring in it. On June 9th he wrote:

"I do not 'abhor titles nor the pageantry of government.' If I did I should abhor government itself for there never was and never will be, because there never can be, any government without titles and pageantry. There is not a Quaker family in Pennsylvania governed without titles and pageantry."

On July 5th: "Had I leisure to write plays like Gen. Burgoyne I would undertake a Comedy under the title of 'Government without Title.' The *Dramatis Personae* should be a Quaker and his wife, ten children and four servants. They should all live in the same room, dine, breakfast and sup at the same table—they should promiscuously call each other by their names without titles and live without form. We should see what order, virtue and economy would ensue. The sons would soon be married to the female servants and the daughters to the male. Both children and servants would soon kick and cuff the old man and woman."

The charge of anarchism has varied with our history—now and in the past it has been our refusal to support a democratic government at war; before that it was our indifference to titles or pageantry or our refusal of salutes and of the pronoun "you" to superiors. Probably a new criticism will come with any world government if we are lukewarm to international police, to military and economic sanctions, and to the coercion of states. But we shall not be much moved by the use of the word. Our workers in pre-Franco Spain told us that the avowed Anarchists there were some of its best citizens. What seem to others to be essentials of loyalty and good order may be really the husks of government. We shall continue to believe that government rests not on force but on the consent of the governed, and that

often "that government is the best which governs least."

40

A Public Trial in Bermuda

If others tend no less often than the writer to confuse Bahamas, Barbados, and Bermudas, they will guess what island happenings have suggested this letter at this time. The association has good precedent, since George Fox in 1676 addressed a letter, now lost, to Friends in "Bermudos and the Bohemia-Islands." For there were Friends in all those places at that time, though their short and stormy history has yet to be told.

The episode called now to mind occurred in 1682. The Reverend Sampson Bond, a teacher in Pembroke-Tribe, had challenged the Quakers of Bermuda to a public debate, and he subsequently published in Boston a hundred-page report of it, whose title, or rather the beginning of whose title, reads, *A Publick Tryal of the Quakers in Bermudas*. Now Sampson was a somewhat impetuous and litigious character. His fellow religionists, although they called him "a godly, orthodox and painful divine," found him in perpetual political and religious controversy. It is hard to learn anything favorable about him even from non-Quaker sources. Cotton Mather reports from Boston that his coming there has been the cause of a very great disturbance, and that he has gone away "under the quality of a snuffer"; and Increase Mather tells him that his settlement there was feared lest there should be some public contest between him and the elders "which would greatly tend to the disgrace of the gospel." There is good reason to believe that the cause of his return to Bermuda was that he was caught preaching a sermon other than his own. Such a peccadillo, if known to the

Quakers of Bermuda, would not be surprising to them in any "hiring priest."

If we would trust Bond, the trial was a victory for himself, the plaintiff. "The whole charge," he says further in his title page, "being proved by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, was found by the sheriffs and justices of the peace a true and just charge"; and the Quakers "being found guilty they are here sentenced and brought forth unto deserved execution of the press."

Such a book did not go unanswered. George Fox's correspondent at Bermuda, Francis Estlake, and other Friends produced an answer about equally lengthy, which they also called a trial, *A Bermudas Preacher Proved a Persecutor, Being a Just Tryal of Sampson Bond's Book*. But little as Bond was loved in Boston, the Quakers were loved still less, so that they had to send to London for "the execution of the press." Of course the island itself had no printing facilities.

I have no intention of rehearsing the contents of these volumes. They have little of interest for today. The books themselves are now quite scarce. Of Bond's *Publick Tryal* there are five copies in America, of which one changed hands lately for \$250. They disclose a striking change of reading tastes, since theological debates apparently served as the same kind of attraction to readers then that murder trials do today. *De gustibus non disputandum*.

Of Quakerism in modern Bermuda, or in the Bahamas either, there is little to say. In 1941, when I thrice stopped at Bermuda, its hotels were occupied by more than a thousand censors, and since then I understand Americans in the services have arrived in force. Such material is as unfavorable to Quakerism as the island's coral foundation is to springs of fresh water.

The Log of a Negro Quaker

I am not sure whether one should say Negro Quaker, or Quaker Negro. Whichever is suitable for a Quaker journal, the other would probably be suitable for the *Journal of Negro History*. In either case the title of this letter looks odd, and not merely because the Negroes who are Friends (or the Friends who are Negroes) are so scarce. I should explain that "log" is used here in the nautical sense and that I am turning once more to the "maritime history of Quakerism." I wrote recently (letters 33 and 34) about the sailors and whalers of Nantucket and New Bedford, and did not intend to revert so soon to the subject. That I do so now is due to an invitation to attend Quarterly Meeting at New Bedford.

New Bedford has a remarkable whaling museum, much too extensive to cover between the end of meeting and closing time. It was particularly tantalizing to learn that its log books number over six hundred. To read merely those of ships whose names, owners, or captains were Friends would be a long task. I had to satisfy my special hobby with noticing a few pictures of Quaker worthies and a box compass made by the Negro Quaker from nearby Westport, Paul Cuffe.

Paul Cuffe (less correctly spelled Cuffee) is not a new name to me. He is well known as a public spirited citizen about New Bedford and he holds an important place in the annals of the American Colonization Society. By his own efforts he became, in spite of repeated reverses, a successful mariner. In 1808 he joined Friends Meeting at Westport, which he had attended and his father before him, and he sent his son and

namesake to a Friends' school on Willing's Alley, Philadelphia. He is the most noteworthy of Negro Quakers and deserves a full biography. As a colored Quaker mariner he was not unique, for his contemporary, David Maps, the pillar of Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting in New Jersey, was the owner and manager of a 60-ton schooner.

A long contemporary account gives the story of Cuffe's first whaling voyage on his own:

"About this time Paul proceeded on a whaling voyage to the Straits of Belle Isle, where he found four other vessels completely equipped with boats and harpoons for catching Whales. Paul discovered that he had not made proper preparations for the business, having only ten hands on board, and two boats, one of which was old and almost useless. When the masters of the other vessels found his situation, they withdrew from the customary practice of such voyages, and refused to mate with his crew. In this emergency Paul resolved to prosecute his undertaking alone, till at length the other masters thought it most prudent to accede to the usual practice, as they apprehended his crew by their ignorance might alarm and drive the Whales from their reach, and thus defeat their voyages. During the season they took seven Whales. The circumstances which had taken place, roused the ambition of Paul and his crew, they were most diligent and enterprising, and had the honour of killing six of the seven Whales, two of these fell by Paul's own hands. He returned home in due season, heavily freighted with oil and bone, and arrived in the autumn of 1793, being then about his thirty-fourth year."

As there was still an hour or two before train time I wandered over to the Free Public Library and asked casually for any manuscript material about Paul Cuffe. I had seen such material there some years ago, but this time something different was brought to

Those Bartrams

me—three leather-bound record books, one of which proved to be a combination log book and journal of a voyage to England and Sierra Leone in 1810-12 of the Brig *Traveler*, 109 tons, Paul Cuffe, master and owner. The record while at sea is reported by this self-taught sailor with the usual detail of weather observations and bearings, but in the intervals at land, either at Liverpool or at London, at New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, it refers, like the journals of other Friends, to meetings faithfully attended or to Quakers he met. As William Allen and Stephen Grellet mention him in their journals, so here he mentions them. He met others as well as Friends, including patrons and trustees of the African Institution like the Duke of Gloucester, to whom he made “a present of an African robe, a letter box and a dagger to show that the African was capebill (*sic*) of mental endowment.”

It is a century and a quarter since Cuffe died. How far have Friends progressed in their relations to the Negro race? Cuffe felt himself an integral part of the Society, and many anecdotes show that white Friends so accepted him. As I closed the log (I hope some time to read further in it) I recalled what the editor of the *Journal of Negro History* wrote in its last issue. They seem like exaggerated words, but they come from a responsible and outstanding Negro historian:

“The Quakers had the same difficulty [as the Moravians] in translating their profession into action, although they were decidedly the best friends of the Negro in the ante-bellum times. Quakers in certain parts reluctantly admitted Negroes as members, and today Quakers, as a rule, hate Negroes just as others of their race do.”

Perhaps the war against slavery was another case where those who won the war lost the peace.

While the purpose of these letters is to show to modern readers the interest of Quaker history and to link that history with the present, no one is more conscious than the writer of a general indifference of many Friends to their past history. “Forbearance with forebears” is a phrase that might express this indifference. To be sure, too much harking back to the past, especially if tintured with a bit of ancestor worship, may be unwise, not to say boring. One recalls the remark of the child to his parents who were rather too family-conscious: “I am tired of being a descendant, I want to be an ancestor.” Better is the balanced attitude expressed by Edwin Mead when he said: “Let us be creditors to the future, as we are debtors to the past.”

The two aspects of these letters—historic interest and a touch of modern application—are also the professional tools of the salesman of old books. From him I take instruction whenever he does his advertising with skill. For example, I have before me the current issue of that well edited “conversational catalogue of books, prints, paintings, and autographs” called *The Month at Goodspeed’s*. My attention was first caught by an entry beginning: “Franklin Imprint . . .” and ending “. . . \$75.” It had to do with an address to the Governor of Pennsylvania in 1757 from that organization with a long but sensible name, “The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures.” The bookshop may not know what many Friends think today about “peace now” as against “unconditional surrender,” but there is both historic accuracy and present suggestion in its

description of the writers as "an unofficial group, probably Quakers, who believed in negotiating with the Indians rather than making war upon them, and even agreed to subscribe a considerable part of the expense necessary to the holding of the treaty at Easton."

Many readers of the *Intelligencer* count John Bartram among their forebears. This same catalogue offers a book by him and another by his son William. Together they would cost you \$100, but here you may read the bookseller's account of them without extra charge. What a terse style it has, what intriguing appeal to the interest and appreciation of those who are not even spiritual descendants of those Bartrams! Note too the little undertone of reference to different wartime attitudes, whether it be, as in the case of William Bartram, what I have called "alternatives to frustration," or, with father John, a little un-Quakerly belligerence. Dr. Harper of Swarthmore and the American Philosophical Society are now producing the definitive handsome scientific edition of these Quaker botanical classics. I am content meanwhile simply to repeat the bookshop's ads:

DESTINY'S DAISY

"Reminiscent of Robert Burns is the story of how John Bartram, first native American botanist, dedicated his life to "the gentle science" from the moment he noticed the symmetry of a daisy overturned by his plow. Bartram was born in 1699 in the low country south of Philadelphia. He was a Quaker, though in later life he was read out of meeting, perhaps, writes Donald Culross Peattie, because as he "had learned more of the world and science he had found it difficult to remain as orthodox as his brethren." On the banks of the Schuylkill three miles from Philadelphia he laid out a garden

which to this day is a part of the city's park system and where trees that he planted still stand. To Bartram's garden came leading American and foreign botanists of the day, and Franklin, Washington, and other great ones.

"He made many journeys up and down the country, usually alone for want of a congenial companion. Since he cared less for classifying and setting in statistical order the beauties and mysteries of nature than he did for admiring plants where they grew and for gathering them and giving some to his friends, he would, one supposes, have enjoyed Thoreau. In 1751 he published what Mr. Peattie calls "the best of his journals."...

"Though a pacifist by doctrine, he could bend gracefully enough at the time of the old border wars to allow that the way to treat Indians was to "bang them stoutly." He seems to have been the first to propose a survey of the Far West, broaching the idea to Franklin, who passed it on to Jefferson, who embodied it in his instructions to Lewis and Clark."

FLOWER HUNTER

"John Bartram had a son William—Billy Bartram to his white friends and Puc-puggy (Flower-hunter) to his red ones, the Seminoles. As implied, he was a botanist, too. He made botanical drawings of such excellence that they were brought to the attention of the English botanist, Dr. John Fothergill, who financed Billy on a plant-hunt in the southeastern states. In April, 1773, Billy came to Charleston by sea and traveled through the western Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, and through the lands of the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws, west to the Mississippi. In 1791 he published an account of his travels. The following year came a London edition and within the decade editions ap-

peared in French, Dutch, and German. Puc-pugger's book was a *fin de 18^e siècle* hit.

'Do you know Bartram's *Travels*,' put Carlyle subsequently. 'Treats of Florida chiefly, has a wonderful kind of floundering eloquence in it.' The *Travels* have a greater scope than Carlyle implies, and though Bartram's main concern was with natural history he was much interested in the Indians and the fur traders he found in the remote wildernesses during the years in which the Revolution was being fought out back home.

"Coleridge liked Bartram's book, too, recording in his *Table Talk* that it was written in the spirit of the old travelers. Lane Cooper says: 'The literary influence of Bartram's *Travels* would furnish meat for a dissertation. The volume fell into the hands of Chateaubriand, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and many another, with happy results to be seen in *Atala*, *Kubla Khan*, and *Ruth*.' We know it also fell into Southey's hands, for we once had a copy with his autograph on the title page. And it may fall into your hands, too, a nice copy of the first London edition."

43

Christmas—Every Day or Never?

No doubt an old-fashioned Quaker Christmas was a cozy time according to some traditions or records or family memories, but in the beginnings of our history the day was a pretty grim occasion. Like other dissenters, Friends felt no religious unity with a festival whose very name implied a "popish mass." It was part of the superstition of an apostate Christendom, from which all seekers for the primitive Christianity should abstain. So, with the peculiar Quaker obstinacy which often outstripped the dissent of other non-conform-

ists, they demonstrated their protest by doing business as usual on the holiday.

Nearly all the references I can find in Quaker records to "Tenth Month 25th" (as it was then) are to arrest and imprisonment, or to suffering overt violence for working or for keeping open shop on that day. From Aberdeen to Cornwall, from Denbighshire to Kent, instances can be cited. "The magistrates of the city caused the officers to pull down and take away the signs which were hanging before Friends' shops." "Some of the troopers of my Lord of Oxford's regiment . . . forced them to shut their shops." "For working upon the day called Xmas day . . . put in the stocks." "Twenty yards of linen cloth taken for setting open her shop windows on that day called Xmas day." "For opening of her mother's shop windows on the day aforesaid . . . put in the cage." At Norwich in 1676 a special committee was appointed to take an account of the sufferings of such Friends as opened their shops on the day.

A second aspect of the early Quakers' feeling about Christmas was their objection to its frivolity and license. An unpublished paper of George Fox in 1656 (mostly in cipher, or shorthand) is extant, addressed to

"You that be observing the day you call Christmas, with your fulness, with your cards, with your playgames, with your disings, with your feasting and abundance of idleness and destroying of the creatures. . . ."

More than twenty-five years later George Fox's step-son-in-law, William Meade, expressed a concern to the Meeting for Sufferings about "the unruliness upon the day called Christmas" and apparently offered to go himself and speak to the Lord Mayor of London about it. There were printed protests by various Friends against the luxury

and frivolity of the day. Just today as I write this letter there has come straight from England Violet Holdsworth's attractive new brochure, *The Shoemaker of Dover*, and I find that Luke Howard, whose *acta sanctorum* our Quaker hagiographer here recounts, was the author or joint author of a long epistle condemning both the practices of Christmas observers and the attempt to coerce non-observers.

Sometimes Friends themselves were guilty. It was no other than the well-known George Keith who informed his Monthly Meeting of "the public offense given by William Steven, weaver, and Elspeth Spring, his wife, in going upon the 25th of the tenth month [1672] to his wife's mother's and remaining idle all that day and keeping it in feasting there." Though the culprits at first justified their conduct, the minutes recorded next month that they acknowledged their guilt to the Friends deputed to go to Tillerie and "speak with these persons anent their scandal." The marginal entry, still avoiding the hated word, runs: "Anent two professing Truth countenancing the debauched time called Yule."

Since those early days Friends' attitude to Christmas has probably changed a good deal. The old puritan objection survived most conspicuously and longest in the Quaker boarding schools, which deliberately set their winter holidays (if any) so as to avoid including Christmas. Bootham School in York first made Christmas a holiday in 1857, and Ackworth School a few years later. If I am not mistaken, the boarding schools at Westtown and at Barnesville did not recognize Christmas until the twentieth century.

There are valid objections to the present day observance, especially to its commercial exploitation, but they are not the old charges of popish superstition or profane excesses. One feels that, while it may be well

to think Christmas thoughts at least once a year, there would be less hypocrisy if one made every day a day of remembrance of the Prince of Peace. The most recent and not most inaccurate of the many popular articles about Quakerism—"They Call Themselves Friends—and Mean It!"—shocked me by its boxed headline, "The Quakers recognize no sabbath . . .," until I read in the text a more satisfactory explanation: "They reason that God can speak more clearly in silence . . . they feel that such speech can come on any day of the week and that one day is no holier than others."

And so with Christmas. By the good Friendly principle of levelling the secular up to the sacred we ought to make every day a Christmas day, whether we concur in a formal one-day holiday or not. Yet there is danger that what we assign to no special time is as good as never done. For example, what was I to reply to the friendly High Churchman who one day suddenly said to me: "I know you Friends celebrate the Lord's Supper inwardly and not with bread and wine, but it never occurred to me to inquire just when and how often do you keep it?" Was I to say: "Oh, any time, that is, it may be, never"? Perhaps the most honest answer would be merely "Now and then."

44

Not Passed by the Censor

Everyone has become accustomed to the phenomenon of censorship—not censorship of news only but censorship of the mails. Indeed nearly everyone has his favorite stories of experiences with letters from overseas illustrating either clever evasions of censorship or the foolishness of individual censors, who, to use a Biblical metaphor, strain out

the gnat and swallow the camel. In the former category I would put that Friend who, in writing home unfavorable reports, always put them in a favorable form, indicating merely by enclosing the sentence in brackets that a "not" was to be supplied. In the latter I would quote a letter from a boy to his father which got through the censor containing the two successive sentences: "I am not permitted by the censor to tell you where I am. Baghdad is the dirtiest city I ever saw."

The methods of censoring letters differ. The old method of blacking out words or lines has given way to clipping them out with scissors. This has the effect of cutting out also innocent enough writing on the back, so that experienced modern writers write on only one side. I once spent a precious half hour recopying a letter which I was carrying across the Atlantic from a man to his wife because the censor told me he would have to cut out half of it which dealt with the bombing of Bristol, and that would have spoiled the rest of the letter too. To my annoyance I discovered that next day a London paper printed a much fuller account of the forbidden news, which in this form I was able to carry unchallenged through the censor.

A lazy way to censor letters is simply to hold them undelivered for a few months. By that time whatever news of strategic value they contain is supposed to have become obsolete. This method reminds me of a correspondent who once explained his delay in answering my letters by saying that he found that, if he ignored his mail for a few months, he found little of it then required an answer. A Friend who returned lately on the *Gripsholm* had all his letters held while he was interned, and then on the day before he sailed the accumulated mail was handed to him to read and hand back to the censor.

Another method is for the censor to make a copy of the letter for his files and let the original go through. It was a rather surprising experience for a representative of the American Friends Service Committee to be shown in England photostats of correspondence that had passed between his colleagues in Philadelphia and Marseilles, especially when he discovered that what the British government wanted was not to prevent or criticize the correspondence but to use the contacts for getting around its own financial regulations.

Further ways to censor correspondence are to forbid it, to return it to the sender, or to confiscate it.

Finally I may mention the indirect effect of censorship in discouraging correspondents from writing at length or freely, either for fear their letters will not get through or for fear of the suspicion it may cast on sender or recipient. No one who read my recent letter about Bermuda would suspect that, after consultation, I crossed off a couple of sentences at the end of such an innocent article. I was reminded that some printed copies would go overseas. *C'est la guerre.*

Many of these forms of censorship were experienced by earlier Friends. For example, in an unpublished letter dated 1670 Francis Denne writes Margaret Fox: "I could speak much of things but I forbear lest the letter miscarry." And a century later, in 1776, John Reynell of Philadelphia wrote to his sister: "I write no politics lest it should obstruct the passage of the letter."

In 1661 when Daniel Baker visited two Quaker women imprisoned in Malta by the Inquisition he found that the letters they had written home were intercepted by the Lord Inquisitor, who forbade the British consul to forward them unless copies were taken. The consul was too lazy or angry to do this, but Daniel Baker offered to copy

the letters himself, and triumphantly carried the originals away with him to England to deliver to the respective husbands.

Of confiscated Quaker letters of the seventeenth century not a few will be found in the Public Record Office, having been thus preserved to posterity by the officials of the realm. Several were printed in 1910-13 in a series, *Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, 1654 to 1672*. I want, however, to speak here especially of some others of which I learned by accident. They are letters sent to William Penn when he was in Ireland in 1670. In that very tense year of his life William Penn was probably carefully watched by secret police, and these letters were intercepted and never delivered to him. I finally succeeded in getting photostats made in England and sent to me. Each is stamped "Her Majesty's State Paper Office." Besides the sentimental attraction of looking at the very documents there is no little intrinsic interest in the letters themselves, and somewhere else they should be published in full.

As one spells out the handwriting of these letters now in this tercentenary year of William Penn's birth, one wonders whether any other Quaker eyes have seen them since the writers first dispatched them in 1670. How similar the restrictions on correspondence are today! Indeed the very letters in which my English correspondent answered my request for these copies were filled with scissor holes because he tried also to reply to my request for a list of articles that would be welcome in his family's wardrobe as gifts from America.

45

First Lady

The passing of Lou Henry Hoover is an event in Quaker history and it calls to mind other events more or less distant. Her connection with Quakerism began forty-five years ago when she, an Episcopalian, was married by a Catholic priest to an orphan from a Quaker home in West Branch, Iowa. Along with her warm friend, Mary Vaux Walcott, she was active in providing for a new meeting house in Washington and for the independent Friends Meeting there of which she and President Herbert Hoover were charter members and attenders. With her began that helpful confidence between the nation's First Lady and the American Friends Service Committee. Somewhere, in these pages or elsewhere, intimate rather than formal reminiscences and appreciations of this Quakeress ought to be published.

Dolly Madison is the other Quakeress in White House history, though the present White House was either unfinished or burned and in need of repair for most of the four terms that she was the nation's hostess—for eight years as wife of the Secretary of State, acting hostess for the widower Jefferson, and for eight more as wife of the actual President. Born in 1768 in North Carolina, the daughter of John and Mary Payne, spending her youth in Virginia, moving in 1783 to Philadelphia, married there in 1790 to John Todd, "Dolley" and her immediate family had always been part of a Quaker circle. Her mother's sisters, however, had married among the world's people, and so when, after the yellow fever of 1793 had taken off her husband, she met and married James Madison she was disowned for "mar-

rying out." As Mrs. Hoover's marriage to a future American president ultimately brought her into the Society, so Mrs. Madison's marriage promptly put her out.

Her Quaker connections from then on became rather few, though it was half a century before she joined the Episcopal Church. Her dress was no longer plain, if her speech was, and her gayety and grace as a hostess became proverbial. Its inclusive and reconciling influence on her guests in the quarrels and jealousies of Washington politics was an unusual though effective manifestation of the spirit that takes away the occasion of wars. Her life was thereafter part of public history. Her escape from the White House before it was captured and burned in 1814 is an exciting episode. She bore away with her in her carriage the Stuart portrait of George Washington, which by her own initiative and presence of mind she took from the doomed building, and also the Declaration of Independence. She is described as the intimate friend of our presidents and their families during eleven administrations, and a beloved figure in the national capital up to the time of her death in 1849.

From the Quaker viewpoint, her life is best shown in the biography by another Quakeress, the historian Ella Kent Barnard. Other items can also be added. She was, of course, intimate with the most noteworthy practicing Friend in Washington for a generation, Dr. William Thornton, who designed the city and the Capitol. Whether Dolly ever went to meeting there I do not know. Thornton did, though the day that he took President J. Q. Adams to meeting he admitted "he had been much inclined to sleep."

At any rate Quakers came to Dolly; some came in plain bonnets to her funeral, and weighty Philadelphia women Friends—Rebekah Hubbs and Sarah Scull, associates of her earlier days—visited her at the White House with a concern for a religious oppor-

tunity. They chose the tense days when the English were approaching. Rebekah writes that she was "able to relieve her mind of much that was on it." President Madison was not at home at the time. In fact, as commander-in-chief he was very busy preparing an army against invasion, and Dolly admits that, though a Quaker, she kept "the old Tunisian sabre within reach." However, President Madison had met plain Quakers before, having served various terms in the Continental or Federal Congress, when Philadelphia was their meeting place. Paul Cuffe, the Negro Quaker, is said to have addressed him as James, with "thee's" and "thy's." If so, it was no more than his plump, pretty Dolly had used.

Perhaps other First Ladies have had some Quaker connections. It is no secret that one of them, Abigail Adams, is to have a Quakeress as a definitive biographer. She was really Dolly Madison's immediate predecessor and the successor of Martha Washington. Since her husband was the first Vice President and the second President, she was, I suppose, both the first Second Lady and the second First Lady. What her presidential husband and son thought of Friends is known to us from their writings. Whether Abigail expressed herself any more favorably on the subject her Quaker biographer should be able some day to tell us. In the National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans only five of 117 portraits are of women, and two of these are of Abigail Adams and Dolly Madison.

P.S. Rufus M. Jones assisted the Protestant Episcopal rector of St. Bartholomew's Church in New York in conducting the funeral services for Mrs. Herbert Hoover which were held in the church on January 10th, 1944.

Another Friend, D. Elton Trueblood,

chaplain of Leland Stanford University at Palo Alto, California, conducted the memorial services for Mrs. Hoover which were held in the Stanford University Chapel on January 14th, 1944.

46

Captors Captured

When I read of the death two days before Christmas of Captain Joseph A. Gainard there came to mind memories of events four years before, but even more strongly recollections of episodes in the early history of Quakerism.

Gainard, it will be recalled, was captain of the American merchant ship, *City of Flint*, which, after picking up and bringing to New York a lot of the survivors of the sunken *Athenia*, was on its very next day captured by a German pocket battleship on suspicion of carrying contraband, and boarded by an armed guard who had orders to bring it back to Germany. Captain Gainard, still holding operational command, had to steer the ship to the far north; he put in at Murmansk, and then slowly made his way southward close to the Norwegian shore within the three mile limit of territorial waters where British ships could not interfere. He encouraged the Germans to order him to anchor at Haugesund but without adequate legal cause; whereupon the Norwegian authorities were justified in taking off the guard and letting the ship go free. Gainard and his crew happily stopped at Bergen, disposed of the cargo, and safely returned to America. No violence was used by Germans, Americans, or Norwegians. The two last-named countries, being then neutral, acted and were treated precisely according to neutral rights of international law. So,

at least, Gainard wrote in *Yankee Skipper*, the story of his life.

Perhaps there is no Quaker connection with the *City of Flint*, but there are three more or less dissimilar parallels. In 1657 Daniel Baker, a veteran of the first Dutch War and captain of the frigate *Lizard*, engaged in patrol duty, intercepted the Dutch East Indiaman *Morning Star* and brought it in as prize to Milford Haven. The Dutch asserted that the cargo belonged to them and to an Italian whom they had on board, and they resented as neutrals having to submit to search by the British. But Baker discovered on board £100,000 of gold not declared in the ship's manifest which the British believed belonged to Spanish owners, and England was at war with Spain.

How this international incident turned out need not now concern us; but within a few weeks there was a new captain on the *Lizard*, and the Navy agent assured the Admiralty office that none of its crew were "tainted with Quakerism." Yes, at this very juncture Captain Baker, himself captured for a greater Master than Cromwell and seeking a better "prize," turned Friend. Thereafter he served time frequently in English jails, sailed to the Mediterranean to make new converts, tried to free two women from the Inquisition at Malta, preached Quakerism at Gibraltar, got into more British jails for "Truth's sake," was captured with four of his sons by the Turks, joined the Quaker prisoners at Algiers, was ransomed by money raised by Friends in England and Barbados, and so forth. His last state was no less arduous or adventurous than the first. Not all his romantic life is known; none of it has been really written up. George Fox believed he had cured Baker of lameness, after which, though his "bones had been shot and shattered to pieces and taken out of his body," he walked without crutches "more than twenty years." Brief and appropriate is the

final report of him—"lost at sea." Unlike Joe Gainard, Captain Baker did not die ashore in his bed.

The second episode occurred in 1665 when fifty-five Quakers were taken out of Newgate prison and forcibly loaded on a ship, the *Black Eagle*, to be transported to Jamaica. Before the ship ever left the Thames half the Friends had died of the plague. Off Plymouth it was taken as a prize by a Dutch privateer, which divided both the Friends and the crew between the two ships and started for home. But the *Black Eagle* got separated in a storm and sailed around Ireland and Scotland to Norway, where it turned up in Bergen harbor. The Friends wished to go ashore and preach, though they knew no Norwegian, but they were not allowed; they gave books, however, to such of those who came to see them that knew English. Thus Quakerism in Norway began from the twenty-day visit in Bergen harbor of those who were twice-prisoners.

The third episode, better known than either of these, is the story of Thomas Lurting. I do not mean the first story when he, like Baker, saw action in Cromwell's navy, though he suddenly left off firing in the middle of an engagement "under some scruple of conscience on account of fighting." He did not "live to fight another day" but to set an example of heroic and successful non-violence.

While he was sailing as Quaker mate to the Quaker captain of a merchant ship, they were captured near Majorca by a corsair. They would doubtless all have been taken into captivity in Algiers had not Lurting, through patient dealing with his fellow sailors as well as with the pirates, won the confidence of both. He disarmed the latter while they were asleep, delivered them at a suitable place along their own coast, and then made his way with a fair wind back to

England, where King Charles and the Duke of York came to meet them—"a Quaker ketch coming up the river that had been taken by the Turks and had redeemed themselves, and had never a gun!" Lurting's own account ends:

"Then he (the King) asked me many questions how we cleared ourselves; and I answered him. He said I should have brought the Turks to him. I answered that I thought it better for them to be in their own country; at which they all smiled and went away."

This episode, I am now convinced, has entered indirectly into English fiction, being known and used by Daniel Defoe for his account of Quaker William in *Captain Singleton*.

47

The Letter in Lincoln's Pocket

I have often wondered why people I know spend time reading, and even writing, detective stories or mystery novels when they could get the same enjoyment from history. As "truth is stranger than fiction", so the quest for facts provides greater facilities for exercise of the same functions used in the literature referred to. There is scope for exciting conjecture, for appraising and following clues, for getting on the wrong track and being led astray. Even in such a limited field as Quaker history there are unsolved mysteries, with the chance for the sheer amateur to be his own Sherlock Holmes or Charlie Chan. In the typical detective story one knows that he is being led by the nose through unnecessary complications and that after a couple of hundred pages will come out at an answer. Historical research has no such artificiality. When one

begins he never knows whether the answer will turn up at once, or never. The fun is in the search.

Two small questions that have come to me in one week illustrate these generalizations, and as they are appropriate to the two February presidential birthdays I may mention them here. A stranger writes: "The statement is often made that at the time of the assassination there was found in Lincoln's pocket one of the letters written to him by Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney. Can that be true?" Two days later I get a post card from a friend: "An inquiry from New York asks whether George Washington ever attended a Friends' meeting. Do you know?" I confine myself here to the former question.

Eliza Gurney of Burlington, New Jersey, was the American widow of the famous Joseph John Gurney. In October, 1862, with other Friends, she had an interview with President Lincoln at the White House. In 1863 and 1864 she wrote letters to him and received from him an answer before she wrote the second time. These facts are accepted generally and noted by his biographers; the original of his letter is extant and may be seen. Except for Binns, himself a Friend, the biographers generally omit the claim that her earlier letter was in his pocket at the time of his death. My correspondent, whose name, F. Lauriston Bullard, is well known among Lincoln specialists, puts the question thus:

"I can find no evidence to support the statement. Do you know of any authority on this point? In the *Memoirs and Correspondence of Eliza P. Gurney*, edited by Richard F. Mott, the statement is made at page 322, but no authority is cited. . . . Every detail of the machinations of Booth, the shooting, and the death of the President has been minutely studied. One fact, at least, however, I do not find. We know his cloth-

ing was removed when he was laid upon the bed in the little room in the Petersen house. But I find nothing about what became of them (the garments) or what was found in the pockets. Memories are too fallible for historians unless supported by confirmatory evidence. What is needed is a record, a memorandum, made at the time. I am puzzled as to how to proceed in the quest."

Responding to this challenge, I turned at once to the grandson of Eliza P. Gurney's biographer. He offered to show me an account of the interview at the White House written by his grandmother within an hour of its conclusion, but could give no new evidence on the letter in the pocket, though his mother also had repeated the statement about it in print in 1910 and again in 1926. Among prominent Friends living near Eliza Gurney at Burlington were, besides Richard Mott, Stephen Grellet and Dr. Joseph W. Taylor. The latter, noted afterwards as the founder of Bryn Mawr College, lived only a quarter of a mile from West Hill where Eliza Gurney lived. His great-niece, who published a biography of him, says his diary and correspondence contain no reference to the point we are discussing. An equally recent biographer of Stephen Grellet has no independent evidence to confirm it, though he published in 1941 (from printed sources) a statement that "this letter was found in his pocket when he was assassinated." Nor do files for 1865 of the four Quaker weeklies supply the lack.

Looking again at the statement referred to in Mott's *Memoirs*, I noticed that, though without indication of source, the following words are put in quotation marks: "... her first letter had been carefully treasured up by him, and was in his breast pocket when the fatal shot reached him." Evidently someone else had written these words before Richard Mott published them in 1884. I

think I have found the author of them. Though the *Annual Monitor* usually published only obituaries of English Friends, and these always anonymously, the issue for 1883 published—outside the alphabetical series—one of Eliza Gurney. The editor, in the preface dated 1882, acknowledges the exception of including an American Friend, and reveals that J. Bevan Braithwaite had prepared the brief sketch. It agrees almost word for word with the passage in the memoir. Probably all later references to the item go back ultimately to this source.

But Bevan Braithwaite was writing in England and sixteen years after the event. Is it likely that he knew? I think it is. Joseph John Gurney died in 1847, and in 1849 Bevan Braithwaite was asked by the widow to write his life. This was published in 1854. She herself returned to America in 1850, but for thirty years (until her death in 1881) she kept in correspondence with her husband's friend and biographer. When he came to America in August, 1865, he went direct from the boat to her home. That was only a few months after the assassination. Of course it would be nice to trace the matter back further in written form. Meanwhile my correspondent writes: "I believe that the garments Lincoln wore that night were taken by the War Department, but I hesitate to write them in this time." However, we shall carry on our search and perhaps will have something to say by the next birthday. At present we can only "report progress"—or can we?

48

George Washington and Friends

In discussing last week a question that had been asked me about Abraham Lincoln, I mentioned a question asked me by some-

one else about George Washington. This proved much easier to answer. The question was whether George Washington ever attended a Friends' meeting. The answer is given by Washington himself in his diary at Philadelphia for September 25, 1774: "Went to the Quaker meeting in the forenoon and St. Peter's in the afternoon."

I expect my correspondent will want to know what he heard or saw at meeting, and whether this is the first and only time he attended. I do not know. If Washington ever went before, I think it would have been at Barbados where he and his brother Lawrence spent some weeks in 1751-52. They were both ill there and their doctor was the notable Quaker physician William Hillary. The meetings on the island at that time were small, but would be a curiosity to visitors. Of course President Washington spent much of his later life in the Quaker City, but he had less occasion to go to Friends' Meeting then than when he appeared there among the delegates at the first convening of the Continental Congress in September, 1774. For many of his Sundays we have no diary from him.

There is no reason to suppose that Washington went frequently to meeting. The remarkable thing is that legend has not invented more stories to that effect. American local tradition has no difficulty in pointing out everywhere old dwellings or inns where Washington slept or ate or had his headquarters, and in many Friends' Meeting Houses I have been told that his wounded soldiers were nursed there and I have been solemnly shown the stains of their blood still on the floor or benches. I have never been shown the exact seat where Washington sat and worshipped. Plainly even a credulous mythology has its limits.

If Washington is not known to have gone often to Friends' Meetings, these Meetings sent more than once to him. Moses Brown

and other New England Friends waited on him at Cambridge, Massachusetts, late in 1775, to ask permission of him and of General Howe to distribute relief on both sides of the lines formed about the besieged city of Boston. That interview probably occurred in the Craigie House, on whose spacious grounds the new local Friends' Meeting House was built in 1937. Warner Mifflin and other Friends from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting waited on Washington in 1777 at Valley Forge with a message for him and for General Howe. New York Friends on another occasion sent a delegation to him; and after the war and his assumption of office, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting sent him a letter of congratulation. I had a queer sensation when one day I accidentally came upon his reply in his own longhand among some original papers in the Yearly Meeting files. He speaks in a conciliatory way of Friends: "It is doing the People called Quakers no more than justice to say, that (except for their declining to share with others the burthen of the common defense) there is no denomination among us who are more exemplary and useful citizens." He goes on to assure the Friends of his wish that conscientious scruples be treated with great delicacy and tenderness and that the laws be accommodated to them.

If we could trust certain French writers, Washington thought even more highly of Friends. Having an equally romantic interest in the General and in the Quakers, the French idealized them both and naturally also exaggerated their sympathy with each other. Thus Crèvecoeur writes that the visit of Warner Mifflin to Howe at Philadelphia and to Washington at Valley Forge was in the interest of an armistice, in short, for "peace now," and that Washington cordially welcomed the idea. In view of the present unpopularity of any idea that falls short of unconditional surrender of any enemy, I will

relieve the readers' fear that Washington could have sanctioned such a treasonable proposal by saying that the story is probably apocryphal.

Washington himself, however, tells of a later visit he received from Warner Mifflin, this time to urge the abolition of the slave trade, a visit which Warner Mifflin's biographer apparently has overlooked. There were other Quaker contacts with George Washington, some of which will be found in an article by Katharine L. Smyth, published in the *Friends Intelligencer* March 19, 1932, apropos of his two hundredth birthday.

49

Quakeresses as Authoresses

The appearance in England within a few months of two Quaker biographies by women Friends reminds us of the large part that women are taking in the writing of Quaker history and biography. Neither Janet Payne Whitney (in books just Janet Whitney) nor Mrs. John Holdsworth (in books L. Violet Hodgkin) is new in this field, nor are they alone in it. At least in Quakerism, Clio, the muse of history, has many votaries of her own sex. Without intention to be complete, one may mention Amelia Mott Gummere of America, Isabel Grubb of Ireland, and Emilia Fogelklou (now Fogelklou-Norlind) of Sweden. Of William Penn, whose birth occurred just 300 years ago, two of the best modern English biographies are by Mabel R. Brailsford and Elizabeth Janet Gray (Elizabeth Gray Vining). Indeed there is a tendency for these ladies to choose the same subjects, so that we have also from modern Quaker women two lives each for John Woolman, James Nayler, and Elizabeth Fry,

not to mention the overlapping between the *Book of Quaker Saints* (Hodgkin), *Quaker Women* (Brailsford), and *Rebel Saints* (Best).

Quakeresses are historians as well as biographers. Two decades of great importance to the peace testimony of Friends have revealed the completeness and invaluableness of Margaret E. Hirst's *Quakers in Peace and War*, first published in 1923.

This share of women in one branch of modern writing is not without precedent in our history. "The literary life of the early Friends" was as "coeducational" as the rest of their life, and it is strange that the recent book with that title, though also written by a woman, does not appear to emphasize that fact. Norman Penney wrote in 1913* an article on *Women Writers among Friends of the Seventeenth Century and Later*, in which he showed that in its first fifty years no less than eighty-four such women are listed in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue*. The most prolific of these was Margaret Fell (who resented being called Margaret Fell after her marriage to George Fox) of Swarthmore Hall, some of whose pamphlets were translated into Hebrew, Latin, or Dutch. Of course that was the heyday of pamphleteering in England, when papers by Friends, as an anti-Quaker contemporary wrote, "fly up and down the country like moths." Many of these early writings are brief and are of little interest today. Of the most original and lasting type of early Quaker literature—the religious journal—few seem to have been kept by women, or at least few were published. Of lists that I have before me of ninety such early journals or religious confessions, only eight are of women.

On the whole the role of women in literature was in general much smaller then than now, so that, compared with their environment, the Quaker women were really progressive and prominent. Twice lately, coming upon seventeenth century pamphlets

by women not known to bibliographers, I have been able to confirm my "hunch" that the authoresses were probably Friends.

For the equal rights and responsibilities of women our Society has an ancient testimony. In some fields today women need only earn their equality by their own endeavor and initiative. Emilia Fogelklou's life of William Penn should be translated into English, Mabel Brailsford's *Making of William Penn* should receive the intended sequel—but not, I hope, with the title, "The Unmaking of William Penn"! Every encouragement should be given to those women who have in hand biographies of Margaret Fell (Fox) (though she too has already had in this century one woman Friend biographer), of Job Scott, or any other sound piece of Quaker historiography.

50

Executioners' Excuses

Executions seem to be the order of the day, and there will doubtless be many more of them to read about in the news before we are through. They produce a special literature which I may call "executioners' excuses." Whether the culprits be Nazi spies in the U.S.A., anti-Nazi saboteurs in occupied Europe, grounded American fliers over Tokyo, or German officers at Kharkov, some "lord high executioner" issues an official statement vindicating the action. The pattern includes an assurance of the victims' guilt, of the legality of the proceedings, and of the restraint of the scope of punishment, and a profession of regret that such severe measures are necessary.

A few days ago I saw an older specimen which nevertheless agrees with the foregoing

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pattern. It is *A Declaration of the General Court of the Massachusetts, holden at Boston in New-England, October 18, 1659, concerning the execution of two Quakers*. I thought I had already seen all the contemporary publications about the Boston martyrs, but this item was new to me. The Quaker pamphlets about them are well-known pieces to collectors of Americana, being purchasable now only for hundreds of dollars each. This broadside must have cost the buyer a pretty penny—I did not dare ask him how much. To be sure, it is only the London reprint, though of the same year. No copy of the original Declaration printed in New England is known to exist, and of this reprint there is one other copy—not, however, in America.

By the irony of history it was Friends who gave this document the widest circulation. For George Bishop based on it his *New England Judged* (Part I, 1661, reprinted 1703 and 1885), quoting it and answering it section by section. To show its characteristic tenor, I quote its first sentence and its last:

"Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, supported by the authority of this court, the laws of the country, and the law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men than convince us of any necessity to apologize for the same, yet forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pity and commiseration (a commendable and Christian virtue, yet easily abused and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions) for want of full information, may be less satisfied, and men of perverser principles, may take occasion hereby to calumniate us, and render us as bloody persecutors, to satisfy the one, and stop the mouth of the other, we thought it requisite to declare. . . .

"The consideration of our gradual pro-

ceeding will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity; our own just and necessary defence, calling upon us (other means failing) to offer the point, which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become *felons de se*, which might it have been prevented, and the Sovereign Law *Salus populi* been preserved, our former proceedings as well as the sparing of Mary Dyer upon an inconsiderable intercession will manifestly evince we desire their lives absent rather than their deaths present."

The intervening part rehearses more than three years of unsuccessful effort to keep out of New England the Quakers, of whose pernicious opinions and practices they were informed in advance from England and Barbados, and later learned from their own experiences as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster. It rehearses the various laws enacted and penalties inflicted, and concludes with the reprieve of Mary Dyer upon the petition of her son. It suggests that everything had been done in the interests of peace and good order, with clemency and great patience, with gradualness and no haste. The quaint language, for which "deport," "purge," "liquidate," and many other substitutes suggest themselves, does not conceal the care with which the communique was prepared nor the self-righteous confidence with which it was published.

In 1659, as today, he who executes others must excuse himself, and, as the French say, he who excuses himself accuses himself. *Qui s'excuse, s'accuse*.

On Admitting Negroes

This letter from the past is a real letter. It was written to John Comly by William Wharton in Philadelphia on Twelfth Month 9th, 1828. I quote from the original, which has lately come into my hands:

"... Isaac T. Hopper and myself went to Haverford Preparative Meeting. Our object in paying this visit was to endeavour to prevent Friends from falling out with each other, having heard that a difference existed among them in relation to the reception of a black man, who had made request to be admitted as a member. We saw the Friend in the meeting for worship, and really he seemed to be as substantial a Friend as any there.

"When we retired to the other end the clerk of the Preparative Meeting read the Minutes of the former Preparative Meeting, by which it appeared that the subject had been dismissed. Several Friends soon expressed their dissatisfaction therewith and even said that they had not so understood the matter. We encouraged them to endeavour to bear with each other, to be careful of each others' feelings, and to make up their minds neither to give offence nor to take offence, and to be careful specially that they did not prejudice the mind of the applicant against those Friends who could not yet unite with his being then received. We gave them a good deal of advice which they received kindly all round. They expressed their satisfaction with our visit and although there was opposition in the minds of some there did not appear any hardness towards James Knox. Joseph Rhodes in particular was very much tried with the rejection. Also old Abner Moore.

"After asking and being informed that

the Preparative Meeting business was ended I invited Friends to keep their seats, as I had something to read to them. Accordingly they sat still and I took out of my pocket a little book containing a copy of a Memorial read and approved by the Preparative Meeting of Little Creek which I offered to read to them, and they expressed much satisfaction with hearing it. This Memorial was respecting a black man named Richard Cooper who lived to the advanced age of one hundred years, and I think it is an excellent Memorial and doubt not that the subject thereof was an excellent man. He applied to Friends of Little Creek and was received and continued an exemplary member till his death. I thought it would do no harm for them [*i.e.*, (Haverford Friends)] to know what other Friends had done in a similar case, and furthermore I thought it would do for them to reflect upon in their silent moments. Virgil Each told me after meeting that he thought their Monthly Meeting was not prepared for such an application. He himself was not evidently.

"Isaac and myself went to see James Knox when the meeting was over. He lives on a rented farm near the meeting house, has a wife and a number of children, and things looked very comfortable about him. We endeavoured to impress upon his mind the importance of keeping steady to meeting, and to wait patiently for his Friends, etc. He seems to be in a good disposition, but really the circumstance of placing him in the background because of his colour is trying, and I could not forget it for some time."

What value for today has this long extract, filled with transient and unimportant details? The Haverford Meeting House referred to is still standing, not very near the modern Haverford in Pennsylvania. It is said to go back to the time of William Penn. The Memorial of the Quaker Negro centenarian is to be found in print, though I do not

recognize the "little book." There is published too a life of Isaac Hopper and the Journal of John Comly, but they do not mention the incident of this letter. The Preparative Meeting minutes of the time are missing. Even if they were found they might be as silent about the matter as are the Radnor Monthly Meeting records. There is no evidence that James Knox subsequently became a Friend.

Nevertheless the letter shows that a full generation before the Civil War Friends around Philadelphia were not clear about their duty to the Negro. They hesitated to admit him to membership, much as we debate and defer admission of Negroes to our Quaker schools. Two subsidiary "concerns" are expressed in this old letter, both relevant today. One is anxiety about the embittering effect of rejection upon the Negro himself. The other is the desire not to create a further division among Friends. The great separation which had split the Society was almost still in progress. The advice given to both sides, neither to give offense nor to take offense, is still very salutary. On the main issue, however, Wharton, Hopper and Comly were quite agreed. These men, founding fathers of Race Street Yearly Meeting (Hopper had not yet removed to New York), believed that Friends should never "place in the background because of colour" a worthy applicant. It is hard to see why this principle is not right both now and then.

52

Lady Penn, Tercentenary Mother

In celebrating the tercentenary of William Penn's birth we should not neglect his mother. One would suppose that in birthday celebrations the mothers would be the next persons to be remembered, being in a quite

literal sense the real "next of kin." Yet they are rarely mentioned. Neither the long-standing Christian adoration of the Virgin nor the more modern commercial exploitation of "Mother's Day" by florists and confectioners has served to put in the forefront of anniversaries the mother of the hero.

A case in point is Margaret Penn (or Pen, or Penne), Senior, formerly the widow Margaret van der Schuren, or Scuden (née Jasper). Perhaps she has been overshadowed by the two William Penns, her famous Admiral husband and her famous Quaker son, just as Abigail Adams has lost as well as gained importance in her own right by being both the wife and the mother of American Presidents. Lady Penn—for so she became in 1660 when her husband was knighted at the restoration of King Charles II—is scarcely mentioned by her great-grandson in his excellent book on her husband's "Professional Life and Times." (No private life of Sir William Penn has been written.) The biographies of her son mention her more often, but of late they have been satisfied to quote one or two of the less favorable references to her by her husband's associate in the Navy office, Samuel Pepys, and to repeat the information about her discovered a generation ago by the diligence of Albert Cook Myers, by which the same Pepys' characterization of her as a "Dutchwoman" is confirmed. Surely the mother of Father Penn deserves better of posterity.

The materials for her biography are scattered and scrappy. One could begin with Pepys' famous *Diary* which refers to her no less than seventy-five times. Correspondence both of her husband and of her son is extant in great quantity, and so far as it is accessible it could be ransacked for mention of her. I may offer here as a modest contribution a few of the references to her which I have come upon by accident in a rather unlikely and ill indexed source: the British State

Papers. Even in the Public Record Office one may find some personal and business matters.

Here for example we have two captains of Oliver Cromwell's navy mentioning in 1657 instructions for transporting Lady Penn from Kinsale in Ireland to Bristol, and again for transporting General Penn with his lady and family back to Ireland. The "family" would include a future Quaker as a lad of twelve.

Here is Sir Nicholas Armorer writing from Ireland in 1670 one of his gossipy letters to Joseph Williamson in London and rallying him with a reference to the favor Williamson had enjoyed with "plump Lady Penne." Evidently there was now a new object of Williamson's attentions, since Sir Nicholas writes to him in another letter: "But what will Lady Pen say when she knows that which she shall know when I come, if she does not already."

Another letter of the same year to William Penn, written from London to Dublin by his trusted Irish friend John Gay and dated "23rd of the month called July," gives an intimate picture of Lady Penn. Gay had attempted to see the Admiral at their home at Watford in Essex to pay to him his son's respects, but had found him too ill. He describes at length, however, a conversation with Lady Penn. Unfortunately the letter is too long to quote here in full. Gay reports that "she was very civil and gave me preserves and other fruit and drinks," but "full of tears she was concerning you that you should continue of that judgment [that is, a Quaker] that was so contrary to them and that you were grown less loving to her since than before, for she had not had one letter from you since you went hence and wondered what the reason was except her husband might meet with them and keep them from her." She mentioned especially the Quakers' "strange rude way of not putting

off the hat," and also the Admiral's disappointment, who had "intended to make you a great man, but you would not hearken to him," and their desire for young William to come home. There are references to young Peg and to their brother Richard, then in Italy. Evidently John Gay's discreet answers did not entirely satisfy the parents, though when two months later the Admiral "anchored in his last and best port" his son had returned and the two had been "perfectly reconciled."

Poor Lady Penn! With a husband dying, "two maids sick of the ague" and herself "under trouble," no wonder she felt distracted by the conflict of loyalties to a naval husband and to a pacifist son. She was not the last woman to meet such difficulties, nor to be anxious about the letters which her son dutifully wrote her but which failed to arrive. We follow her sympathetically as she enters her second widowhood that lasted until 1682 when she died in the house of William and Guli at Worminghurst. The joys and sorrows of that home must have knit together mother and son. The Admiral was probably right when in his will he expressed the expectation that no "differences can fall out or happen between my said dear wife and my said son William." The son's affection for her which made him ill at the time of her death was fully reciprocated. Even during the Admiral's displeasure, she is said to have sent him secretly the means of support, and one is not surprised to hear of her intervening with the authorities in 1674 independently of her son, but on behalf of his friend George Fox and other imprisoned Quakers at Worcester.

Whether at his birth or at her death "they were not divided." At his tercentenary also her ladyship belongs with him.

Equestrian Quakerism

A young Friend has asked me the name of George Fox's white horse. He writes that he is in detached service and has the use of an old Ford car which he wishes to christen with the same name. I am sorry that I am not able to supply the name. I may use the inquiry, however, as a text for reminding us of the importance of horseback riding in early Quakerism.

There is no doubt that George Fox had a horse, probably several of them in succession. Much of his travelling was done on horseback, including some extraordinary routes up and down the unpopulated American seaboard. In his later years at London I think he was less able to ride and more often travelled in a coach, while in his very earliest days he went on foot. His will begins: "I do give to Thomas Lower my saddle and bridle . . . and spurs and boots inward leathers," but there is no mention of a horse.

I do not recall any name of a Friend's horse being given, and rarely the color. It was because Luke Howard was accused of having sent his horse to fetch Samuel Fisher to help out in a debate that he mentions its color. To set the story straight, he says: "Edward Burrough asked me to let my son ride down on his horse (which is a black one and mine a gray, easily to be distinguished by all that loves to speak truth)."

In his ill-starred Messianic pageant at Bristol I expect James Nayler rode on a white horse. Those who staged it used for make-up the description of Jesus in the apocryphal letter of Lentulus. They would hardly overlook the white horse of the Word of God in the canonical Book of Revelation. At any rate, two different German anti-

Quaker accounts have illustrations in which—so far as one can tell from woodcuts—the horse was white.

In the household accounts kept by Sarah Fell at Swarthmore Hall we get frequent reference to her mother's white horse, the date and cost of its being shod, and once to the payment of fourpence and two farthings to John Preston, smith, of Dalton: "to dressing her white horse's foot and one night's grass for him." Evidently it seemed suitable for George Fox's horse to match his wife's, and on December 30, 1676, is the entry: "By moneys paid Leonard Fell for a white horse for father.....£6 13s 4d"

This is evidently the animal in question. There were later payments in connection with "father's white gelding" for bringing it home from Cheshire and for shoeing it, and also for a male pillion and three girdles for father and for having his saddle mended.

Many stories might be collected of the horsemanship of George Fox and of other early Friends. Thomas Ellwood has a full account of the manoeuvres necessary when, as escort for Guli Springett, he had to protect her from some hostile men that followed them—everybody being mounted. There were also mishaps. John Jay fell off his horse near Shrewsbury, New Jersey. George Fox, who brought him to, says he had broken his neck.

There are evidences too of affectionate treatment of horses by Friends. The Welshman who stole oats from George Fox's horse and put them into his own pocket while the master's back was turned is the object of the Quaker's righteous wrath: "a wicked thievish people to rob the poor dumb creature of his food which I had rather they had robbed me." One can imagine the affection with which John Woolman—a man so gentle and sensitive about other animals—treated the horses he rode. To spare the postboys and posthorses he wrote his letters on the small-

est and lightest of stationery or even avoided using the public post altogether.

There is naturally less record of the reciprocal affection of the horses for the Quakers. An unusual case, whether of affection or of cooperation, is another scene in Wales where an informer secured for his services of arrest the horses with saddles and bridles of John Burnyeat and his companions; but we read: "John Burnyeat's horse died within an hour and a half after seizure."

How naturally horses came to mind in those days is well illustrated by a vision of George Fox in which he says he seemed to be attacked by a fierce bull: "And I had many with me, and little children, and I was loath they should be tired or hurt with the bull, and I did set the children upon my horse . . . I was so tender towards them." For early Friends the simple and obvious figure for divine guidance is, in William Edmundson's phrase, "led as an horse by the bridle." Robert Fowler, in his log of his chartless voyage to America in the *Woodhouse*, says: "We see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head, we regarding neither latitude nor longitude."

Some time ago I proposed as an interesting project the composing of a "Maritime History of Quakerism." Alongside of such a book there could be a no less fascinating companion volume, "The Equestrian History of Quakerism." That feature of our past is likely to be forgotten. An occasional solid stone horse-block near an ancient meeting house is a silent reminder of the Quaker of the olden time, even before the horse and buggy days.

The Methodists make the most of the romance of their old circuit riders. The title of a recent biography of John Wesley, *The Lord's Horseman*, is no less appropriate to George Fox or William Penn. Yet modern illustrators overlook the fact. Neither Robert

Spence's etchings for George Fox's Journal nor Violet Oakley's murals of Penn's Holy Experiment represent their hero mounted anywhere in the series. Nor of the many versions of William Penn's treaty with the Indians that I know does a single one have him with a horse. Yet there were certainly stables at Pennsbury. George Whitney does better in the chapter headings for Janet Whitney's *John Woolman*. In two of the recurring vignettes Woolman is mounted, in one with a lady behind on a pillion—the ancient equivalent for hitchhiking so available for courting, or eloping, or kidnapping.

It is to be hoped that in the tercentenary celebration William Penn's horses will not be forgotten, beginning with the "sumpter horse that he brought from France," and that he offered to lend to Thomas Loe. Perhaps Loe's refusal of this offer brought the last step in William Penn's commitment to Quakerism, for "it made WP think he was not Friend enough to have his horse accepted." Those of us who for forty years have seen William Penn standing upright on a dizzy tower five hundred feet above the city he planted might feel a relief to see somewhere another figure of him, his portly frame astride a noble beast.

54

Quakerdom's Dunkirk

Every year as May gives place to June millions of persons live over again in memory a few days in the spring of 1940. Even those who observe the American Memorial Day or the Church's Whitsuntide think more vividly of this other concurrent anniversary. The suspense and tension of the time when a third of a million soldiers, driven back by superior forces to the sea, escaped by aid of gallant rescuers across the Channel has made

classic the site of the adventure. Dunkirk seems destined to become not merely famous in itself, but like Marathon or Waterloo a generic name for a signal military episode.

To the peaceful Quakers the same name has an older and different memory: the romantic story of an American colony in Europe, reversing for once the many migrations of Quakers from Europe to settle in America. The Revolutionary War and the subsequent charge by Great Britain on alien imports of sperm oil had so ruined whale fishing that the people of Nantucket had to seek new markets and new bases. Export to Bermuda was forbidden them by an Act of Congress. A settlement in Nova Scotia was made, but it proved short-lived; the English government churlishly refused reasonable terms to would-be settlers there.

So finally in 1785 William Rotch and others took their ships and even their families to France. There is a list of over seventy Nantucket ships and captains removed to Dunkirk because of the attractive bounty offered by the French government to all ships engaged in the whale fishery. Though Thomas Jefferson in a report states that "only nine families of 33 persons all told removed to Dunkirk," a contemporary Paris news report speaks of fourteen ships and one hundred Baptist and Quaker families. A Quaker visitor whose unpublished diary I have been reading says that the Friends alone numbered "upward of sixty, nearly all from Nantucket and in the same business." They had an organized meeting under the care of Ratcliff Monthly Meeting in London.

Those were stirring and difficult times in France, but the Quakers of Dunkirk met remarkable understanding and kindness amid scenes of revolutionary violence and discord. Four of their scruples were consistently respected: they were exempted from all demands for military service; they could meet the authorities without removing their hats;

they were not compelled to wear the uniform tricolor cockade required of all loyal citizens; and their houses were not molested when they refused to illuminate them for military victories. We have the text of their petition, presented in person in 1791 to the National Assembly, and of President Mirabeau's reply, as well as an account of that curious occasion from at least one of the eye witnesses. Their personal interviews with members of the Assembly and others as reported again by Quaker participants, included many notables of France both in church and state (most of whom were executed soon after) as well as Talleyrand and General Lafayette.

The Quaker episode of Dunkirk also ends with evacuation—due not to the local difficulties, but to the obstacles to their industry upon the high seas, beginning in 1793 with the war of France against England, whose privateers seized their ships and cargoes. Many of them transferred to Milford Haven or other ports in England; others returned to Nantucket or, like William Rotch, to New Bedford. By February, 1797, there were only fourteen actual members of Friends in Dunkirk; three months later only ten. But they had borne their testimony and secured recognition for the group of native Friends in southern France. Even of Dunkirk one may say with Milton: "Peace hath her victories no less renown'd than war."

55

Winston Churchill and George Fox

Every year or two I read in some book a casual reference to the founder of Quakerism carelessly given as *John Fox*. According to George's own *Journal* a deliberate attempt was made in 1670 to mix him up with a contemporary Presbyterian preacher of

that name. John Fox had a bad record, according to George, and got into such a quarrel with an Episcopal "priest" that a Book of Common Prayer "was cut to pieces, and great tumult was in the steeplehouse between the Presbyterians and the Episcopal men." George Fox continues:

"And the Episcopal men sent up to the Parliament and petitioned the Parliament against the said John Fox, but instead of mentioning his name, "John Fox," the Presbyterians got his name changed and put in "George Fox the Quaker." And in their petition they mention that the people should cry, "No king but George Fox!" and this was put in the news-books that were sent over all the nation.

"But Friends got a certificate under some of the Parliament men's hands as aforesaid to clear George Fox from that abuse, and how that it was John Fox, the Presbyterian priest, not George Fox, the Quaker . . . and we would have the Parliament men to put the certificate into the Gazette to clear me, but they would not."

This episode seems trivial enough. George Fox, however, regarded it as the occasion for Parliament's passing the fateful Conventicle Act of 1670. At any rate it roused my interest and curiosity. Quakerism has enough gunpowder in it to endanger orthodoxy, whether political or theological. Its opponents have often sensed this, but they have not always struck the right attack, and have often been guilty—in trinitarian language—of "confounding the persons." So they did in 1669 or 1670 and so they do today when the *Red Network* or the Dies Committee gets us down alternatively as socialists or anarchists, as red or yellow, as pro-communist or as pro-fascist. But then, as now, someone of influence as well as of honesty was found to exonerate the Quakers or give them an alibi. Who was it?

Of the Reverend John Fox, a Presbyter-

ian of Marshfield, I have no new information to give. Although I have access to the best file in America of English newspapers for the time, and can usually find the notices in them mentioned by George Fox, this one is not forthcoming. What, then, of the members of Parliament and their testimony? The certificate of exoneration was, George Fox tells us, not printed in the *Gazette*; but I know that he laid great store by such certificates and preserved them carefully, and gave instructions before he died for all the certificates to "be bound up together in a manuscript and written fair over and kept." Precisely such a collection was in existence ten years later. This is now lost; but an ancient sheet, bound in one of five volumes of old documents belonging to the Monthly Meeting at Bristol, contains evidently the very item that is wanted.

Thomas Ellwood and Edward Man have prepared a notice in the former's handwriting explaining that George Fox had been accused of "treasonable words against the king, which was contrary to his nature and principles. And so it was cleared and proved amongst the Parliament men, that it was not George Fox who is called a Quaker but one Fox who never was a Quaker, whose name was not George, neither was those words spoken in any of the Quakers' meetings. You may see where he lived in the Certificates from some of the Parliament men. And about that time when those words were spoken George Fox who is called a Quaker was above one hundred miles of that place where that meeting was when those were spoken. And these certificates following were gotten from the Parliament men for clearing of his innocency." The writers go on to explain that whenever there is "any badness done in the world" people are apt to blame the Quakers, and that this document should be sent wherever the false reports had been circulated. They end with "true

copies" of two certificates. The first, by Sir Gilbert Talbot, M.P. for Plymouth Borough, identifies the person named Fox complained of as the chief ringleader in the unlawful assembly at Wootton-under-Hedge and as the former parson of Marshfield. The second reads as follows:

I do farther certify, that the above named Fox was the same person that was complained of to the House of Commons to be the principal seducer in that conventicle in Wiltshire where those treasonable words were spoken which were reported to the House in February last.

Whitehall, April W. Churchill.
the 9th, 1670

Yes, Winston Churchill signed this alibi for George Fox. For "his Majesty's first minister" today is not the only bearer of the name. Most of us are familiar with his American namesake, the author of *The Crisis* and other novels. Many years ago the overshadowed, young, ambitious Englishman was so annoyed by missent fan mail of this one of his "great contemporaries" that he initiated an entertaining transatlantic exchange of letters which I have seen in print, each letter addressed "from Winston Churchill to Winston Churchill."

There was also an ancestral Winston Churchill (1622-1688). He is best known from his son John who became the famous Duke of Marlborough, but he was a statesman in his own right, an author, and an early Fellow of the Royal Society. At the time he wrote this certificate he had been knighted and was M.P. for Weymouth. There is in fact much resemblance between him and his modern namesake. He was a Royalist, "a brilliant but erratic Cavalier," and his big book was entitled "Divine Britons." A phrase from this book, or rather a misquotation

in it from Tacitus, *Imperium et Libertas*, was recommended as a British program by Disraeli. It was used as a motto by the present Winston's father—shall we not also say, by himself? The older Winston's motto was (in Spanish) "Faithful but unfortunate." Macaulay called him "a poor Cavalier who haunted Whitehall and made himself ridiculous by publishing a dull and affected folio." One passage in that folio was so undemocratic that it was soon expunged from many copies.

Why Sir Winston Churchill went so far as to write this certificate for George Fox I do not know. Perhaps it was not because he hated Quakers less, but Presbyterians more. There is no evidence that he knew George Fox or indeed any other Friend. He did know the seditious John Fox, and he cared so for the monarchy that he did not want any traitor to the king to escape condign punishment, even at the expense of a Quaker. What his twentieth century namesake would think of such matters is an interesting question.

56

Winston Churchill and Wm. Penn

In the last letter I related how once the first Winston Churchill said something to exonerate George Fox. Here, as a kind of postscript, I wish to quote the way in which a decade ago the present Winston Churchill defended the memory of William Penn. In neither case is there any evidence of real admiration of a Churchill for Quakers. The more recent instance is due to a dislike for the historian Macaulay, for he had spoken slightly of the Churchills—even of John Churchill, the famous Duke of Marlborough. So anything that discredits Macaulay is *in majorem gloriam* of Marlborough.

It is well known that William Penn was an object of Macaulay's dislike. One of these attacks on William Penn—like the attack on George Fox mentioned in my last letter—is almost certainly due to the confusion of two quite different persons who happened to have the same surname. A certain Penne had taken part in the shameful proceedings by which, at the time of the Bloody Assizes following Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, accused persons were sold into slavery or else ransomed by a heavy bribe. Among these were some girls of innocent families at Taunton who had embroidered a banner for the Pretender and presented it to him. In the first of the six volumes of his *Marlborough, His Life and Times*, the later premier of England wrote in 1933:

"Macaulay here fell comically into a ditch, and entirely through indulging those literary vices to which he was addicted. For one reason or another he had taken a dislike to William Penn, the Quaker leader. He treated him exactly as he treated Marlborough. By various deft turns he managed in his history to set him in an unpleasing light. He mentions for instance that he had attended two executions in a single day, one a hanging at Newgate and another a burning at Tyburn, and suggested that he had a taste for such spectacles, the fact being that Penn had solemnly promised both victims to abide with them in their dying moments.

"The story of the maids of Taunton seemed to furnish another opportunity for completing the portrait of William Penn in dark colours. A certain Penne had been forward in dealing about their ransom. Macaulay lighted upon the name with glee. He speedily convinced himself that it was William Penn and wrote a scathing paragraph of his history upon the shameful fact. Unluckily for Macaulay it was Penne—no connexion, whose Christian name was George, who undoubtedly did the dirty work. The

essay in which Paget exposes this blunder (which Macaulay tried to brazen out) is itself a fitting punishment."

The reference in the preceding sentence is to a careful confutation or "Examen" of Macaulay's history written with devastating evidence of error by John Paget. This series of brilliant essays was written just before Macaulay's death and published in a volume in 1861. Ten years ago this was republished, *The New "Examen,"* and the Right Honorable Winston Churchill found it a congenial task to write the preface. In one sentence there he confirms Paget's vindication of Penn: "On both sides of the Atlantic a vast flood of opinion has cleansed the memory of the founder of the State of Pennsylvania."

57

Penn Points for Careful Penmen

One of the stories that Rufus Jones tells on himself has to do with an occasion when he was giving an address in a closely programmed meeting. Just as he was to be introduced by the chairman, a fundamentalist Friend, suspicious of his orthodoxy, got the floor by falling to her knees in prayer and began: "Oh Lord, we know we are about to hear a lot of things that are not so."

Her sentiments must be matched by any specialist as he anticipates any general celebration of his specialty. What tortures, for example, will the Penn expert suffer in the next few weeks! It behooves the rest of us to be careful as we write articles and speeches for the Penn Tercentenary, since there are many false or doubtful statements that we are likely to fall into. I do not refer to the false accusations made against William Penn by his anti-Catholic contemporaries, nor to the jaundiced prejudices of the historian

Macaulay which I have mentioned in my last letter, nor to the imaginative extravagances of impressionistic modern biographers. I mean rather the current apocryphal traditions and the unpredictable accidental errors. These the best of us will find it hard to avoid. Of six references to William Penn in a recent life of Gen. James E. Oglethorpe a reviewer calculates that two are right but the others are, if not inaccurate, ill supported and unsubstantiated. The latest review I have seen of the latest book on William Penn calls attention to two errors within the first four sentences! Let me suggest some concrete items.

William Hull cautiously began his *Eight First Biographies of William Penn in Seven Languages and Seven Lands* with the caveat, "It is always hazardous to call anything the first of its kind." To prove that he is right I may say that since 1936 when he wrote this I have come upon both a Dutch and an American biography of his subject earlier than those he mentions. Two other early biographies of William Penn, one in Germany by W. A. Teller (1779) and one in England by Kennersley (1740) are referred to by others, but Dr. Hull was never able to find a copy of either.

What shall we give as the date of William Penn's birth? This is ambiguous, owing to the shift in the calendar, or at least it seems so when one learns that English Friends intend to have their celebration on October 14th, 1944 while American Friends will follow ten days later on the 24th.

What is the first published writing by William Penn? Joseph Smith, the bibliographer, begins his list with a non-Quaker work, *The Spiritual Bee*, "by an University Pen," published in 1667. Selections from this as from the Quaker Penn had been published by the well known Friend, Luke Howard, in 1823. This work is now generally agreed to be the work of a different author. Possibly the

priority asked for goes to six Latin lines, published in a collection of some Oxford verse on the occasion of the death of the Duke of Gloucester in 1660, when William Penn was fifteen years old and *superioris ordinis commensalis*, that is "fellow commoner," at Christ Church.

We are all familiar with the story of how William Penn, while still wearing the sword of a young courtier, met George Fox and how George Fox replied to him, "Wear it as long as thou canst." This story, though said to be based on reliable tradition, unfortunately is not to be found recorded until 1852, while a manuscript a hundred and fifty years older gives a quite different account of Penn's discarding of his sword.

This raises the old question of his "portrait in armour." Of the three known copies, which is the original? And is it really a picture of the founder of Pennsylvania or of his father, the Admiral? Unfortunately for Penn's pacifist reputation, the Quaker bore the same name as his father and also as his cousin who had a considerable naval or military career in Ireland. The famous portrait is attributed to the very artist and to the very date given by Samuel Pepys for the painting of the Admiral's likeness.

The most immediately controversial question about William Penn is whether he believed in an international army or police force. His *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* is often referred to as though he clearly did. Unfortunately alike for those who believe in a league of nations "with teeth," and for those who do not, Penn's language is not clear. He nowhere uses either term or even the word force, though he says "all the other sovereignties, united as one strength, shall compel" the nation that refuses to submit to or abide by judicial processes. Certainly his emphasis is upon consultation, organization, judicial procedure, and against "a formidable body

of troops" in any nation. Modern quoters take care!

Then there is the famous hoax of the letter of Cotton Mather, which reports that the Massachusetts legislature has planned to waylay the ship *Welcome* on the high seas and to sell William Penn and his fellow Quakers into slavery. This forgery, first published in Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1870 and subsequently confessed to by the perpetrator, has been republished as genuine every few years since, though as regularly exposed as a fraud. Only lately it was reprinted as authentic in the most widely circulated of American monthlies, *The Reader's Digest*, and in what I suppose is the most widely read of recent Quaker biographies.

Finally what shall we say of William Penn's famous treaty with the Indians? The pictures of it in all their various forms are, of course, fanciful, but what of the treaty itself? Nobody seems to know what it contained. Presumably it was in writing, and I seem to remember reading somewhere of a traveller way out west who was told by the Indians that they had preserved it and brought with them the original treaty but that it had lately been burned with their whole village by another Indian tribe. Well, at any rate we can quote Voltaire's remark about it. Or can we? One French biographer of William Penn, who ought to know, says Voltaire described it as the only treaty never written, signed, or broken. That would not fit the statement just quoted. What Voltaire did say was that it was the only treaty of white men with the American natives that was never sworn to and never infringed. And that is not true either.

58

Hurricanes

I am impressed with how many events of life today were experienced by early Friends or vice versa. Those who traveled then encountered vicissitudes that would fill volumes, and among these vicissitudes were such events as the recent hurricane. Of course in its technical sense that term can only be guaranteed since the days of meteorological measurement and of Beaufort's Scale (1806). But the word was native Carib before it was adopted by the Portuguese or English, and there can be no doubt of the severity of some of the early storms.

Travelers across the Atlantic in the seventeenth century saw more of hurricanes than we do because they so often followed the southern route by way of the West Indies, and of course many Friends lived then in Barbados and other tropical islands. Their adventures with pirates and privateers were matched in number by those with storms and earthquakes. Thus in October, 1671, soon after George Fox reached Barbados, "a hurricane that hath done much hurt as to sugar canes, Indian corne, ships & houses &c" is mentioned in one letter from his party, though not in three other letters or elsewhere. The storms varied of course in size, and even moderate storms were uncomfortable in the smaller ships of the time. There is no evidence that Friends were protected either from seasickness or from fear.

I suppose one of the most influential hurricanes in Quaker history was the "Great Hurricane" which struck Barbados in October, 1780. A Quaker visitor from Philadelphia in 1785 reports that four thousand persons had been killed on the island, and he gives a vivid account of the incidents of a

terrible night. It was this hurricane that put the coup de grace on the four meeting houses that were still standing on the island, though some of them had fallen into disrepair and the legal title to them had so lapsed as to be difficult to recover. Only one of the four appears to have been rebuilt.

Half a century earlier we have an account of a hurricane at Barbados from Thomas Chalkley, "gentlest of skippers, rare sea saint." He writes (the date is mid-August, 1731), as master of the *New Bristol Hope*:

"Before we left the island, there happened a great storm or hurricane which did much damage to the ships and to the island, blowing down many houses and spoiling much provisions, destroying almost all the plantain trees on the island, which is a very wholesome and pleasant fruit and much used by many instead of bread.

"I was clearing out our vessel when this storm happened, and being twelve miles off could not hear of or concerning her, but thought it altogether unlikely that she should ride out so great a storm in so bad a harbour or road, it being open to the sea, and such a storm as had not been known for many years, and some said never but one to their knowledge. . . . It was indeed a very dismal time; the vessels which rode it out were much damnified, and one being loaded ready to sail sunk right down and was lost in the bay. When I had cleared our ship I set forward to see what was become of her, but the floods were so out and the ways were so bad I could not without some danger get to her that night; but next morning I set out from Joseph Gamble's and, to my admiration, from the top of a hill (on which a house in the storm was blown flat to the ground) I saw our ship at an anchor having rode out the storm, with one sloop by her, for which cause my soul was humbly thankful."

I can sympathize with Chalkley's anxi-

ety, for I am actually writing this letter not after the event but while we wait for the hurricane to arrive that is nowadays so definitely predicted by radio or telephone. No doubt such warnings are useful to sailors and others who can take precautions, but one waits the outcome in a suspense not unlike that which precedes a surgical operation. The impersonal hit or miss course of the storm perhaps will help us sympathize with the special antipathy that our English cousins feel for the mechanical robots. There is little any of us can do. The air raid wardens are on the alert and have expectation for the first time tonight of some real emergencies to justify their name. The local Friends Meeting has notified all its members by telephone that the important business meeting scheduled for tonight has been postponed. If I were superstitious I would recall that in Jamaica in 1692 almost all the Friends of Port Royal who did not attend Monthly Meeting were killed by—no, it was not a hurricane but an earthquake.

P.S. The exact dates of events mentioned above are: June 7, 1692; October 10-11, 1780; September 14, 1944. But for 1731 the compiled lists of Caribbean hurricanes lack Chalkley's definiteness. This is not the first time I have used his journal to supplement scientific records.

59

Mr. Skeffington

The new moving picture, *Mr. Skeffington*, was in town lately. I did not see it, nor can I make out from those who did whether I missed much or little. By way of compensation, however, I have been looking up for myself, and for any who may wish to know

him, an older character of the same name—a real person and a Quaker.

He is mentioned, so far as I know, only once in Friends' records. Among the ministers from other parts of America who visited the meetings in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, James Bowden's history includes "George Skeffington of Newfoundland, in 1700."

Newfoundland in those days was mainly a fishing base. Its permanent inhabitants were only a few hundred, yet in the season hundreds of vessels plied in its waters and made use of the harbors. Unfortunately those were the days of the French and English wars, and the rivalry in Europe was reflected for fifty years at the distant island by constant guerilla fighting, capturing ships, cargoes, and stores, and burning and pillaging settlements. Bonavista was one of the British settlements. It had more than once been attacked by the French when George Skeffington appears in the story. Referring to events in the spring of 1705, an exasperated Englishman reports how the French commander, M. Montigny, came from Placentia with soldiers and Indians "to Buena Vista where Lt. Moody (as 'tis said) had constituted one George Sciffington chief who is a Quaker, and the spirit not moving him, he capitulated as soon as summoned and agreed to pay a certain sum, two hundred fifty pounds of which was to be paid by bill of exchange in Boston to M. Montigny. But when he capitulated he was on an island and had one hundred twenty men with eight guns and several stores and arms of the Queen's which he had had from Lt. Moody. He had notice of the enemy and was well on the watch as 'tis said."

It would be interesting to know Skeffington's own version of this event, or even a French version. There is in fact a French account either of the same event or of an episode very much like it: "There is a small

harbor called Quidimity where there were seventy-two English fishing. M. de Montigny, with some Canadians and Indians went to take them, and there was there a Protestant of the Trembler fraternity, a Quaker (*un Religioneux de la Tremblade un Quakre*), who was their commander. They asked to be allowed their parole. It was granted."

Here is a case, perhaps two cases, of a Quaker stationed in command of a Newfoundland British community and surrendering to superior force in good pacifist fashion. Here at last is an historical answer to that question so often asked us in recent days, "But what would a Quaker do, if—?" I only wish I knew more of the details and of the result. George Skeffington is not the last person whom "ye spirit" did not move to fight under certain circumstances. I am reading every day in the papers of even modern Nazis surrendering to French troops as our Quaker minister did in 1705.

As for the sequel, we know that these local skirmishes really settled nothing. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the Island of Newfoundland was given over wholly to Britain and the French colony was withdrawn. The British cod fishing thereafter was greatly increased in scope.

The State Papers tell us something about Skeffington. Immediately upon his surrender he seems to have been taken as a hostage to Placentia, but soon he was at liberty and in England. Thereupon he began developing, in waters not previously frequented by the British fishing fleet, the catching of salmon. North of Cape Bonavista for forty miles he made his clearings, built eight or ten weirs, erected houses and staging for the curing of salmon, and other "conveniences," and for about twelve years he studied as a pioneer "the methods to bring that fishery to perfection." Then with the endorsement of those who ought to know, including the corporation of Poole, a seaport long associated with

Newfoundland, George Skeffington received as a grant for twenty-one years further the sole rights for the salmon fishery he had founded. So he who neither fought nor ran away lived to fish another day.

He still had difficulties. The quantity caught every year of "great Salmonier and little Salmonier" varied. Some years his men were mostly "raw, green men." Sometimes he was bothered by encroachments of English rivals, at others by "Islander Indians killing some of his men, breaking down his dams, taking away some of his nets, and robbing him of his provisions." By 1729 he had disposed of his fishery. Nothing further is said of his Quakerism.

The real Mr. Skeffington thus is not very well known, but he offers at least the nucleus for a "problem movie" as interesting as his modern namesake. Perhaps more will come to light about him, and truth may again prove stranger than fiction. And some day I must put together all my scraps of information about Quakerism in Newfoundland about which, as about Mr. Skeffington, Quaker records and Quaker histories tell us practically nothing. Yet there had been Quakers there fully fifty years before the events here discussed, perhaps earlier in Newfoundland than anywhere in America.

60

Elected by Second Choice Votes

Ancient history tells us that the Greek generals after their victory over the Persian fleet of Xerxes at Salamis took votes as to which of the allied states and which of the generals deserved a prize. The former question reminds us of the discussion likely to follow an Allied victory of the present war, but I am thinking more of the latter question. For we are told that the ballot for the

prize to be awarded to the most deserving commander resulted in a tie, since each general voted for himself. The decisive vote was for the second prize with a large majority voting for Themistocles.

This story, though learned long ago in school, has often come back to me when I hear non-Quaker people talk about the Society of Friends. So many of them, whatever their religious affiliation, declare that if they were going to be anything other than what they are, they would certainly join the Society of Friends. Like Themistocles of Athens, we seem to be the general choice for second place. Does that mean, that, as in the case of Themistocles, we deserve the first?

I do not very well understand the complexities of Proportional Representation, but I wonder whether by its principles enough second choice votes can add up to first place. Of course the American ballot, without P.R., ignores second choice though public opinion often defies the crudities of the system. Thus Wendell Willkie and Alfred Smith were the heroes for millions, though they came out only second. I believe a third party would score millions of second choice votes, were a preferential voting recorded, since so many voters are chiefly anxious that one or the other of the major parties should be defeated.

Possibly some of the votes for Quakerism are merely spite votes like that. It has been said of Voltaire, the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of whose birth is celebrated this month, that he praised the Quakers chiefly because he disliked the regular churches. But in due modesty Friends may conclude that those who speak well of us without joining us often think better of us than we deserve, for obviously they do not know us too well. Their regard for us should be a stimulus to worthiness and not to complacency.

The sentiment of which I have been speaking I think I never saw phrased in print

until I received a few days ago from the publishers an advertisement of G. G. Coulton's *Fourscore Years*, which begins with this quotation:

"The body which makes least explicit formal pretensions ranks among the highest in what are generally counted as the chief Christian virtues. Each of us puts his own religious denomination first; but many, on mature reflection, would give the second place to the Society of Friends."

61

The Stamps of Quakerism

Never having fully outgrown an adolescent interest in stamp collecting, I had hoped that the William Penn Tercentenary might be recognized by a special postage stamp. Indeed, a well sponsored request was made for one with proposals of suitable designs, and was, I understand, endorsed by the United States Post Office Department only to be vetoed by the highest authority. Surely if the founding of states that are a hundred years old or less, and of indistinct ancestry, has been celebrated by memorial issues, the founder of Pennsylvania might well be so honored. Indeed, few states have so definitely a personal founder and a dated founding as has William Penn's commonwealth.

As a matter of fact, only a dozen years ago just such a recognition was given. Many will remember that on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of William Penn's landing in his province a three-cent stamp was issued with a reproduction of the inevitable "portrait in armor" and the dates 1682-1932. I ventured the opinion at that time that never before had a Friend been pictured on a postage stamp. The list is now a little longer, but still quite select. In the 1938 series

picturing in order the former American Presidents, Herbert Hoover was excluded since our Post Office has a rule not to feature living persons. In 1940 there was a commendable desire to honor the heroes of peaceful achievement by special brief series of stamps showing the portraits of American poets, authors, educators, inventors, musicians, composers and scientists. John Greenleaf Whittier appeared on a two-cent stamp of the first named series and Jane Addams on the ten-cent stamp of the last. It is doubtful whether Friends have any right to claim her, but perhaps they have as much right as have the "scientists." Surely to Susan B. Anthony we have a better right, of whom a three-cent stamp was issued in 1936 in commemoration of the Women's Suffrage Amendment sixteen years before. It is a pity that admirers of Lucretia Mott devoted their energies to urging a further amendment of disputed value instead of a stamp for the sesquicentennial of her birth in 1793.

Apart from portraits, we may mention somewhat less obvious Quaker connections with American stamps. When in 1925 the first Norwegian settlement in America just a century before was marked by the Post Office in two new items, probably few either in the Society of Friends or out of it recognized that the ship *Restaurationen*, pictured on a two-colored two-cent stamp as the bearer of the first immigrants, was bought and captained and largely occupied by Quakers and like-minded people, escaping from the persecutions of the Lutheran Church. Three centennial issues of the past year celebrating respectively the beginnings of the telegraph, the transcontinental railway, and the transatlantic steamship lines would prove, I believe, to have behind the scenes important Quaker connections, like the part played by Ezra Cornell in the development of telegraphy, or by Quaker pioneers with the steam packets. Even one

of the many stamps issued on sesquicentennial reminiscence of the events of the American Revolution is said to contain a Quaker. Commemorating the dreadful winter at Valley Forge, George Washington was presented in 1928 in a two-cent stamp in a woods on his knees in prayer and in the background the old Quaker, Isaac Potts, who had so discovered him. The stamp is reproduced from a picture by Brueckner.

All these examples, it will be noted, are American. That is mainly because Great Britain, though its Friends have been no less renowned than ours, has adopted the conservative policy of restricting stamp designs to the portraits of its reigning king or queen. The only other country that seems to have so honored a Friend is—of all places—Turkey, at least if we may again claim Jane Addams as ours. Her portrait appears in the Turkish semi-postal series of 1935 commemorating the twelfth congress of the Women's International Alliance.

62

Some Penn Points Reconsidered

In a previous letter (No. 57) I predicted that the tercentenary of William Penn would be the occasion for the utterance of many historical errors both new and old. Though I have not read or heard more than a fraction of what was written or spoken in that connection, I must in candiddness admit that my gloomy prognostications were not fulfilled to the degree that I expected. It is true that the *New York Times* obligingly justified my anticipation by printing on November 23 in a different connection that old forgery of a letter of Cotton Mather, and commented on it as if genuine the next day. A week later it admitted, on the evidence of John Cox, Jr., that it had been taken in by

an old hoax. The famous portrait of William Penn in armor was reproduced in several places as though undoubtedly genuine; for example, in a handsome full page in color in *Life* for October 16.

I do not wish, however, to supply now either a catalogue or comedy of errors, whether predicted errors or unpredicted, but to indicate some further reflections on two of the points that I mentioned earlier. One of these has to do with that same portrait. The painting commonly reproduced is at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, having been presented by Granville Penn in 1833. I note that in the recent catalogue of paintings of the Society the author, William Sawitzky, "basing his opinions on the technique and approximate age of the painting, estimates it to be of the late eighteenth century." That does not prevent us from supposing this to be a copy of an older portrait. There are said to be two paintings like this one in England, whether older or not I do not know.

A feature of the familiar portrait, that I have never heard discussed, raises some interesting questions. On the canvas itself, though often omitted in reproductions, are two block letter inscriptions, on the background to the left and the right of the head. The first reads: AETIS. 22/1666/OCTOBER.14. The second is PAX QVAERITVR/BELLO. It is hard for me to believe that either of these is contemporary with a portrait of William Penn the Younger painted in 1666. While artists not infrequently indicated the year of the production and the age of the subject, the inclusion of the exact birthday, as October 14 is, appears to the experts that I have consulted highly improbable. It might, however, have been added by an owner or dealer who knew or supposed or wished the portrait to represent the youthful Penn. The Latin motto is adapted perhaps from "Pax paritur bello" of Cornelius Nepos, though it means something quite

different, viz. "Peace is sought by war." Now this motto as Penn himself reminds us in his essay on the Peace of Europe was the motto of Oliver Cromwell. It had been used on his medals, arms, etc., and was universally known as such. Would any artist or subject use that motto in 1666 so soon after Cromwell had been discredited? I do not object to it on the ground that William Penn in 1693 disapproves of the use currently made of the motto, for in 1666 he and his father were no more addicted to pacifism than they were to the defunct Commonwealth, but they were active in the service of Charles II. Even the armor need not be pressed as indicating a professional soldier, for it was long the custom for civilians to be painted in such a costume by a mere convention. Doubtless a Friend would avoid this convention if he were painted at all, just as William Penn and other Friends, though not all of them, have omitted the usual sword from court costume. I suggested formerly that if the picture was of a William Penn and from 1666 it might be really the Admiral in spite of the flattering youthfulness of its appearance. Exactly this kind of confusion occurred long before Granville Penn's presentation when, about 1760, Benjamin Franklin borrowed (and, I hear, never returned) a portrait from Lord Kames which was supposed to be of the Quaker but turned out to be of the Admiral. If, however, the motto like the other inscription is late in origin, it may merely represent an attempt on the part of some subsequent person to justify the military garb of a man known to have been a lover of peace. Perhaps a study of the two duplicates would cast some light on this whole complicated subject. I have put them down on my growing list of agenda for my next visit to England, and in the meantime must only raise these questions.

The other point has to do with the

destruction of William Penn's treaty. I have now found again my source; it is an article by Thomas J. Battey in *The Friend* in 1897 telling how more than twenty years before Captain Black Beaver, a Delaware Indian, had related to him that the original treaty of William Penn had been passed down from generation to generation in his tribe in the custody of some trustworthy member until he himself, Black Beaver, became its custodian and had it in his house near the Washita River in Iowa. Soon after the outbreak of the Civil War, while he was away from home, his house and his neighbors' were attacked and fired by some Chickasaws and other slave-holding Indians. "In the destruction of his old home, the Penn Parchment, so long and so carefully preserved by the Delawares, was burned." Such in brief is the story. Black Beaver quoted one passage from the treaty: "While sun and moon shall endure, grass grow, and water run." These words sound to me very much like a Penn-Indian document whose text is known. Would that be evidence for or against accepting their quotation by Black Beaver as coming from the lost treaty?

63

Lincoln's Pocket

These letters, written on subjects usually too antique to be controversial, do not often elicit much "fan mail." When, however, a year ago I ventured to query the story that a letter from Eliza Gurney to President Lincoln was found in his pocket when he was fatally shot, several readers protested. They had heard the story in such a way that they were sure it was authentic. I had called attention to the fact that it first appeared in print in 1882, seventeen years after the

assassination. None of my critics could really give me indisputable evidence of even oral circulation any earlier. I was quite willing to be convinced and promised "to carry on the search and perhaps have something to say by the next birthday." That day has now come.

Two lines of inquiry suggested themselves. The earliest known printed statement above mentioned comes from the pen of the well known English Quaker, J. Bevan Braithwaite, four of whose daughters are alive, ranging in age from eighty to ninety. They might possibly have in their possession some documentary evidence on which he based it. One, who lives in America, I did consult. Naturally she has not such family records here. Two who live in his Banbury home are, I was told, so harried by war conditions that it would be impractical to ask them to search for such evidence. Before I succeeded in asking the fourth, her home was completely blasted by a V-I bomb. Along this line the record is "no progress to report."

The other line of research begins at the other end of the story. As I reported last year, the garments worn by Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theatre are said to have been taken by the War Department. Neither my friend F. Lauriston Bullard, who told me this, nor I have been inclined to write at this time to the Department about them. He, however, has another bit of information and I quote his words from an article in the *Lincoln Herald* for June, 1944. Writing on "Lincoln and the Quaker Woman," Mr. Bullard says:

"A few years ago there was presented to the Library of Congress, by the late Mrs. Mary Lincoln Isham, a granddaughter of the President, a blue cardboard box, labeled in the handwriting of Robert T. Lincoln, 'Contents of pockets of A. L., April 14, 1865.' I have information from the Library and from another excellent authority that the box

contains no letter from Mrs. Gurney nor any letter of any kind. And still that is not conclusive. All that was in the pockets may not be in the box."

Certainly the last words are more generous to Quaker tradition than I should care to be. At any rate the story cannot any longer be accepted without reservation. The possibility remains that somehow in the years after Lincoln died his acknowledgment of her letter came to be understood by Braithwaite on what he supposed to be information of Eliza Gurney herself as evidence that the letter was in his pocket seven months later.

The later references to the event show how easily facts get altered and exaggerated. Let us look at the whole series and consider whether such alterations and exaggerations (which I have italicized) may not probably precede as well as follow 1882.

Sept. 4, 1864. Abraham Lincoln to Eliza Gurney: "I have not forgotten—probably never shall forget—the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten." (Original letter at Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

1882. J. Bevan Braithwaite, writing of death of Lincoln: "E. P. Gurney had the mournful satisfaction of learning that her letter to the President written nearly two years before, had been carefully treasured by him, and was in his pocket when the fatal shot reached him." (*Annual Monitor for 1883*, London, p. 178.)

1883. Richard F. Mott, a Burlington neighbor and intimate friend, makes an almost identical statement, not on his own authority but in quotation marks, evidently from the preceding. (*Memoirs and Correspondence of Eliza P. Gurney*, p. 322.)

1895. Augustus J. C. Hare: "A letter to

President Lincoln from Mrs. J. J. Gurney, *an intimate friend*, was found in his pocket, *with her photograph*, after his death." (*The Gurneys of Earham*, vol. ii, p. 328.)

1910. Amelia Mott Gummere, daughter of Richard F. Mott: "Eliza Gurney's first letter was discovered in his breast pocket, where, *much worn and read, it had been constantly carried*, even to the moment when the fatal shot was fired." (*The Quaker in the Forum*, p. 316.)

A year ago I used the heading (Letter 47): "The Letter in Lincoln's Pocket." This year it seems safer to omit the letter and say "Lincoln's Pocket."

64

When Pacifists Disagree

In every war conscientious pacifists probably find themselves divided not only from the war-making majority of their fellow countrymen, but also among themselves. This diversity of opinion within their own ranks is a distress and embarrassment which pacifists must suffer over and above the inconveniences or sufferings which war brings to the minds and bodies of everyone. It seems strange to outsiders that pacifists cannot agree, and to the pacifist himself the fact that other equally sincere and faithful pacifists draw either a more strict or a more lax line of demarcation seems to cast criticism on himself. In the present situation we are all aware of this problem even though it does not result in the extremes of bitterness.

Probably this difficulty is inherent in the nature of conscience. At any rate it is nothing new in Quaker history. Even when the discussion is not so vigorous, as, for example, in the debate at the London Yearly Meeting of 1944 whether our relief workers should refuse to wear khaki, the divergence

of judgment in what might seem to some a trivial issue as to what is or is not required by our peace testimony, can be traced back to the earliest of times. We have, from George Fox's lifetime and later, illustrations in the correspondence between London Friends and those in the West Indies.

Another example has lately come to my attention. Since it may not have been published heretofore, I shall recount it in detail. It is a letter of William Penn in England to a group of influential Friends in Pennsylvania, and is dated Bristol, the 5th of 9th Month, 1695. Though copies of it have been known for some time, the original in the Governor's own hand is now accessible and its genuineness can hardly be doubted even by those who might wish he had never written it. Evidently Governor Fletcher of New York on behalf of all the colonies had asked the Pennsylvania assembly to send money for the common defense against the French and Indians. In fact that letter is also extant in which Fletcher had written plainly two months before to Governor Markham in Pennsylvania: "If it does not consist with the religion of your people to give a quota of men to fight let them contribute some money." Apparently the Quaker assemblymen refused to do so.

To this decision William Penn vigorously protested. Referring to their "not only refusing to send men but money for a common defense," he continues:

"Now our case is this. Here we pay to carry on a vigorous war against France; that is the whole title of the Acts and to it is contributed by the commissioners of it. And Friends here admire (*i.e.*, wonder) at the difficulty of the people there to pay, saying it seems to contradict us here; especially since it may be given under the style of peace and safety or to defray the exigencies of the Government, and deposit it in such hands as may keep Friends clear from breach

of their testimony and the country from such complaints as may overset the Government again or contradict Friends here that pay much more barefacedly. Others there will give besides Friends and others pay as well as Friends, so is a mixt thing, and for mixt services. I intreat you to weigh this matter and apply some speedy remedy to this affair as you in wisdom should think meet."

William Penn's arguments are typical of such situations. They are worth analyzing. Pennsylvania Friends were taking a stand that was not in line with current Quaker practice in the mother country. Evidently in England special acts were passed at this time by which funds were raised by special commissions for the specific purpose of waging "vigorous war" against France. Along with their non-pacifist neighbors English Friends paid these requisitions "barefacedly" and with good conscience. American Friends were, in contrast, only urged to make or permit voluntary contributions, which they could consider as made for government expenses in general or at least for the laudable purpose of peace and safety. (William Penn almost seems to imply that for England it was a war of aggression, for the colonies a war of defense.) And if the mixed character of the purposes and of the givers was not sufficient to satisfy American Quaker consciences there was the further possibility for Friends to give the money to some non-Friends, and if these passed it on for war services the original donors would be left clear in their testimony since they were not directly or openly supporting a war.

This contrast, William Penn says further, placed English Friends in a bad light, or else it showed the Pennsylvanians as insubordinate by "contradicting" British Quaker practice. And finally their refusal to give might threaten the Quaker control of the province. Here William Penn is ominously reminding

his correspondents that Pennsylvania had lately for two years been taken out of his hands and placed under Governor Fletcher who had no Quaker scruples about war, or indeed about oaths or about an established and intolerant Anglican Church. In fact when the province was returned to William Penn a few months before this letter, he had rashly promised that it would supply men or money for military needs, just as a few months after this letter in his now famous plan for an American union he was evidently thinking not of an unarmed state, nor even of a league of nations, but of a military coalition of the British colonies in which Pennsylvania would be called on for its proportionate quota. Those "disaffected people" in the colony who were not pacifists, William Penn predicted, would use this refusal above all other arguments to hurt the Quaker autonomy and privileges, and to upset the whole holy experiment.

I need hardly discuss the practical or the theoretic merits of the two points of view indicated by this revealing letter. As a matter of history I believe the Pennsylvanians continued their refusal both on receiving this letter and long afterward. At least I have seen a letter written two years later in which the non-Quakers of Pennsylvania complain that they are outvoted so that "no bills can pass for the forming of a militia, levying of forces, etc., for the defense of frontiers or the raising of moneys to answer any such exigencies of government."

This is not the last time that the behavior of Friends in war time on one side of the Atlantic has seemed inconsistent to those who behaved differently on the other side, or conversely, has seemed unnecessarily strict. Nor is it the last time that some Friends of less prominence or lower status have had the courage not to let the great name of some Quaker leader or the possible risk to some worthy Quaker enterprise pre-

vent them from settling matters of conscience independently and sincerely without too much casuistry or rationalization.

65

Quaker Book Promotion

Among recent best selling books, religious books have everywhere taken a prominent place. Novels, historical or otherwise, with a religious theme, have stood high for months in the statistics of book sales. Persons addicted to wishful thinking have tried to persuade us that this is a sign of a new interest in religion coming out of the war—forgetting that with good authority it has been declared that one cannot gather figs of thistles.

Any contact with the book trade will disclose to us that the sale of books is partly due to promotion. Every year nowadays before Lent the book trade exploits their devotional literature and this year, following the overworked tactics of other industries, they have announced May 6 through 13 as "Religious Book Week."

That our Quaker writers and distributors may contribute in some share to this expansion of religious reading is suggested by various circumstances. They may not achieve the "Best Seller" class, though I suppose among secular works *Reaching for the Stars* certainly did so, and Friends may lay claim to its author, an American Quakeress transplanted to England, as they do with the novels of Janet Whitney, a reverse phenomenon. But do they know that, of the very few religious books to sell over 500,000 copies, one was written by a Philadelphia Friend in good standing? And can they guess, when told this, what book it was?*

Thomas Kelly's *Testament of Devotion* has already reached a circulation of 10,000

and is likely to continue selling for years to come at a thousand copies a year. Elton Trueblood's *Predicament of Modern Man* has had an excellent press and, though more a topical item than a classic, is selling rapidly. For religious autobiography William Hubben's *Exiled Pilgrim* has had great success.

We know that Rufus Jones is widely read in circles outside the Society. One or more of his books have been translated into German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Chinese, Japanese—and Braille.

That the early Friends were believers in the printed word we have evidence enough. By "publishers of truth" they meant the living speaking messengers, but they supplied them with printed ammunition. It is easier to estimate the number of titles of their books and pamphlets—several thousand in the first fifty years—than the size of their editions. Figures of circulation such as lie at the basis of a recent study of best sellers in America in the last fifty years were not available in the seventeenth century. Early Friends translated scores of their pamphlets into Dutch. Their Hebrew and their Latin publications have been the subjects of recent essays. They had material in German and French and at least one item each in Danish and Swedish and Arabic and Italian—just as modern Friends have.

Their printers and publishing make an interesting study—and invite comparison with our own experiences. I can only mention an example which shows George Fox's ambitious and comprehensive outlook. It is a letter which I cite with more than usual piquancy because, though printed eighty-five years ago, the original cannot now be found and because the letter escaped the notice of

*The answer to the questions in the third paragraph is *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* by Hannah Whitall Smith

both the first and the latest editor of the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*.

Writing from London in Sixth Month, 1685, by name, to two or more Quaker magistrates each from Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Jersey, East Jersey and Maryland, "G. F." recommends to their help and encouragement a Quaker printer and book dealer to serve not only the colonies named but also "Friends in Virginia, Carolina, Long Island, Winthrop's country, Plymouth patent, Boston, and Piscataqua." He is described as "a sober young man that is a Friend, whose name is William Bradford," "a civil young man and convinced of Truth." He was a "prentice with our Friend Andrew Sowle; since married his daughter." Though "he comes to Pennsylvania to set up the trade of printing Friends' Books" George Fox expected him to carry a stock of English Quaker publications as published each year. He was bringing with him in 1685 many primers and new books and could later import to order. "What books you want (*i.e.* lack) and what books you like you may send for to him, for if he have them not he can send to England for them and so save you a labor of sending to England that live in America and this may be a great service to you in all those places in America before mentioned."

Of William Bradford and the later vicissitudes of this enterprise we know a good deal from history. Even if not fulfilled then, George Fox's ideal of a central Quaker book mart for printing and distributing books on behalf of the Society throughout America is worth remembering now.

Visits of Strangers to Silent Meetings

The silence of Friends' meetings is so prized by our members that some young Friends are almost jealous of any speaking; but on strangers the silence has rarely made a favorable impression. The famous eulogy of Elia is an exception. I recall the lad who was asked how he liked his first experience of a service free from a collection and also from many other familiar features of worship and replied, "It don't cost nothing, it ain't worth nothing." A widely read early Quaker tract by William Britten was entitled *Silent Meeting a Wonder to the World*. George Fox in his original *Journal** tells of opponents who cried aloud, "Look how these people sets mumming and dunning!"

I have been reminded of these reactions of visitors to our meetings throughout our history by reading one that has just been published, though written long ago. Two British youths, Robert Hunter, aged twenty, and Joseph Hadfield, six years older, travelled together in 1785-86 from Quebec to Baltimore. Each kept a diary, and I quote the former's account of attending meeting at Newport:

"In the afternoon I went with Hadfield to the Quakers' meeting, and after sitting an hour and a half came out no wiser than we went in. The spirit did not move one of them. I never was so tired in my life of a place of worship. There were about one hundred women and as many men. As soon as the young girls came out, they skipped about and were as merry as if they had excaped from a prison. It certainly must be a horrid confinement for them. For my part, I

*Camb. Jnl II.28

cannot see what religion there is in sitting still an hour and a half without anybody speaking a word. We could not help telling some of the handsome young Quaker girls that, if the spirit did not move them in church, it moved them to be quite merry and lively now, for they were pulling each other about as if they had been at a game of romps."*

An older and more sober criticism but none the more favorable on that account comes from John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, later President of the United States. Writing under dateline of Washington, March 25, 1821, he says:

"I went with Dr. Thornton this morning to the Quaker meeting. There were forty to fifty men present, and about as many females. We sat nearly two hours in perfect silence—no moving of the spirit; and I seldom in the course of my life passed two hours more wearily. Perhaps from not having been inured to this form of public worship, I found myself quite unable to reduce my mind to that musing meditation which makes the essence of this form of devotion. It was rambling from this world to the next and from the next back to this, chance-directed; and curious to know what was passing in the minds of those around me, I asked Dr. Thornton, after we came out, what he had been thinking of while we had been there. He said he did not know; he had been much inclined to sleep. Solitude and silence are natural allies, and social silence may be properly allied with social labor. But social meditation is an incongruity. I felt on my coming from this meeting, as if I had wasted precious time."**

It is true nowadays that the visitor does not have to sit through two hours of Quaker meeting, but even an intelligent and religious visitor—not to mention members in good standing like Dr. William Thornton—often cannot use profitably a full hour of silence.

From an earlier date comes the statement about some American Indians, usually such stolid people, that they had "no objection to attending Friends' meetings if it were not too long to sit doing nothing without the privilege of a pipe."*** I am not urging unsanctified speaking any more than unsanctified silence. Nor do I appeal, as Paul did to the Corinthians, that we should consider the effect of our way of worship on the casual visitor. I am only quoting the impressions of some strangers that we may see ourselves as others see us.

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Friends and Russia

Few modern Friends are unaware of the Quaker contacts with Russia between the first and second World Wars, but how clear is the earlier history of this relationship? Russia's present and future prominence in our thinking makes the question timely. In fact, the publication in England of some stories of Nikolai Leskov, the Russian novelist, reminds us that the question has been asked before, "How early were there Quakers in Russia?" Leskov himself in 1892 was criticized because he had introduced a Quakeress in his semi-autobiographical, semi-fictitious story called *The Valley* (Yudol), whose scene is laid in the 1830's. The critics supposed that no Quakers had come to Russia before those who came from England for famine relief in 1892. Leskov in a special answer to critics entitled *O'Kvakereyakh*,

* Quebec to Canada in 1785-6 edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, San Marino, 1943 p. 123f

** Quoted in Records of Columbia Historical Society, vol. 18, 1913, p. 195.

*** Travels in Some Parts of North America by Robert Sutcliffe, York, 1811, p. 263.

says that in his family there were various connections with English Quakers. His Aunt Polly was well acquainted with one called Hildegarde, the daughter of Basil (?). The same aunt advised one of his cousins, who became a widower and felt the need of a mother for his three young children, to go to England and get a position there in a Quaker family and find a second wife among the Quakers. This he did, with great success. Later the man's brother also married an English girl. Leskov also reminds Old Muscovites of English people who used to be at the house of Mr. James Scott, whose four sons managed great landed estates, including Quaker governesses, who went to positions throughout Russia and became sometimes lifelong friends of their charges.

Of course there were famous Quaker visitors to Russia about this time and even earlier, and the story of the sojourn of Daniel Wheeler and his family and other Friends in Russia has been told not only in his Journal but in two books by Jane Benson. But is that the earliest Quaker connection? We are prepared to find records of native Russians with no real Quaker character called "Quakers" since such a nickname was used everywhere in Europe of various sects and often with little appropriateness. It is to such groups in Siberia about 1744 that Leskov apparently refers in the later pages of the article already mentioned, while still earlier V. V. Gur'ev published an account of the same circumstances, later translated into English, telling how some Moscow women, apparently of monastic vocation, were banished to a monastery at Tomsk in Siberia accused of "the Quaker heresy."

The story of Friends and Russia may be carried back to the time even of George Fox. In 1660 he urged English Friends to do missionary work in Russia, Muscovia, etc. There is no evidence that they ever reached this destination or that the several letters

were delivered which George Fox himself addressed to the Emperor of Muscovia, much as he wrote to other distant and even mythical potentates. There is however from his own mouth a cautious postscript to a history of Quakerism, never published,* which may be worth repeating here in conclusion. George Fox's caution and his definite assertion that the martyrs described were not English is to be observed. Writing about 1689 he says:

"About ten or eleven years ago there was a man that went with the ambassador to Russia, and when he was there there was 60 people that lived about 200 miles of the Emperor's court that would not put off their hats nor bow to none but God, and they called them English Quakers, though they were his natives. And the Emperor sent for them and when they were come before him bid them put off their hats. And they told him they could not do it nor bow to any but God. And the Emperor told them then he would cut off their heads, and they were neither amazed nor stirred at it and he chopt off three score of their heads upon one block and they all died like lambs and never an one relented but only one had pity concerning his wife and children but died like a lamb as the rest.

"Now this man said he stood by and saw it. And Friends questioned the truth of it because they never heard of it neither by the merchants nor factors. They sent to him again to know the truth of the thing and he stood still to it and affirmed that he saw it with his eyes. Now I not having this confirmed by any other, therefore I have not entered it in the book, but you may query of them that trade into Russia if ever they heard of any such thing."

*"How the Lord by his Power and Spirit did raise up Friends"

P.S. More recent and inclusive are the Pendle Hill Pamphlet No. 62 by Anna Brington, *Towards Undiscovered Ends; Friends and Russia*, 1951, and the book, *Quakers In Russia*, by Richenda C. Scott, London, Michael Joseph, 1964

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Blacklisting Persecutors

The treatment of vanquished Germany by the victors suggests to a reminiscent Friend some parallels to the experience of the early Quakers. Fraternization, in effect if not in name, was discouraged in the seventeenth century. In some places any hospitality to Friends, or visitation of prisoners, was severely punished. The modern prohibition of more than five Germans to assemble reminds us of the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670 by which it was illegal for any person sixteen years old to be present at a gathering under color of religion, where five or more persons beyond a household were present. Thousands of Friends were victims of this law. One wonders whether the terms of the old Act, which was later misread as forbidding more than five, is responsible for this new chapter in Anglo-Saxon penology.

To mention such parallels may not be tactful; still less tactful is it to note that the early Friends themselves also provided a kind of precedent to the retributory policy of the Allies. I refer to the listing of persecutors which holds an important place in the work of the so-called United Nations War Crimes Commission. We know well how carefully the Friends kept on record every case of persecution they suffered. The evidence is found in the forty-four great folio manuscript volumes compiled by Ellis Hookes and the clerks who succeeded him and now preserved at Friends House, Lon-

don. It is found in over three hundred pamphlets on the subject published by Friends in their first fifty years. It is most conveniently summarized in Joseph Besse's big *Collection of the Sufferings*, published after another half century. The purpose of the Quaker records of sufferings was of course more to honor the victims than to criticize the villains. Their hope was to stop rather than to revenge the persecutors. Yet it was inevitable that the deeds of the persecutors and their names should enter the records. In his initial instructions given as early as 1658, George Fox repeatedly suggests that there be sent up to London not merely the names and places and sufferings of the Friends but also "the names of all that caused Friends to suffer."

Such an elaborate process of recording can hardly have seemed an ingratiating act. The persecutors naturally looked upon it as indicating a plot for revenge. They could not be sure whether, like some millenarians, the Friends were listing their deeds merely for the record, leaving vengeance to God, or whether like the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Quakers would take the matter into their own hands and stage the Day of Judgment sooner. The fact of so much correspondence about it was not soothing to the uneasy conscience of the perpetrators of all sorts of cruelty, any more than today the accumulation of data about Nazi jailors and tormentors can be comfortable to the persons implicated. How were the informers, constables, sheriffs, judges, jailors, priests, and impropiators, whose names the early Friends recorded, to know that the record had no intention to stimulate human revenge? Even if the Friends confined themselves to expecting and later to reporting that in many cases the persecutors met at the hands of God himself the punishment that they deserved, their persecutors, as they contemplated such records, naturally had a superstitious dislike for

them. Various early Quaker questionnaires, including the first forms of the annual Queries, asked each meeting what judgments had fallen on persecutors. As a kind of converse to his Book of Miracles George Fox compiled from such instances a Book of Examples, which, though likewise now lost, evidently found abundant material for its sinister contents.

The Friends also expected and included in their Queries cases where persecutors clearly repented from their misdeeds. This, and even the somewhat eager reporting of divine judgments, unlively though the latter may seem to us today, are yet to be preferred to the gruesome trials and executions which we seem about to witness in Europe.

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Unhanging Mary Dyer

Famous in Quaker annals is the execution on Boston Common of four Friends in 1659-61, and especially of the one woman among them, "Mistress Dyer," who, after being reprieved the year before when on the very scaffold, finally was put to death on June 1, 1660.

Scores of Friends met their death in English prisons, but in England there was no law against them with a definite death penalty. On the Continent it is suspected that one or two Friends were surreptitiously done away with in the Inquisition or elsewhere but without due process of law. The story of mass executions in Russia mentioned in an earlier letter is unconfirmed both as to fact and as to the Quakerism of the alleged victims.

The Boston episode is also nearly unique in the annals of America. Other colonies had severe laws but none actually put religious dissenters to death. In earlier years the Mas-

sachusetts Bay Colony had only banished Roger Williams and Anne Marbury Hutchinson. It had cropped the ears of other Quakers or branded them with a red hot iron. Several Friends who were under sentence of death were subsequently released. The four victims of 1659-61 remain without parallel. The most similar episode, and one in which the victims are often nowadays confused with Quakers, was the hanging at Salem of several women as witches about 1692.

The heirs of the Puritans, when they recall these deeds, are sometimes uncomfortable. Modern Quakers are not the only ones who unctuously remind them of this episode in the history of religious intolerance. Sometimes an uneasy conscience is stirred from other sources. I shall mention two evidences, one in the present and one in the past.

Now: The General Court of Massachusetts, as the legislative body of that colony or state is still called after more than three hundred years, before it adjourned its 1945 session, enacted into law the following bill (Senate 511) :—

"The state treasurer, with the approval of the governor and council, is hereby authorized and empowered to accept, in accordance with the provisions of the will of the late Zenas H. Ellis, of Fair Haven in the state of Vermont, from Elmer A. Angevine, the executor of said will, the sum of twelve thousand dollars for the purposes set forth herein. Upon the receipt of said sum the art commission is hereby authorized and directed to expend the same, together with such additional sums as may be contributed or appropriated for the purposes set forth herein, to provide for the construction and erection of an appropriate statue of Mary Dyer, who was hanged on Boston Common in the year sixteen hundred and sixty because she chose to suffer the death penalty rather than abandon the principles of freedom of speech

and conscience, and to erect such statue on the state house grounds."

The passage of such legislation was no doubt eased by the fact that the money was already provided for the memorial by a descendant of Mary Dyer, a Vermont banker, who died last January. Twenty-three years ago a statue of Anne Hutchinson was erected in the State House grounds, where are statues of such other celebrities as Daniel Webster, Horace Mann, and Henry Cabot Lodge. A further precedent for clearing the record was the annulment in 1930 of the edict of banishment of Roger Williams; but the 1945 legislature failed to pass two similar bills, one of which would have revoked the sentence of banishment passed by the general court in 1637 against Anne Hutchinson, the other would have reversed and declared null and void all charges passed in 1692 in a special court held at Salem against divers women who "were severally indicted and convicted and attainted of witchcraft." The chivalry of the legislature is therefore the more striking in the case of the now honored and vindicated Quakersess.

Then: Nowhere within or without the Society of Friends have I seen any mention in connection with these recent matters of a similar episode, two centuries before. Jonathan Belcher, royal governor of Massachusetts, in opening the General Court in November, 1740, included in his address the following paragraph:

"The Legislature have often honoured themselves in a kind and generous remembrance of such as have been sufferers either in their persons or Estates, for or by the Government, of which the publick Records will give you many instances. I should therefore be glad there might be a Committee appointed by this court to inquire into the Sufferings of the People called Quakers in the early days of this country, as also into the Descendants of such Families as were in

a manner ruined in the mistaken Management of the terrible affair called Witchcraft. I really think there is something incumbent on this Government to be done for retrieving the Estates and Reputations of the Posterity of the unhappy Families that so suffered, and the doing it, tho so long afterwards, would doubtless be acceptable to Almighty God, and would reflect honour upon the present Legislature."

A few weeks later a joint committee was appointed on the matter and in July a newly constituted committee was selected from both houses. All this I have found in the records in the State House at Boston, but up until now no report of the committee is forthcoming. Critical events in contemporary politics may have interefered. Most of the executed Quakers and witches left no descendants. One hint of the committee's activity may be found in a memorandum said to have been copied from Thomas Shillitoe's scrap-book, relating to Samuel Dyer, grandson of Mary Dyer, and owner of her former farm at Newport, Rhode Island, until his death in 1767. It reports:

"During his life the legislature of the province of Massachusetts Bay, of which Boston was the capital, took into consideration the circumstances of her death; and being informed that one of her descendants was living, sent a deputation of their body to confer with him on that occasion: they represented that they deeply regretted the conduct of their ancestors, or predecessors, in putting his ancestor to death; and desired to know what compensation or satisfaction they could make; and offered to do what might be required in that way. He received them courteously and told them he was sensible of the good feelings and worthy motives which had actuated the Legislature in making the offer; but that no compensation could be made; he could accept nothing as the price of blood; that their sense of the

injury and injustice committed, exemplified by their acknowledgment, was sufficient; and he freely forgave all the actors in that dismal catastrophe."

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Penn, Pensions and Pennsylvania

Unless this war is "different," as has so often been claimed, it will be followed, as other wars have been, by the revulsion of many participants in the direction of pacifism. Such revulsion will in many cases be superficial, but in some it will go the whole way of the classical Quaker peace position. That position is as scrupulous against gaining anything ourselves directly from the war as against contributing anything to it. The conscientious Friend wishes neither to support a war nor to be supported by it. Renunciation of war-profits is a feature of our history that has taken many forms. One of these has been the refusal of a pension. What the converted or "re-converted" Quaker serviceman will do with his G.I. benefits constitutes an interesting problem of conscience.

I have been studying the treatment of that problem by an English Friend named Ralph Dixon, of Staindrop, who died just a hundred years ago. While still a mere youth, finding it difficult to secure employment at his trade of shoemaker since the Napoleonic wars were going on, he enlisted in the "army of reserve," though he soon discovered that "this army of reserve, and army of defence, as they were called, were nothing more than decoys, into which, under the expectation of not having to leave their native country young men were induced to enlist; and afterwards, either tempted by bounties, or forced by ill usage, to volunteer into the regular service." So Ralph Dixon volunteered for regular service in the 31st reg-

iment which soon was transferred to the Peninsular War, and was engaged in a sanguinary battle against the French at Talavera in Spain, where he was severely wounded.

He never thereafter had good health and he supported his family with difficulty, though at his discharge he was an out-pensioner of Chelsea hospital, receiving a shilling a day. As time went on he became increasingly religious, became a plain Friend, and adopted Friends' views on war. Now his pension came to burden his mind. He found, however, a justification for it which satisfied him for a time. He says:

"In reading Sewel's history of Friends I found William Penn had received from James II a large tract of land partly in lieu of wages due his father, Admiral Penn. I looked upon this as a parallel case, and thought I had just as much right to my pension as William Penn had to receive his father's wages for warfare."

Ralph Dixon finally renounced his pension, wisely following his conscience rather than a historic analogy, but the argument which he used raises an interesting problem. Though the Penn Tercentenary is now a year behind us I may say a word about the historical question involved.

Although it is commonly said even today that Pennsylvania was given to William Penn in payment of a debt due from the crown to his father, Admiral Penn, for his military services, there is much to be said against this interpretation of history.

1. No other charters granted for unsettled lands in America were given in payment of a debt or for a pecuniary consideration. The grantee was in fact at much expense and risk in receiving the grant.

2. There was no public debt in England until after the accession of William and Mary in 1688. Hence what Charles Stuart owed his admiral was a private personal obligation,

and could scarcely be discharged by the grant by the King's prerogative of unoccupied lands in America which were not the property of the King but of the English nation.

3. There is not a word in the charter of Pennsylvania suggesting that it was sold or conveyed to William Penn as the liquidation of a debt. The charter is in the usual form with the nominal payment of two beaver skins annually. It is unlikely that William Penn would add to this nominal payment £16,000 arrearage, when other lands had been granted on so much better terms, especially since (as he had already shown in the case of New Jersey) he believed the real title to the lands must be subsequently bought from Indians, not from English royalty.

4. In his letters he seems to speak of the grant of Pennsylvania not as the payment of the debt but as a probable remuneration from the divine hand for the loss of £16,000 which he had sustained because of his religion and had long ago written off, and which he could if he wished still press upon King James.

Though all these considerations were set forth more fully almost a hundred years ago in the first volume of the *Friends Review*, the popular error persists that Pennsylvania was the payment of a war debt. We do not know how far the money due the Admiral was for services in war. Writing in 1670 in *Truth Rescued from Imposture*, to vindicate his deceased father's reputation, William Penn the Quaker declares that his father made no money out of "his near 30 years past employment," and at the same time he dissociates himself from those who "justify war" or believe "war to be allowable and the consequence of it."

Science vs. Conscience

One of the remarks in Martin Luther's *Table Talks* is to the effect that if Adam had seen in a vision the horrible instruments his children were to invent he would have died of grief. Now whether Martin was referring to the antediluvian descendants of Adam like Tubal-Cain, "the forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron," and his bragadocio father Lamech, or whether he meant the now obsolete instruments of war and torture of his own time that one sees only in museums for the sixteenth "Christian" century, how much more are the words justified in the atomic age.

In like manner one cannot but wonder what the father of the atomic theory of matter, John Dalton, the humble British Quaker schoolteacher, would have thought if instead of dying in 1844 he had lived one hundred and one years longer to see what men are doing today with the information developed from his brilliant scientific hypothesis. I am not inclined to attribute guilt to the Manchester Quaker for what has been done since, any more than I am inclined to blame all human sin on old Adam as some have done. I wonder, however, what Dalton would be saying today among the scientists or what Eddington would be saying, for that matter, who died just a hundred years later, as both pacifists and scientists themselves. Probably they would applaud the Friend who, according to a recent statement, was one of the four outstanding physicists who when invited declined to participate in the Anglo-American enterprise.

The position of the scientists today is one that presents in any academic community an interesting spectacle. Beneath

their self-defense is a new sense of social responsibility somewhat akin to a sense of guilt. Their almost unanimous wish that the experiment had not succeeded and their recommendation that, now that it has succeeded, it must be subjected to international control bespeaks something of the panic of a Frankenstein. Even after the first World War many scientists in England expressed their compunction and their anxiety for the future. This is all very wholesome, provided that they become neither the scapegoats for others' complicity nor the evaders of their own. What began for most of them as the pure pursuit of knowledge has imperceptibly been transferred to the realm of morals. It has become like the Tree of Knowledge of which Adam was told, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." The issue is squarely drawn between science and conscience. Even our contemporary periodical *Life* has recently said editorially:

"Our sole safeguard against the very real danger of a reversion to barbarism is the kind of morality which compels the individual conscience, be the group right or wrong. The individual conscience against the atomic bomb? Yes. There is no other way. The thing for us to fear today is not the atom, but the nature of man lest he lose either his conscience or his humility before the inherent mystery of things."

That writer does not seem to feel confident that the United Nations Organization can handle the problem. Nor does that veteran editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, L. P. Jacks, who evidently doubts whether the existence of such a control would not remove liberty from the earth while it lasts, and would not end by those who control such weapons using them on somebody, perhaps on each other, or even on their own headquarters, in the absence of other outlet for their martial aptitudes. Instead he asks "Whether the proposal to avert these dangers

by appointing the Society of Friends sole custodian of the bomb, and permitting none but Quakers to make or use it, is more fantastic than other proposals made by eminent persons with the same object."

I do not believe Friends would welcome such responsibility in spite of its compliment. For my part I am thankful that so many other persons are becoming aware of what is really not new with the new discovery but rather always implicit in the nature of war, and I gladly turn for companionship and solace from my eminent scientific friends with all their uneasiness to the group of Conscientious Objector guinea pigs for whom conscience preceded rather than followed their scientific efforts. They decided the moral question of war first, and have given themselves to constructive projects and the saving of human life.

The reader may well ask what connexion these thoughts have with the Quaker past. Let me quote you William Penn. Though he was elected, the first of a distinguished list of Quaker members, a Fellow of the Royal Society, he was hardly a physicist at all and certainly no prophet of our great achievements. Yet by inadvertence, if you will, he seems to say what needs saying. In his letter on religious toleration written when he was a prisoner in the Tower of London to Lord Arlington he is maintaining the primacy of morals as the only basis for judging men's service or disservice to society, and expresses himself (the passage is in the original letter in the Public Record Office, but not in the published text or even in his own manuscript letter book) as follows:—"Nor need men beat their brains or rack their wits how to anatomize an atom—that they may understand whether whoredom, perjury, lying, cousening, intemperance, injustice, etc., are unlawful or destructive of good order." Here in 1669 is the exact phrase, in Penn's spelling, "anotomize An Attom."

The New New Testament and the Old Fashioned Friend

That the much publicized Revised Standard New Testament includes a Friend among its perpetrators will cause surprise, not to say pain, to some persons. The pain will be due to the conservatism which deprecates any change in the familiar wording of the King James Bible, and likens efforts at revision to the sacrilegious attempt to steady the Ark of God by human hands.

The surprise will be that any Friend should be prepared to engage in such an enterprise, whatever its merits. That the Society of Friends was theologically illiterate for many decades is indeed a fact. Their aversion to a hireling ministry tended not to level up the education of the laity, but to level down the learning of the whole Society. At present, however, so many Friends are competent teachers of religion in colleges and theological schools that I have heard some braggarts making up on paper an all-Friends theological faculty, like a kind of All-American team, which they were willing to match in some imaginary contest against any denomination or all. Nor is Quaker participation in Biblical translation altogether new. Thomas Chase (1827-1892), professor and later president of Haverford College, served on the revision committee which produced the Revised Version of the New Testament in 1881 (American edition, 1901). He began the study of Greek when ten years of age and belonged to the last class at Harvard which was required to have read before admission the whole New Testament in Greek. A century earlier Charles Thomson (1729-1824), formerly master of the Friends School in Philadelphia, Secretary of the Con-

tinental Congress, translated single-handed from the Greek and published not only the New Testament but, for the first time, the Old (that is, from the Septuagint). Though he was not actually a Friend, he was associated by marriage and neighborhood with the Society, as was his home at Harriton, Bryn Mawr. Still earlier a similar feat was performed when a Friend named Anthony Purver (1702-1777) translated the whole Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek. This was sumptuously printed in 1764 in two volumes at the expense of Dr. John Fothergill.

The best collection of Biblical scholars among Friends belongs to the first generation. Though they abandoned the career for which they were trained, men like Barclay, Keith, Richardson, Stubbs and Fisher knew the Bible and could use their Biblical learning. They did not venture to replace the King James version, which was then only slowly making headway against the Geneva Bible. George Fox at times used this and earlier versions. One of the Quaker pamphlets confiscated in Boston from the first publishers of truth on this continent included an enumeration of "Several Scriptures Corrupted by the Translators" and "The Difference betwixt the Old Translation and the New," both of which were later appended to George Fox's *Great Mystery of the Great Whore*. Samuel Fisher was probably the original compiler of this learned material, but George Fox himself was not averse to borrowing from his ex-clerical converts and from books such Biblical learning as would fit his purpose. He tells in his Journal how one day with Richard Richardson and John Stubbs he studied out the arithmetic of the measure of the city in Revelation 21:16 with the help of the interlinear translation of Arias Montanus. After tracking down with great difficulty a Dutch commentary on Revelation which is listed among books in

Fox's library I found it agreed (on the same passage) with his interpretation.

The Revised New Testament of 1881 had, I find by consulting the Quaker periodicals of the time, what we should call today "a good press" among Friends. One could ask for the present volume as kind a reception as is expressed thus in the *Intelligencer* sixty-five years ago:—

"While it is conceded that all human efforts are attended with weakness, it is due to the revisers, whose work is now before us, to extend to them the meed of praise for honesty of purpose and integrity of effort to give the most faithful rendering of the original text and to free it from all errors or obscurities of expression. To attain this end erudition and scholarship may most commendably exert their powers, and do their utmost to give an exact and accurate transcript, free from all ambiguity to perplex the plainest reader."

At least there is nothing especially anti-Quaker in this new revision. What early opponents of Quakerism called the Quaker text has not lost its universalistic force, though it now reads (John 1:9) "The true light that enlightens every man was coming into the world." The texts used by George Fox in confuting Priest Stephens (2 Peter 1:19), in converting Margaret Fell (Romans 2:28, 29), and in defining "the occasion of war according to James his doctrine" (James 4:1 ff.) suffer no blunting of edge in the new wording. Even John 18:36 still permits of pacifist misuse by reading, "If my kingship were of this world my servants would fight," though a Quaker conscience would prefer that the verb "strive" had been substituted in accordance with the original, which suggests not military but athletic effort. Perhaps the most unQuakerly thing about the volume is the use of the term "Word of God" for the scriptures. This usage appears not in the text, but in the preface, in the blurb and

repeatedly in the *Introduction to the Revised Standard Version*, a pamphlet prepared to accompany the volume. I see no reason for Friends to retreat from their classical position of reserving the term for a person rather than a book. But it is not surprising that the Lutheran and now Barthian emphasis upon *Gotteswort* in a different ultra-Protestant sense finds repeated expression from individuals connected with this revision.

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Quaker Sinners

I have been toying with the idea that we should have a "Book of Quaker Sinners." The title is of course suggested by Violet Hodgkin's well-known and widely loved volume to which the new collection might serve as companion piece. Such a title sounds interesting, not to say paradoxical. I should expect it to help sell the idea to a publisher, and help the publisher sell the book to the public. Or we might call it, imitating another title, "The Lives of Twelve Bad Quakers."

I have no doubt there are plenty of materials, easily more than twelve suitable cases, apart from living and remembered sinners. From the earliest days Friends' sins got recorded, gleefully in the anti-Quaker literature, penitently in their letters of acknowledgment to the Meeting, or with vigorous condemnation in the Meeting's testimony of disownment. Of course many of the villains mentioned by their adversaries the Quakers themselves did not recognize as members; other stories in this "adverse" literature are plainly fiction. The minute books, however, bear eloquent testimony to delinquencies. An index to one such book begins: abortion, adultery, apostasy, bastardy, breach of promise, burglary, etc.

The proposed rogues' gallery should in-

clude only flagrant and persistent sinners, of whom really sufficient details are known. At that point the Quaker records will often fail us. Even the names of such sinners were often dropped from Quaker printed narratives, as the original manuscript of George Fox's Journal now shows.

Many of the most vicious persons just fail of official Quaker membership, as we are reminded by some modern cases. Sometimes I think that a slight Quaker connexion is a moral liability, since so many notorious persons have had it. Jack Dillinger the gangster, once the F.B.I.'s public enemy Number One, went as a boy to a Friends' Sunday school. The late William Joyce, better known as Lord Haw-Haw, I have been told is an "old scholar" of a Friends' boarding school. Those who think John L. Lewis a menace might mention that his wife was a Friend. A prerequisite for admission to this volume ought to be a certificate of full, active membership in a recognized Meeting or its ancient equivalent.

The biographical sketches should be varied, perhaps not more than one for each kind of offense. They might be written by different modern Friends and fellow sinners. Unhappily (or happily) some of the best stories are from fiction. "Quaker William" in Defoe's *Captain Singleton* is better than any real Quaker pirate I know of, while the Quaker in *Tom Jones* illustrates admirably—well, he illustrates whatever Fielding's novel might be expected to illustrate. Of defaulters or embezzlers there are plenty of candidates ancient and modern. Perhaps Philip Ford, William Penn's evil genius, should hold this place. Or should it be that Philadelphia broad brim who ran off with the securities of the Quaker funds of which he was the trusted treasurer? James Naylor would do for the blasphemer were it not for his subsequent illumination and saintly repentance. John Roberts, the Quaker miller of Mill

Creek, Haverford, deserves to be included only if the charge for which he was hanged is true, that he deliberately ground glass into the flour which he sold to the Revolutionary soldiers at Valley Forge.

Nominations for inclusion are in order: drunkards, Bluebeards, murderers, suicides, highwaymen, and all the rest. The sinners must be real scoundrels. If disowned by Friends merely for lace making or marrying by a priest, or other peccadillos, they will not qualify, nor if punished by the state for conscientious objection to war or oaths.

Is such a book feasible or to be desired? It will require a good deal of research, for time has covered up the tracks of such offenders, "interred with their bones"; since the research will include the little known anti-Quaker literature, that is all to the good. A study of this literature, commended to us by a leading Quaker historian of the last generation, is still awaiting. As a possible case and an example in which the research has already been done very brilliantly (by Reginald Hine of Hitchin) I may mention the Jacobite Quaker William Bromfield, who was traitor, spy, and informer.

The lives of sinners may not be edifying as models, but they might be a warning. Both for our own complacent members and for outsiders and admirers who put a halo about the whole Society, it would be wholesome to know that we are liable to "lose our condition" as the old Friends used to put it, and can fall as low as other folks.

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From Tongue To Tongue

In a recent letter I mentioned the part that Friends have had in translating the Bible into English. I might have added something of the difficult service Quaker missionaries

have rendered in putting the Scriptures and other books into native languages. For example, I have been reading the life of William and Lucy S. Johnson in Madagascar, the semi-centenary of whose murder by the Malagasy in 1895 was lately observed in England. Especially have Friends been active in translating their own works. Often, of course, non-Friends have been employed, as with George Fox's *Battledore*. Samuel Levi ben Asshur, a Jewish Rabbi from Poland, translated other items of George Fox into Hebrew. However, I could name a dozen Friends of his period that were quite competent to do it themselves. Rufus Jones can be read today in eleven languages (I said nine in Letter 65), and George Fox could have been read in nearly as many. A work of William Penn's in Spanish, with an Italian introduction, is apparently mentioned in a letter to him. In Holland were able Friends, Furl of Rotterdam and Claus of Amsterdam, to turn the Friends' pamphlets into Dutch or German or Latin. Willem Sewel, another Hollander, translated into Dutch the story of Dickinson's shipwreck in Florida, a book lately reprinted in English with splendid editing. Sewel had added a map, illustrations, and poems of his own composition when he edited it, and, most praiseworthy of all, an index. One whole Yearly Meeting, that in Norway, not to mention the movement of thousands of Norse emigrants to America, is due in the first instance to two things: Christopher Meidel's translation of Barclay's *Apology* into Danish, and the concern of George Richardson to visit some Danish prisoners of war in the Thames, with copies of this translation.

More frequent than these matters of literary translation has been the Quaker experience with oral interpretation from one language to another. In colonial Philadelphia it was much more the native French tongue of Benezet than "the thee and thou of the

Quakers" that translated the city of brotherly love into practical service for the wretched Acadian refugees, and at the other end of the social scale the same bilingual Benezet interpreted Quakerism so favorably to the French aristocracy who visited him that they idealized Pennsylvania in their memoirs as a veritable Utopia. George Fox on the continent of Europe used for interpreter the same Jan Claus that I just mentioned, and in Wales probably his own convert, John ap John. I wish I knew just how he conversed with the Emperor of Morocco's Ambassador when he visited him "Twelfth Month, 8th, 1681, in the morning with three Friends." The manuscript containing "G. F.'s speech" has been lost, though we have extant, in fact printed in Latin and English, what he wrote to the Great Turk, the Great Mogul, the Emperor of China, and Prester John. Latin of course was often used by Friends as an oral medium when an educated Friend met a Jesuit or any educated continental.

George Fox conversed with the American Indians through interpreters and so did many other visitors to this continent. But local Friends came also to speak the Indian tongues themselves and could sometimes act as interpreters. This they were specially zealous to do at treaties when there was risk that the aborigines would be cheated by the land-grabbing whitefaces. But often interpreters were not available and then, if the Spirit moved, a Quaker minister would preach to them anyhow, and trusted that his manner and the gathered silence would convey to them the right impression. From an occasion like this comes the well-known remark of an Indian about John Woolman: "I love to feel where words come from."

Quaker experience with interpreters has not discontinued with the disappearance of the Indian. Travellers on the continent like Thomas Shillitoe had a good deal of trouble preaching extempore, as they did, and with

George Fox's Mother

emotion, and having to wait while the interpreter translated, one never knew just how accurately. Shillitoe's theory of his own ministry made him morbidly anxious to be a pure tube for the message of the Master. No wonder he worried when it was necessary to add an extension to the tube. In modern times some of us have had the advantage of knowing just enough of the foreign language to appraise the work of our interpreter and sometimes with admiration. It is an extraordinary experience and a useful kind of eldering to listen to one's ill expressed English sentences rendered into better enunciated, better arranged and even more profound German by a sympathetic "Freund."

The most noteworthy Quaker interpreter today is perhaps our Mexican Friend, Herberto Sein. His skill and good nature have made him a well-known figure at San Francisco and similar gatherings. As interpreter not of one nation only, but a whole continent, he illustrates a way in which one Friend can serve the cause of international understanding. One of the interpreters at the Nuremberg trials is Thomas K. Brown, III, and a referee in translation connected with the same court is A. Gilbert Steer, another member of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. A friend of mine, an American bishop who visited these sessions, tells me the simultaneous and immediate translation of the proceedings into five languages is a marvellous affair. Each spectator in that polyglot throng has a pair of earphones and, whether he is English, French, German, or Russian, by turning a switch he can listen to what is said in his "own tongue, wherein he was born." That much sounds like Pentecost, but otherwise the two upper rooms have little in common.

Assiduous travelling to meetings was characteristic of early Friends, but I do not know anything in the Journals to beat the account given in Charles Marshall's works for a period of his life from 1670 to 1672. He lists over four hundred meetings that he attended in about eight hundred days. The more striking therefore is the single unique entry, interrupting the list: "I went to see G. F.'s mother in Leicestershire."

That is all Charles Marshall says, except the date, 11 mo. 19, 1671, which we should call January, 1672. George Fox himself was abroad. He had landed in Jamaica from Barbados the day before. It was kind of Marshall to look up his invalid mother, probably at the old home at Fenny Drayton, while Fox was absent on this long American journey. An early instalment of his travel journal had just been received in England. We can guess that Marshall was carrying a copy with him to Leicestershire, but one wishes he had told us more about the visit.

Our knowledge of Mary Fox is very scanty, much less than of William Penn's mother, of whom I wrote in this column for Mother's Day two years ago. If the scraps of information were collected together they would not fill a column. Her maiden name was Lago, but no antiquary has yet unearthed the parish record of her marriage to Christopher ("Righteous Christer") Fox. Their son's edited journal says—unfortunately this part of the original manuscript is missing—that she was an upright woman and of the stock of the martyrs, and William Penn says that she was "accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived," and he mentions her sympathy and

understanding during George Fox's early religious troubles. Willem Sewel, the historian, refers to an account of George Fox's origin which the latter had written and sent to him in Holland. This account may not be extant, or it may be an unpublished piece of which I have a copy, adding almost nothing to the above details. After George Fox's death we know that Friends in Holland were inquiring as to the names of his parents.

As late as 1652, when he was twenty-eight, George Fox wrote epistles to his "parents in the flesh." In his Journal he mentions his father two years later when he revisited his home. It is natural to guess that his father, who is never mentioned again, may have died and left Mary Fox a widow. They had a younger daughter, Dorothy, who also predeceased George Fox, and a younger son, John Fox, who survived until 1718, and left descendants.

Concerning Mary Fox, George Fox himself—not in his Journal but in his *Book of Miracles*—left on record two further episodes. In the first, written in the third person but not given a date, he says:—

"His mother had a dead palsy and had little use of one side, and she often did fall down and then could not help herself and had been so many years. And George Fox came to see her and at night she fell down, and he was moved to take her by the hand, and it immediately left her, and she arose and could go about her business."

In the other narrative George Fox tells how, when he got back from America in 1673, the news of his return raised her up out of a severe sickness, but when he started forth to visit her he was arrested and not allowed to see her before her death; the wicked justices hindered him from visiting her "according to her motherly and tender desire."—

"And when I heard she was dead it struck me, for I did in verity love her as ever

one could a mother, for she was a good honest virtuous and a right-natured woman, and when I had read the letter of her death it struck a great weight upon my spirit and it was in a travail for a quarter of an hour . . . and when my spirit had gotten through I saw her in the resurrection and in the life everlastingly with me over all, and father in the flesh also."

This mystical glimpse is the last we hear of her. No doubt she noticed many things about her remarkable son and pondered them in her heart. It was she, George Fox tells us in the unpublished piece before mentioned, who passed on the remark made by Nathaniel Stephens about him that "never such a plant was bred in England." All this would make a bond between them which can easily be guessed, and it may have been comparable to that between the founder of Methodism and Susanna Wesley. Of the latter, full biographies are available. I remember that two books appeared in one year recently, called respectively, *The Mother of Methodism*, and *Son to Susanna*. Though that can never be done for Mary Fox, she too is deserving of honor.

Violet Holdsworth, in one of her charming Quaker stories for children, called "Poor Everybody?" recalls the closing days of that life and adds one further item: "In the parish register at Drayton the short entry may still be seen, telling so little and yet so much to those who know what lies behind the words: 'Mary Fox, widdow was buried Jan. ye 7th 1673.'"

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Report of George Fox (?), June, 1646

Of all the foibles of antiquarians none receives more general tolerance than the habit of noting anniversaries. Just why 365

or 366 days after, or special multiples of that amount, should be the best time to recall the past, is hard to say. Especially the centenary, i.e., 36524 days, is treated as an almost magical number while its fractions and compounds compose the well-known centennial family of Semi, Sesqui, Bi, Ter, etc.

It seems to be wisest to admit that no single day or even year is the obvious birth-day of Quakerism, while we can all agree that it occurred somewhere near the middle of the seventeenth century. I can cite ancient or modern claim for any year from 1643 to 1655. We are living therefore in the tercentenary period, even if we cannot fix a tercentenary date.

We are also living three centuries from the beginning of George Fox's ministry, and until 1991 we shall be able to have tercentenaries about him. I turn at random to a chapter on Quakerism in a modern book, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology*, by R. Newton Flew. It summarizes George Fox's beginnings thus:

Fox received his inward illumination in 1646 when he was twenty two. In 1647 he began his work among the "shattered" Baptists . . . the new religious fellowship into which he entered in 1647 and 1648.

Of course not every event of George Fox's life can be dated to the day. Thomas Carlyle said of his Journal, "George dates nothing, and his facts everywhere lie round him like the leather-parings of his old shop." Careful calculation and more recently recovered documents enable us to place a great many events. A line-a-day diary made out now for George Fox's forty years as a Quaker would contain a surprising number of entries. I should like to show it to Carlyle.

I do not propose to establish in these

columns a regular "Three Hundred Years Ago Today" department. Personally I see little importance in living our present daily life with our memory adjusted by a pair of temporal calipers fixed with micrometric exactitude to register just 3×36524 days (minus 11 days, omitted in 1752 to correct the calendar). George Fox's birth, some time in July, 1624, was observed by Friends in 1924 as was William Penn's birth twenty years later. Only two exact dates in George Fox's pre-Quaker years are known to me. His own Journal supplies one of these: "Then at the command of God, on the ninth day of the seventh month, 1643, I left my relations, and broke off all familiarity with old or young." Another autobiographical fragment refers to him just about a year later, "the 8th of 7ber called the 7th month, 1644. at Atherstone fair."

The quotation I wish now to make is not from George Fox nor from any friend or Friend, but is from a contemporary "priest" named Thomas Edwards, who under the title *Gangraena* published in dated successive instalments "a catalogue and discovery of many of the errorrs, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of the sectaries of this time."

June 10, 1646 . . . There is a shoemaker in Coventry or thereabouts, a famous Preacher, who goes from Coventry and those parts up and down Glostershire, Warwickshire, Woster-shire, preaching and venting erroneous points of Antinomianisme, Anabaptisme, preaching against Tyths, Baptisme of Children: A minister of the City of London being in Glostershire heard him preach and heard of his large Diocese, and perambulations from place to place.

Of course George Fox is not mentioned

here by name, and the passage will not be found in the biographies of Fox nor in the histories of Quakerism. The identification seems to me probable. George Fox's trade was probably that of a shoemaker, though twenty years later Margaret Fell had not heard of it. He was a perambulating preacher. He was quite early opposed to baptism and tithes. He says: "Then" (apparently "about the beginning of the year 1646"), "I went to Coventry, where I took a chamber for a while at a professor's house, till people began to be acquainted with me; for there were many tender people in that town." George Fox speaks of visiting specific places in Warwickshire and other counties but nothing of preaching in Gloucestershire or Worcestershire. However, Thomas Edwards and George Fox coincide in their accounts about as much as under the circumstances was to be expected.

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Signers and Signatures

We are often reminded that it takes all kinds of people to make a world. Similarly we may remark that there are many roads to fame. Sceva Laughlin, the expert on Quakers in *Who's Who in America*, could underscore this statement and I may again refer to my proposed *Book of Quaker Sinners*. I was recently reminded of one road to fame by seeing advertised for sale at \$300 an autograph letter of Joseph Hewes. The advertisement begins:

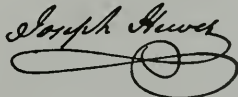
"Collectors of autographs of Signers of the Declaration of Independence well know that there are some stickers in the distinguished lot. Most publicized among the Signers' signatures is that of Button Gwinnett, but even if you win your game of Button-

Button, who's got the Button, you still have a hunt on your hands. A really good Joseph Hewes, for instance. Though a successful business man and a prominent figure, Hewes died before fifty, and after November, 1779, signed no more documents unless it was the Celestial Register at the Pearly Gates. But he did have time to sign that piece of engrossed parchment in the summer of 1776."

Although it now transpires that the Fourth of July was probably not the day on which the Declaration was signed, the 170th anniversary of Independence Day—what plainer Friends used to call the Fourth of Seventh Month—may be a suitable date to "release" some thoughts about "Joseph Hewes, the Quaker Signer." The essay with this title, written by Charles F. Jenkins, gives all the necessary information. This essay in turn quotes the still briefer characterization of Hewes by Benjamin Rush: "A plain, worthy merchant, well acquainted with business. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was very useful on Committees."

For us today the significance of Joseph Hewes is that he was the only one of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence who was a Friend; or, conversely, he was the only member of an influential minority in the American colonies to append his name to that document. There was also only one Roman Catholic, young Charles Carroll of Carrollton. These persons are known in the autograph world simply as Signers, and their signatures are highly prized like those of U. S. presidents, and are priced according to their rarity. Mention has

*I am Dear Sir
your most Obedt Servant
Joseph Hewes*



already been made of Gwinnett, of whom the standard biography, issued in the sesqui-centennial year, is by our Friend Charles F. Jenkins. One of Gwinnett's signatures once sold for \$51,000. Read the chapter on "The Strange Case of Button Gwinnett" in Mary A. Benjamin's *Autographs: a Key to Collecting*. But Gwinnett was not a Quaker. Hewes really did not want independence much and did nothing to cancel his Meeting membership. A Quaker singer would probably seem more inconsistent in 1776 than a Quaker Signer. Signatures of Joseph Hewes are comparatively rare, much rarer for example than those of the Quaker President, Herbert Hoover.

There is one Friend, however, whose full signature is really rarer. That is George Fox. The first article in the first volume of the *Journal of Friends Historical Society* in 1903 could quote only one autograph example. It is on an address to Charles II preserved in a manuscript in London. To this day I can add no other example, not even



from his will or his marriage certificate. Specimens of his handwriting are numerous, including hundreds of endorsements, though many Friends and dealers often carelessly refer to early copies of his writings as if they were holographs or in his own hand. His signatures, however, are almost always by initials, a sprawling "g ff" or sometimes, even in print, merely "G" or "F.G." The latter has caused confusion but is undoubtedly our George. Even G.F. has mystified some. For example, the non-Quaker historian of Woodbridge, N. J., says of a document in a local Friends' minute book and signed

G.F.: "Who G.F. may have been we can only conjecture. Possibly it was Grace Fitz Randolph, wife of Nathaniel. It may have been some Shrewsbury Friend. . . . The document deals with matters of doctrine and discipline." No, G.F. means but one person to Friends both now and then.

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How Pacifists Are Made

When two best-selling authors almost at the same time adopt for their books titles I have used I do not know whether to feel resentful or complimented. One of them, readers of this column may have noticed. It is Somerset Maugham's latest novel *Then and Now*. Being a historical novel, it does not even have the usual safeguarding statement that "any coincidence of names is purely accidental." In fact it calls Macchiavelli and Caesar Borgia and all the rest of its characters plainly by their real names. As a matter of fact, *Then and Now* or *Now and Then* are not uncommon titles. I know several periodicals as well as books so named. Thus the local historical journal of Muncy, Pennsylvania, has carried the name *Now and Then* for many years. The selection of the name has been independent and natural. In spite of Henry Ford, who once called it "bunk," history is instructive, and the teaching of the past for the present is one of the reasons for this column itself as well as for its signature.

For example, we as Friends are thrown into frequent contact with persons, including our own members, who are a little sensitive about their recent participation in war. They know that as a Society we have a long-standing radical peace testimony. Its basis, its implication and its justification are easily divined by those who are willing to receive

it. What should be our attitude towards the disillusioned service men? Certainly not one of self-righteous condemnation—nor even of eager recruiting to the pacifist cause. Our mere existence, no matter how humble and unaggressive we may be, is a disconcerting challenge to them. Their condition is what early Friends called “tender.” A too ready assent to their dawning scruples might only harden them. Shall we simply say to them, “Wear thy sword as long as thou canst,” and leave them to the working of their own conscience?

An account of the procedure of early Friends in this matter has lately been published in England by the Clarendon Press, edited by E. H. W. Meyerstein. It comes from the pen of Edward Coxere of Dover (1633-1694). From boyhood he had followed the sea and had made the transition, easy in those days, from merchant ship to man-of-war. In 1659 during a short visit at home he heard a debate between a local priest and two visiting Friends, Samuel Fisher and Edward Burrough. He thought the Friends had the best of the theological argument, and he was inclined to take their side for the very human reason that the worst people took the other. He writes:

“My mind being set to hear both parties, gave as good attention as I could, insomuch that the Lord at that time visited my soul and reached my very inward parts, so that my understanding was something opened, so that my affections drew to the principle the Quaker held forth to be more sound than the priest’s. Now there were many people hearers: I took notice of them, and such as I knew to be the rudest sort of people despised the Quakers and held with the priest. This confirmed me the more; the Lord let me see it to my farther convincement.”

This is a “convincing” psychological account of a man’s convincement. But so far apparently nothing was said about pacifism.

The Quakers may well have been known as pacifists but many of their converts, and Coxere among them, felt that the conviction on the subject was an independent revelation, or—humanly speaking—a gradual victory. He continues:

“This was not all, but the Lord in his mercy followed me that very day, and brought not peace but trouble; for the first remarkable opening I had before I slept from the Lord was concerning fighting or killing of enemies. The questioning of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of it lay on me as a very great burden, because it struck at my very life.

“I got to Luke Howard’s house in the evening, where these two men were to seek for ease, and told them I was a seaman and upon going to sea, we having wars, and should we meet with an enemy whether or no I might not lawfully fight. They, being very mild, used but few words, I being a stranger to them, but wished me to be faithful to what the Lord did make known to me, and words to that purpose, so did not encourage me to fight, but left me to the working of the power of the Lord in my own heart, which was more prevalent than words in the condition I then was in; so that I did not lay down fighting on other men’s words, but the Lord taught me to love my enemies in his own time. This work was not done at once, for the Enemy of my soul, under whom I had been a soldier so long, striving to kill men who I never saw nor had any prejudice against, as the manner of the wars is, and then take their goods as my own, for so I have done and so I have been served, now the Lord giving me a little glimmering of the unlawfulness of it, I saw I had a very heavy cross to take up, and it was indeed: it was so heavy that I could not soon take it up; I was yet too weak.”

Thus gently initiated, in time Edward Coxere was able to bear the cross.

Penn and Eire

More than once in this column mention has been made of a group of letters sent to William Penn in the summer of 1670, but apparently intercepted by the authorities and so preserved among the State Papers in the Public Record Office. These have now been published in the October 1946 number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Since William Penn was in that summer concluding a nine-months visit in southern Ireland, they are closely connected with his day by day Journal there. The letters and the Journal mutually interpret each other, and together throw a vivid light on his life and character in this important epoch of his development.

By a strange coincidence another publication came into my hands the same day as the magazine mentioned. It is the very handsome illustrated brochure entitled *A Memorial to William Penn in Ireland 1798-1948*, brought to this country by two Irish Friends in connection with an appeal for the sesquicentennial of Newtown School. They wish to secure \$300,000 for a new science building and an endowment, and they appeal effectively to the connection of the founder of Pennsylvania with his own properties at Macroom and Shanagarry and with Quakers in the Province of Munster. I can think of only one ground of appeal that has been overlooked. That is the appropriateness of dedicating a science building at a Quaker school to the memory of the first Friend to be elected Fellow of the Royal Society. Here again in the text of this book "My Irish journall" is quoted—over thirty times in all.

Now William Penn's little manuscript diary has been once printed and otherwise

transcribed, but the readings disagree as a comparison of the quotations here will show. Its entries need much editing to make the whole intelligible. A definitive edition of William Penn's Irish Journal, using all the literary skill and local knowledge shown by the authors of the *Memorial*, is greatly to be desired. If we in America respond generously, as we should, to this educational appeal, we can properly ask our Irish Friends to provide us with a biographical work of this quality.

Of course 1669-70 was not William Penn's first visit nor his last to Ireland. His last occurred just one hundred years before Newtown School was founded and is described by Thomas Story, his companion. Earlier visits are known to us, in two of which Thomas Loe was an influential figure. William Penn's mother, unlike his father, had lived in Ireland before their marriage and for all we know may have had some Irish (Catholic?) ancestry. Lady Penn may have been in Ireland oftener than the times on record. Once again we may have recourse to the State Papers. Four letters there, written in 1657 to the Admiralty Commissioners by captains in the Navy, refer to transporting Lady Penn from Kinsale, Ireland, to Bristol, England, and back again. Whether her son William, aged twelve, was with her on the earlier of these two visits to Ireland I do not know, but on the voyage to Ireland mentioned in August the party is described as "General Penn with his lady and family." Unless the record of baptism on October 23, 1644, in the register of the Church of Allhallows, Barking, survived the bombing of London, this word "family" is perhaps the earliest extant contemporary reference to the founder of Pennsylvania.

Pye Day

Since writing three years ago about the attitude of early Friends towards Christmas it has occurred to me to record what our forbears did on that day, seeing that they did not celebrate it specially. Their rejection of it, I should perhaps have pointed out, was nothing very unique when it began. Other protestants against popery had raised their voices against it. The Pilgrim Fathers, just landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620, were ordered by their governor to work as usual on Christmas Day. At Canterbury in 1648 the Mayor "openly proclaimed that Christmas day and all other superstitious festivals should be put down, and that a Market should be kept on Christmas day." On December 24, 1652, "Parliament spent some time in consultation about the abolition of Christmas-day, pass'd orders to that effect, and resolved to sit on the following day." Richard Baxter, who was no Quaker, published fourteen reasons why the nativity of Christ commonly called Christmas day ought not to be celebrated. Thus the Quaker protest against Christmas, like the Quaker marriage ceremony, is not unique, but Friends simply continued them longer than others did. When Charles II was established as King, observance of Christmas was generally expected and only then do the chronological records of Quaker sufferings begin to mention arrest, or imprisonment, or fines, for opening shops or otherwise working on Christmas day.

We can occasionally discover from journals or letters what the Quaker leaders were doing on Christmas day in that reign. George Fox spent two Christmases in prison at Lancaster or Scarborough, 1664-65, and two

in prison at Worcester or London in 1673-74, and apparently also four at Swarthmoor Hall, viz., 1675, '76, '78, '79. Sarah Fell's careful and detailed account book discloses no special holiday expenses for Christmas at the Hall. In December, 1671, George Fox was at Barbados and in 1672 on Christmas day he was travelling by water on the Elizabeth River in the sparsely settled parts of Virginia. In later years we see him in London engaged on Christmas much as on other days; in 1679 receiving visits from Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, William Penn and other Friends; in 1683 at a business meeting at Bull and Mouth; in 1686 spending a long week end at Mary Stott's at Bednal Green "where he writ several things," though he had not been well. Incidentally we know that among these "things" were letters of advice and correction to Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

William Penn's Christmases can be less certainly described since he left so little of a journal. Four of them he spent in America, perhaps somewhere in Pennsylvania, namely, 1682 and 1683, and again 1699 and 1700. Almost better than any diary of his own for some earlier years is that of his father's associate and near neighbor, Samuel Pepys, who records that in 1661 he had Christmas supper at the Penns', the next Christmas that he called there, the next Christmas that he watched from his window "the boys playing at many sports in our back yard by Sir W. Pen's." That year at least young William, though later noted even among the Indians for his athletic prowess, was not playing in his London back yard, for he was on the Continent. At Christmas time in 1667 we learn from Pepys that "Mr. William Pen who is lately come over from Ireland is a Quaker again or some very melancholy thing."

In 1668 he was a close prisoner in the Tower of London. We happen to possess a permit dated December 24 allowing his ser-

vant to interview him, as well as the servant's report of the interview. The latter includes the well-known words, "my prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot, for I owe my conscience to no mortal man." It was addressed to none other than Guil Springett three and a half years before her marriage to William Penn. In 1669 he was in Ireland again, engaged partly in arranging leases and collecting rents of the estates of his father, the Admiral, and partly in trying to help the persecuted Quakers. Only for this Christmas can I quote his own description:—"was Pye Day, none could be got to worke, went to Cork by C. Phair's where we first dined. we lay at T. Cook's. visited Friends in prison first."

William Penn was evidently impatient with the unnecessary idleness of a superstitious day. He calls it pie day, a term for Christmas I have not yet been able to trace anywhere else. It suggests some connection with Christmas pie, a central dish of the feast, including beneath its crust fish, flesh and fowl in great variety. The Puritans eschewed the dish and are said to have called it "mince pie." Did they also contemptuously speak of pie day, or did William Penn invent the phrase?

81

Friends at Lake Success

In one of the less ancient and less familiar of the Quaker autobiographies I came upon the following: "Success Pond, a large and deep sheet of water, encircled by hills, was noted for abundance of sunfish. Once at the proper season, I went to it, taking with me one of the lady teachers. We stopped at a public house by the lake, where I procured a boat, a bag, and fishing-rods, lines and hooks. We were rowed by a boy to a place where he

said was the best, and very soon caught about two hundred fine sunfish, all the hooks being taken as soon as they were thrown into the water."

The writer is George W. Taylor, young teacher in a Friends' boarding school at Flushing; the date is in the 1820's. The incident is confessedly rather unusual in Quaker journals, even if allowance is made for the usual fisherman's license.

The district mentioned, about Hempstead, Manhasset, Flushing, has many other memories of connexions—piscatorial, Quakerly, international. Dr. Samuel Mitchell tells how in 1793 he and his uncle stocked this high lying pond with yellow perch from a single pair. Flushing's Friends Meeting House is very old, but older still is John Bowne's house in front of which stood, until some time ago, two oak trees, beneath which George Fox held a meeting. It is said that in 1789 President George Washington visited this area in the presidential barge in search for a suitable site for the capitol of the United States. In any case just 150 years later the founding of the republic was celebrated there by a World's Fair.

The recent Quaker visitor to that area would be looking for other things. In the old fair grounds now called Flushing Meadows and in the re-fitted Sperry gyroscope plant at the pond eight miles beyond, now dignified as Lake Success, he would find the temporary headquarters of the United Nations, and among the hundreds of persons in its secretariat several persons that he knows, either Friends or friends of the Friends, some of them familiar by their association with us at Geneva, and others through the International work of the American Friends Service Committee.

Such a fisher of men might catch Bertram Pickard in the Division of Refugees and Displaced Persons in the Department of Social Affairs. Working with him was Fred

Cornelissen of Holland, formerly with Friends' relief in France. He was later transferred to the Social Affairs Division. In the Editorial Division is James Douglas of England, son-in-law of our fellow columnist, Hubert W. Peet. Among the interpreters are Robert Daniel Hogg, also of England, and Heberto Sein of Mexico. The work of simultaneous interpretation of which much has been written of late in the newspapers claims Paul You of China and August Joseph Berg of France. They had contact with Friends respectively as a resident in the Quaker Student Hostel in Geneva and as a teacher in Madagascar. Close in rank to Trygve Lie, the Secretary General, are two of our American Brethren. Andrew Cordier, the executive assistant, formerly was chairman of the Brethren Service Committee, and while professor at Manchester College assisted at many Friends' international institutes, and now is next to the ranking officer of UN. Next to him as executive officer is David Blickenstaff, who long and skillfully bore the burden of Quaker relief and refugee work in Spain. With like earlier connexions is his French wife, Janine Blickenstaff, (or is she Uruguayan?), liaison officer in the Protocol and Liaison Section. Not actually Friends, though they have a wife and a mother respectively in Cambridge (U.S.A.) Friends Meeting, are L. Pendleton Herring, acting director of the Atomic Energy Commission Group, and Wilder Foote, U. S. director of information for the Security Council. In the Department of Social Affairs, Jan Stanczyk of Poland, the general director, when he was Minister of Health and Welfare of the Polish Government, had to do with the arrangement for Friends' relief in Poland, while Enrique Lozada of Bolivia, in the Division of Social Affairs, is known at least through his family to all friends of Pendle Hill. Wladyslaw (Thaddeus) Malinowski, a Polish member of Fifty-seventh Street Meeting in Chi-

cago, is a secretary in the Department of Economic Affairs. We gladly claim in the wider fellowship Ralph J. Bunche, formerly of Temple University, but now director of the Division of Trusteeship.

Turning to the national delegations, we note Walter Kotschnig in the U. S. delegation to the Economic and Social Council, and Benjamin Gerig, a technical adviser on trusteeship. Alice Shaffer, likewise from our State Department, works with the U. S. delegation to the Economic and Social Council, especially its Commissions on the status of women, on population, and on human rights. On the staff of the Danish delegation will probably be found in some capacity Finn Friis, whom we knew at Geneva. Probably the only Quaker full-fledged delegate to the recent session of the Assembly was Philip Noel-Baker, then Minister of State in the current English government.

There are perhaps other names that should be mentioned, and I have not attempted to explore for Quaker contacts the personnel of UNESCO with its headquarters in Paris, and other branches far afield. We should remember that Japanese and German Friends are not eligible, and even Swiss, Irish and other neutrals are excluded by the "peace-loving" nations. Lake Success is an interesting proof that Friends are not all indifferent to the importance of international government. Its name, though it is said to be merely a corruption for the Indian Sacut, is one of good omen. May the long debated permanent site prove even more successful than Lake Success.

82

Two Visits to the Pope

Except for this sentence and the last, this letter is taken, with permission and

with acknowledgment, from a recent Newsletter of the American Friends Service Committee.

Etienne de Grelet du Mabillier was born in 1773, a Catholic and a French citizen. At the age of twenty-two he came to New York and shortly after joined the Society of Friends. He became an outstanding member of the Society, travelling widely, and developed a great gift in the ministry. There are various interesting stories about this remarkable Friend, who became an American citizen, married an American Quaker, and changed his name to Stephen Grellet.

His concerns led him over the world and he travelled from Russia to Rome, arriving in the latter city, November 25, 1819, and he wasted no time making preparations to have an audience with the Pope, Pius VII, which was arranged for December 9. Dr. William W. Comfort's book, *Stephen Grellet*, quotes from S. G.'s account:

"We entered into the private apartments. . . . In a large parlor were several priests; among these the one provided by (Cardinal) Consalvi to go in with me to the Pope. . . . As I was entering the door, someone behind me gently but quickly took off my hat, and before I could look for it, the door was quietly closed upon us three. The Pope is an old man, very thin, of a mild, serious countenance. . . . He was sitting before a table; his dress was a long robe of fine, white worsted, and a small cap of the same. . . . He had read my reports to the Cardinal respecting many of the visits I had made in Rome, to prisons, etc.; he entered feelingly on some of these subjects, and intends to see that the treatment of prisoners and of the poor boys in the house of correction and various other subjects that I have mentioned, should be attended to, so that Christian tenderness and care be exercised: means, as he said, more likely to succeed to promote reform among them than harsh treatment. . . . The Pope,

"On returning to the other apartment my hat was given me and excuses were made for having taken it away, stating that, as this is done when our Friends appear before the King in England (ed. note, early Friends refused to remove their hats before royalty or, indeed, anyone) they thought they could not do otherwise. . . . They also said: 'The Pope must have been much pleased with your visit, for we have never known him give one-half so much time to anyone in a private audience' . . ."

Stephen Grellet Cary, American Friends whilst I thus addressed him, kept his head inclined and appeared tender; then, rising from his seat, in a kind and respectful manner he expressed a desire that 'the Lord would bless and protect me wherever I go' . . .

Service Committee Commissioner in Europe, is a collateral descendant of Stephen Grellet, who married Steve's great-great grandmother's sister. Writing to his family on January 3, 1947, Steve says:

"You will be interested to know that I not only saw, but shook hands with the Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, on New Year's Day. Half a dozen of us got tickets to attend an audience and I was especially lucky to be right up in the front. The Pope always chats informally with a few fortunate people on such occasions and for several minutes he stood not three feet from me and talked in French to a young French girl and then passed me and smiled and shook my hand before turning to mount the Papal Throne, from which he spoke briefly in English, French, and Italian. All of us were greatly impressed with the simplicity and sincerity of the man, and the easy informality with which he meets people. . . . I expected to see the Pope march in solemnly, flanked with dignitaries, and mount his throne with regal pride. Far from it! As if to dissociate himself entirely from such pomp, the Pope suddenly

strode in, entirely unattended, with a stride like a halfback, smiling and friendly. He stopped and talked easily with people here and there so naturally that he altogether appeared to me like somebody you might meet casually on a train and strike up a friendly conversation with. He was beautifully but simply clothed all in white, with a white skull cap, and the only ornaments he wore were a diamond studded cross and a beautiful sapphire ring surrounded by diamonds. In his brief talk he blessed all of those present, and their families, and said that the war which has just passed and all the suffering which it has left only re-emphasize the necessity of all people living close to God and obeying His words. . . . He appears humble and at peace with himself and the world. . . . We all felt there was a real spiritual quality about the man which lifted him above everyone else in the room, entirely aside from the fact that he bore the title of Pope and wore the Papal robes. I certainly count the opportunity of having seen and observed him so close at hand, and, indeed, of having shaken hands with him, as one of the highlights of my European experience, however much such a statement might make George Fox and my stern Quaker ancestry turn over in their graves."

We think Steve needs to study his "stern Quaker ancestry." Nothing would have pleased Stephen Grellet more.

But Stephen, who lifted thy hat?

83

Color Trends Among Friends in the 'Forties

A letter has lately passed through my hands which contains the following reminiscence:

"For previous years we had labored, but

1841, 42, 43, 44, were the most trying in this locality. Our object was to establish the equal rights of the colored children to a place in all our public schools . . . We returned in '45, and in '47 those rights were accorded unreservedly."

The writer was the energetic Friend, Nathaniel Barney, and the place Nantucket. It has occurred to me that a somewhat similar sentence could be written for just a century later, if one substituted for the locality the Middle Atlantic area and for "public schools," Friends' schools. No one can doubt that a slow change has been taking place in the custom of not admitting Negroes to Quaker education in these parts. I speak of it as a custom, for it seems to be something neither original nor intentional. Like Topsy it "just grewed."

There is evidence that a century and less ago many small country schools of Friends admitted Negro children along with the children of Friends and other whites. The historical evidence is hard to locate because apparently it was taken for granted, and neither visitors nor Meeting minutes commented upon it. Whether the larger, more central Friends' institutions admitted Negroes I do not know. If they did not, it was probably because they had a sectarian, not a color bar. They were "select," that is, limited to Friends' children, and at that time no Negro families with children were members of the Society of Friends. Why that was so is another question. At least one Negro suspected that only childless Negroes were welcomed as members. It followed naturally that select Friends' schools and colleges had no Negroes. When at last these institutions were opened to non-Friends, the pure white tradition had been unconsciously established, so that an English Quaker visitor could write in 1903:

"In the beautiful city of Brotherly Love . . . in the schools carried on by Friends

today, we were told it "would not be convenient to admit a child of partly negro descent."

But now that the forties have come around again there is a new trend among Friends and the result may be seen in the following list giving the names of some Friends' institutions and the year in which each first admitted a Negro. Some began with limitations or restrictions; others, not listed, have yet to be recorded.

1927 Bryn Mawr College
1933 Oakwood School
1937 Media Friends School
1943 Swarthmore College
1943 Haverford College
1945 Westtown School
1946 Haverford Friends School
1946 George School
1947 Moorestown Friends School
1947 Germantown Friends School

84

Cleng Peerson

A piece of mail lately received direct from Norway supplies an addition to my list of "The Stamps of Quakerism." Its 30 øre brown stamp surprised me as it recalled to my mind a familiar name, "Cleng Peerson," while its date of 1825 and its reference to emigration (*utvandring*) confirmed the impression that the small sailing vessel is none other than the famous sloop *Restaurationen* which brought under Quaker leadership the first group of Norwegian settlers to America. This stamp is one of a series picturing events in national history and issued April 15 to mark the tercentenary of the Norwegian post office.

Cleng Peerson was born in 1783 near Stavanger. There is no evidence that he

became an official member of the Friends' meeting established in Norway in 1818, mostly out of Stavangerings convinced while



prisoners of war in England. But he was classed with them as one who sought in America religious freedom from ecclesiastical persecution at home and he was regarded as a Quaker. Like Judge Fell or Jane Addams, he was rather in modern parlance in "the wider Quaker fellowship." In 1821 he came to America, made friends of Friends in New York City, bought land of Friends in upstate New York, and after a flying trip to Norway in 1824 met the sloop folk in New York City when they landed in the autumn of 1825. For more than thirty years he was advance agent and pioneer of Norwegian emigration further and further west. He died in Texas in 1865.

Of course there is no authentic picture of him, nor indeed of the sloop. Though it was a boat of less than forty tons, it carried more than fifty passengers safely from Stavanger via Madeira to New York. It belongs with such Quaker ships as the *Woodhouse* and the *Welcome*. It is sometimes called the Norwegian *Mayflower*. Indeed if the theory is correct that the barn timbers at Jordans, England, are the ship timbers of the *Mayflower*, that ship too must be added to the Quaker fleet as a kind of posthumous member, and the U. S. tercentenary stamp of 1920, showing it, may be added by philatelists to the stamps with Quaker interest.

A Newly Recovered Portrait of Penn

I spent the afternoon yesterday at Stratford-on-Avon. It was one of those warm sunny days which fortunately have been so characteristic of England this summer. The river and park, the church with Shakespeare's tomb, and the bright gardens were all at their best, together with the narrow streets and their old half-timbered houses. The object of my visit was simply to see one of the matinees in the beautiful Memorial Theatre where Shakespeare is played in the ancient manner. The day happened to be the one chosen for celebrating the centenary of the purchase in 1847 of the poet's birthplace, and Shakespearean scholars from all parts of the world were guests in the grounds of that national shrine.

For me, however, the high spot of the afternoon was an hour spent in a little shop almost next door to the Birthplace, where I was examining what may well be not only the most recently discovered but the most authentic portrait of William Penn. With the present owner's permission, I recite as promptly and directly as possible the facts about it.

Ettington Park, Warwickshire, has belonged for many centuries to the Shirley family, but like other estates it is suffering from the economic stringency. The present owners wished to dispose of some of its treasures for cash, including old furniture and pictures and pieces from its museum. A sale by auction was held—I quote the printed catalogue—on October 29, 30 and 31, 1946, by Knight, Frank and Rutley of London in conjunction with Messrs. Locke and England, The Parade, Leamington. My friend,

the dealer at nearby Stratford, bought in two items. One was a portrait marked on the canvas "Henry Shirley, 3rd Earl Ferrers, Obt. 1745." The other was listed in the catalogue thus:

"Lot 440. An old Tudor diptych oil painting of a lady and gentleman half length in gilt frame, an 18th Century oil painting of a head of a gentleman, and 6 engravings framed and glazed."

The first part of this lot was what interested the dealer enough for him to bid a modest sum for the whole. The oil painting mentioned second was a nice piece but anonymous, unframed and neglected, and somewhat obscure by reason of age. When, less than a month ago, the new owner—who is by profession also a restorer of paintings—cleaned off the yellow varnish, remounted the canvas, and fitted it into a frame, the following inscription came to light in the upper left hand section:

Mr. Will. Penn
J. Wollaston P.

The letter P is doubtless for *pinxit* (painted). J. Wollaston is a slightly known portrait painter, thought to have been born about 1674. There was also a John Wollaston of the same profession a generation later. It will be desirable to learn more of these men, and also of any possible connexions between the Penns and the Shirleys. A photograph of the painting will be forthcoming in due time and the whole matter must be discussed carefully by competent persons.

I content myself to say now a little more of the portrait. Its present dimensions (visible sights) are 23 inches by 17 inches. It includes the head and shoulders at what may be called a three-quarters position. The background includes dimly two shelves on which three books lie or stand. The eyes are bright with conspicuous red coloring in the inner

corners. The cheeks and forehead are ruddy; the nose is long, the upper lip is short. The chin is full and with the shoulders suggests a bulky frame. The hair or wig is thin so that an ear shows through. I wonder if this corresponds to the "little border" that the bald founder of Pennsylvania sometimes wore. The whole impression is of a man in middle age, though one cannot be definite and the artist may have flattered the subject in age and appearance. My impression is that of the other portraits of Penn the bust by Silvanus Bevan is most like the newly found one. It is also, I suspect, the most authentic of those other likenesses. The portrait in armor is, as Vulliamy pointed out, of baffling variety in its five versions. I have already expressed in Letter 62 my suspicion of its inscription.

I do not care to underwrite without reservation the genuineness and accuracy of the Wollaston canvas. But if it has as much chance of being authentic as any, I do not wish to remain long the only Pennsylvanian, indeed the only American, who has seen it.

86

Bagging the Scamp

Probably the sub-title "Letter with a Past" should be used here for I am writing today about a letter signed "Cotton Mather," often cited and repeatedly rejected as a forgery. The letter is headed "Ye scheme to bagge Penne." It is addressed to John Higginson and dated September 15, 1682. It reports a secret order of the General Court of Boston to intercept the ship *Welcome* then at sea with "a hundred or more of the malignants and heretics called Quakers with W. Penne who is the chief scamp at the head of them," and to sell them as slaves in Barbados. It was first

published in 1870 at Easton, Pennsylvania, in the *Easton Argus*, of which James F. Shunk was the editor. It was widely copied in other papers but was promptly criticized as a probable forgery. In the seventy-five years since then this letter has been published repeatedly, and repeatedly challenged or withdrawn. Within the last few years the *Reader's Digest* and *New York Times* have both printed it and retracted it. It appeared in a widely used text book on the American Government by Robert Phillips but was omitted from the fourth edition.

The letter has been condemned as unauthentic on several counts. Cotton Mather would have been only nineteen years old at the time. Though no friend of the Quakers, he perhaps would not have gone so far, nor would the government of Massachusetts have risked such measures against a favorite of the king at the very time when their royal charter was in jeopardy. "Scamp" and other expressions in the letter appear unlikely to have been used at the time. Furthermore, Mr. Shunk said that the letter had been deposited at the Massachusetts Historical Society by the late Robert Greenleaf of Malden and recently turned up by Mr. Judkins, the Society's librarian, neither of which persons are or were known at the places indicated. In 1908, an officer of that Society stated that Shunk had admitted forging the letter. The original letter has not been found in the Society's Library nor in the various other places to which later versions of the story attribute it; as, for example, among "the archives of the Quakers in Rhode Island."

Now, in 1946, the subject has been opened up by a vigorous article in *Tyler's Quarterly*, written by David Rankin Barbee. He resents the charge of forgery against Shunk and declares that it cannot be substantiated since no letter of his admitting the forgery is forthcoming. In fact, he doubts if

the letter was forged at all. He thinks it accords with the precociousness of Cotton Mather as well as with his style and sentiments, and suggests that the denials from modern New England are motivated by local patriotism. Already, one authority on the Mathers has published a brief reply to Barbee and the controversy is not likely to end there.

Friends may watch the fracas with some amusement and some pity. In any case the cause of Quakerism is not involved. Smallpox and not a Boston privateer proved the scourge to the passengers on the *Welcome*, and William Penn succeeded in establishing his Holy Experiment without molestation from Puritans or Indians. Even voluntarily he did not visit Barbados. The letter, if genuine, would imply that the young Mather anticipated with glee the enslavement of Penn and his Quakers. Those who circulated the letter in 1870 were filled with equal glee that the ancestors of the bigoted Yankees were frustrated. Neither Mr. Barbee nor Mr. Shunk before him has been a lover of old New England. Their animosity has not been shared even by Friends of their time, though we are the real successors to the victims of Boston intolerance. Obviously William Penn is not the villain of the piece. But the present controversy can hardly be expected to bag the chief scamp as long as the original autograph letters, whether of Shunk confessing forgery or of Cotton Mather as quoted, are not forthcoming.

87

Three Graves

There are three graves of Friends in England best known to American visitors—those of George Fox, William Penn and John Woolman. I have visited them in turn this

summer and have reflected on the chances and changes that they have witnessed. I suppose none of them was marked at the time of interment. The stones all look less than a hundred years old, for before that gravestones of such distinctiveness—modest as they all three are—were, I think, taboo in the Society of Friends. That means that the sites may be inexact except where, as at Jordans, a chart was available locating previously unmarked graves.

George Fox's stone is at Bunhill Fields, near the famous ground where Bunyan and other notable English worthies were buried. In the Quaker plot, once much used under the name Chequer Alley, it is the only stone. I had considerable trouble finding it. The area was badly bombed in 1940-41; now it stands in a wasted neighborhood. The houses shattered by blast have been torn down, the rubble removed to the great central rubble pile east of St. Paul's, and weeds, cats, and rats flourish in the rows of cellars. Wherever the actual grave once was, the bombing disturbed neither the yard nor the stone. Perhaps the site is more accurate than I suggested, for I have read from an eyewitness how, after George Fox's death, his grave and even his casket was identified and opened.

William Penn's grave also was opened once—to receive the coffin of his second wife. But that was long ago. I need hardly describe the famous Quaker graveyard at Jordans. It is there still in all its quiet beauty. It contains, beside the wives and children of Penn, stones to the Ellwoods, Peningtons, and more recently known Friends like Joseph Elkinton of Philadelphia and A. Neave Brayshaw. It is neither waste nor unvisited like George Fox's last resting place—for the guest book at the meeting house shows a large daily resort of tourists besides the Friends who love to come there to worship.

John Woolman, who died of smallpox at York in 1772, was laid to rest in what is now an inner garden to a house tucked away in a narrow passage in the ancient and quaint streets inside the city wall. A Quaker concern for veracity is manifest in the wording "Near this stone rest the remains of John Woolman," etc. Less than his predecessors would he have desired a monument. He died of a dreaded disease, but unlike the later cholera victims of York, he was not buried apart, but where Lindley Murray and many other Friends were laid to rest. Now that his sainthood is recognized, the obscure location seems appropriate to his self-effacing life.

If Friends are to honor at all their worthies of the past, one wonders why they do not pay attention to some other names. After all George Fox and William Penn were not the only greats of their time. Of the sixty-odd first Publishers of Truth I know only one to whom a stone is erected. The careful Quaker registers would still enable a grateful posterity to identify at least the general graveyard in which such itinerants reached their "last and best haven." I have mentioned William Penn's family at Jordans. So little have their stones been noticed that only the publication of Violet Hodgkin's charming biography of *Gulielma, Wife of William Penn* has brought to my attention the astonishing fact that her death date on the stone has always been four or five years wrong. It reads 1689. She died in 1693/4.

William Hunt of North Carolina had much in common with his cousin John Woolman. He, too, died in the autumn of 1772 of smallpox while traveling in the ministry in England, but on looking up the Friends' burial ground at Newcastle-on-Tyne where he was laid, I could find no mark or record of any local acknowledgment of his presence.

A few days ago I attended the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the publishing of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. For a literary centennial nothing could have been more appropriate. The date was a hundred years to the day (October 31). The place was the very house and room where the poem was written. The poet's grandson and namesake gave the address, a model of literary research on the origin and development of the poem. Living representatives of Acadians both from Nova Scotia and from Louisiana were present, and there were many other features, animate and inanimate, associated with the theme, including Hawthorne's grandson, the original manuscript, the desk on which it was written, and corrected proof sheets.

The Quaker element in the poem is slight. The final scene is laid in Philadelphia in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. "Penn the apostle" is mentioned as the founder of the city and as supplying the name to the land. (Another reference to him in the first draft was stricken out.) Another line mentions "the Thee and Thou of the Quakers." That is all. The almshouse in which the heroine found her dying Gabriel has been thought to be the old Friends' almshouse near Fourth and Walnut, but from what the poet said later about his intention, it is rather to be identified with the Pennsylvania Hospital a few blocks further west.

The poem was from the first a remarkable success. It made its author famous. It immortalized Acadia much as Shakespeare did Elsinore or Kipling did Sussex. It has invigorated the Acadians into new self-consciousness and self-respect. It is widely

known in other languages and in other forms.

For a Friend, after a hundred years it brings up other associations. We know now in detail how in Philadelphia the Acadians were received, how for years Anthony Benezet was their advocate and friend, personally generous to their needs and securing the larger help of the authorities to feed and clothe and house these miserable exiles. After a hundred years one realizes how typical on a large scale is the theme of the poem. Its original appeal was not merely the search for a separated lover. The poignancy of the story rests on the fact that an innocent population was forcibly banished on political grounds. The French peasants refused to sign a loyalty test to the new British masters, and so they were unceremoniously removed from their homes to settle as best they could. The whole episode, loyalty test and all, is only too familiar in recent times, but instead of a few hundred homes there have been millions. The Acadians were commonly known as "the Neutrals." Our newer names do not conceal the tragedy any better, whether we call them political refugees, or relocated Nisei, or expelled Sudeten, or displaced persons. As one rereads after a hundred years the moving hexameters of the famous poem one can also pick up at the newsstands pictures from the Punjab reporting the movement in two months of more than two and a half million people from the east to the west, and an equal number from the west to the east. These migrations—sometimes by an anticipatory fear rather than from actual official command—are the pattern in much of Europe, which our "Central Index of Lost Persons" can do little to alleviate.

There is no way to multiply emotions and sympathy in proportion to such figures. The size of the tragedy seems almost to make it more difficult to yield our emotions

to an individual one of these unfortunates, to "sit where they sat," as Ezekiel said of himself and of the other exiles in Babylonia. We are glad to know that, just as good old Anthony Benezet in colonial Philadelphia became the spearhead of private relief and the gadfly to government measures, so for the last thirty years, from the early days of Friends' relief in France and Russia until this very day in India, "the Thee and Thou of the Quakers" is heard among the distressed and some effort is made in our name to bring comfort to the millions of new Evangelines and Gabriels.

89

William Penn or William Wollaston?

It will be recalled that a dealer at Stratford-on-Avon secured an oil painting among the effects sold from the Manor House at Lower Ettington. I described it fully as I saw it in Letter No. 85.

I added that "the whole matter must be discussed by competent persons" and that in the meantime I did "not care to underwrite without reservation the genuineness and accuracy of the Wollaston canvas."

I am glad I kept my fingers crossed. Never was one's ancestral Quaker caution better justified. For although some "competent persons" subsequently viewed the picture and declared it probably authentic, in other quarters doubts have been raised. 1) There is a striking resemblance between this portrait and portraits not *by* but *of* another Wollaston, Rev. William Wollaston, 1660-1724, the author of a once well-known book on *The Religion of Nature Delineated*. 2) This William Wollaston was the ancestor of some later residents at Ettington, and a portrait of him is known from a catalogue of 1880 to have been among the works of art

there. 3) Finally, it has been affirmed that the inscription now on the canvas is of later date than the painting and that this can be proved by the way the inscription runs over the cracks in the original portrait. The most competent critics in London maintain that this canvas is really not William Penn but William Wollaston. They do not suggest when or why or by whom the inscription was added, nor whether the name Wollaston as a subject suggested the name Wollaston of a painter, nor whether there was once another inscription now painted over. Their claim that the inscription is not original they regard as demonstrable with a microscope and even without one. They are not aware of any other tests to apply. Between them and anyone who would maintain the genuineness of the portrait as Penn's there can be nothing but a stalemate. Unless these doubts are cleared away—for example, by discovering another portrait from Ettington which certainly is of William Wollaston—we can hardly claim this likeness as of the Quaker colonist.

Thus a well-justified original hope is dashed, or at least deferred. This is disappointing but again is not unprecedented. In 1760 Benjamin Franklin was offered by Lord Kames a portrait of William Penn, but was very doubtful of its genuineness. The reasons he gave were different. One was that "the primitive Quakers declared against pictures as a vain expense; a man's suffering his portrait to be taken was conceived as pride." I think this reason still holds and for this reason, besides others, I doubt whether Penn's portrait in armor is genuine. (Has anyone looked at that suspicious inscription, to see whether in any of the three known early forms of this portrait it also runs over old cracks?) I am not surprised that another famous portrait with the comparatively modern inscription "Geo Fox, by Sir Peter Lely" is now being questioned, not only as to its painter but also as to its subject.

William Penn seems to have been the particularly unfortunate victim of doubtful claims. In his lifetime pamphlets were written under his initials to mislead the public about Quakerism. Alleged portraits of William Penn, all faithfully listed in W. I. Hull's *Topical Biography*, turned up after Franklin's time but command little confidence.

We have been informed also of a more recent hoax. As lately as 1927 a collection of William Penn "relics" was offered for sale and actually bought for £200 by an English Friend. He discovered that they were not genuine in time to stop payment on the cheque. So our present doubts about the Stratford portrait suggest caution. William Penn's character is best known to us, not from his portraits of doubtful value, but from his writings. The collecting, publishing, and studying of these is a task worthy of our attention. So let's get on with that.

90

Forever Nell

The much criticized book, *Forever Amber*, has to do with a mistress of King Charles II. At least, so I am told, for I have not read it nor have I seen the expurgated versions in the films. Its current interest gives me an excuse to mention another mistress of the same king, and not a fictitious one, the famous actress of Drury Lane, Nell Gwynn.

I recall that a good many years ago the late Francis R. Taylor made diligent and public inquiry about some supposed connection that she had with Quakerism. I do not know why he believed there was some answer to his query, and I think he never got an answer, at least none from me. I was therefore a little hopeful when eighteen months ago another Quaker historian men-

tioned in a letter a volume in which she is associated with George Fox. But the volume is only fiction and, though it did not answer my questions, it is of no little interest. I quote from Charles F. Jenkins' letter:

"The other day at Franklin Inn we were talking about some of the observances in connection with Bernard Shaw's 90th birthday. One of our members mentioned one of his plays and made the statement that, to the best of his knowledge, only two copies of it were in America and one of them was in the Philadelphia Library. When he mentioned that Shaw had used George Fox as one of the principal characters in the play I pricked up my ears, sent for the copy of the book and read it with interest. It occurred to me, now here is a good idea for one of those articles in the *Intelligencer*."

"To put George Fox in a room with Charles the Second, Sir Isaac Newton, Nell Gwynn, the Duchess of Cleveland, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, who purportedly painted the portrait of George Fox, is certainly a great combination, and shows that Shaw was deeply interested in the man with the leather breeches."

In spite of its scarcity, the first edition of *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* was available to me and I read it at once. George Fox is certainly presented in a motley *Dramatis Personae*, but if one can overlook a few Shavian anachronisms, he makes a mighty interesting figure throughout the whole first half of the play. The play was written for the Malvern Festival in 1939 and was published the same year in England. If it was so tantalizingly scarce in America, I thought I ought to refrain from mentioning it in this column. Now, however, it has been published in New York (*Geneva, Cymbeline Refinished, & Good King Charles*, By Bernard Shaw. Dodd, Mead and Company, 1947) and some of my readers may want to savour it for themselves.

Being, however, in the words of its subtitle, "a true history that never happened," the play still leaves unanswered the older quest for a historical connection of Nell Gwynn with the Quakers.* I am happy to report at this late date a possible clue. Gerard Croese wrote in Holland in 1695 the first history of the Quakers. It is partly fanciful and scornful, but it is largely based on authentic sources. In a characteristic passage he describes the ridicule the Quakers received, as the butt of all jesters, mimics and scurrilous actors, and adds the following statement. I quote exactly the English translation of 1696. Part II, page 96:

"Yea, in the Courts of Kings and Princes, their Fools, and Pleasants, which they kept to relax them from grief and pensiveness, could not show themselves more dexterously ridiculous, than by representing the Quakers, or aping the motions of their mouth, voice, gesture, and countenance: I heard a pleasant story from them, Helen which the English for shortness calls Nell at London, a most noted Dancer at the Playhouse, (afterward a miss of King Cha. II.) tho she could imitate all the Actors by any gesture of her body, yet she could not by her outmost effort and endeavour, even before the King and Courtiers (whom she often pleas'd with such ludicrous Actions) Act the Quaker so to the life as to draw out, compress, and remit the Spirit, and so to ape their praying and holding forth, without betraying force and affectation, and how unhappy she was in Imitating those Actions, which she could never have knowledge of by any Conjecture."

Croese's English is not always clearer than his Latin. He is certainly speaking of

*See *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 29, 1932, p. 71 for the query based on Bancroft's U. S. History II 347: "Profligate gallants of the court of Charles II assembled to hear the drollery of Nell Gwynn heap ridicule on the Quakers"

Nell Gwynn and he seems to report that early Quakerism not only outwearied its persecutors, but sometimes won the respect, despite themselves, of those who would make light of everything serious. It answered that of God in everyone, even in the frivolous and immoral. And in this the modern dramatist concurs with the old historian. For Shaw, if I understand him, makes his Nelly secretly respect the man in the leather breeches. Such a record leaves the modern Friend an exacting standard to live up to.

91

A Double Date for Elias

The observance of anniversaries calls attention to some curiosities of enumeration and likewise exposes us to arithmetical pitfalls. I can recall as a child discovering for the first time that there are two different ways of referring to a person's age, so that between birthdays the same person can be referred to as x years old or in the $(x + 1)$ th year of his age. Three American Yearly Meetings have been celebrating lately their two hundred and fiftieth anniversaries. But they either did or should have done so not at their two hundred and fiftieth session but at their two hundred and fifty-first session. There was some difference of opinion on the matter, and one committee appealed to me, saying, "We should like to be clear in our minds as to just how old we are." I learned also as a child that the 1800's were really in the nineteenth century and so all other centuries A.D. and B.C. are to be named one number larger than the hundreds digit of their years—except of course the even hundred year. For I took part in the ushering in of the twentieth century not on New Year's 1900 but correctly on New Year's 1901. When a centennial extends back into B.C.

there is another thing to remember. Since there is no year 0, the span from a day 1 B.C. to the same date 1 A.D. is one year not two.

One has to subtract a year from the totals of mixed dates to get the correct span. The late Benito Mussolini, to the amusement of his critics, overlooked this "lost" year when he had the bi-millennium of the birth of Virgil in 70 B.C. celebrated in 1930 instead of in 1931.

A very awkward feature affecting both British and American dating was the habit prevailing before 1752 of giving part of the year two year dates. From January 1 to March 25 (when the new year really began) any day ought to carry two dates. Thus George Fox's death was in January 1690/1. But it could also be described as in January 1690 or in January 1691. Such ambiguity leads the research scholar into all kinds of trouble. For example, there was nothing irregular if a child was born in February 1728/9 to parents married in April 1728, but woe betide a genealogist who records this birth date as February 1728. Some remote descendant is likely to charge him with libel.

To all these difficulties the Quaker calendar adds one more—the price we pay for an obscurity that we misname "plainness of speech." The early Friends, avoiding heathen names for months, used numbers instead. Before 1752 these numbers began with March the First Month and ended with February the Twelfth. Since then from January to December we count from first to twelfth. Now if Quaker dates are Old Style, but are treated as New Style, mistakes occur. I read lately an account of early Quakerism where every date was regularly two months too early.

When the editor of the *Intelligencer* asked if I had anything for the bicentennial of the birth of Elias Hicks on Third

Month 19th, 1748, I naturally began to query how much time I had. If it was Old Style I had until May, if New Style only until March. Of course non-Quaker historians are mostly ignorant of the problem and the fact that the *Dictionary of American Biography* or the *Encyclopedia Britannica* gives his birth as March 19, 1748, is not conclusive. His own Journal says, "I was born on 19th day of third month, 1748." But it was written after 1752 (or I think I may so infer!) and it does not specify N.S. or O.S. Accordingly, in order to get the official record, I turn to Volume III of *The Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* by the late W. W. Hinshaw. The preface gives this warning. "It should be borne in mind . . . that dates of birth occurring before 1752 but recorded afterward were often translated into new style." In the body of the work the editor attempts with such dates to give in brackets the proper non-Quaker month name. From the records of Westbury Monthly Meeting there is this entry, page 417:

HICKS, Elias, s John & Martha, Rock-away, b 1 Mo (Mar) 19, 1748.

But on page 484 from the records of Jericho Monthly Meeting:

HICKS, Elias, the eminent preacher, s John & Martha, Jericho, b 3 Mo (May) 19, 1748.

Unfortunately the original registers of precisely these two Monthly Meetings, instead of being easily available in the Joint Record Room in New York City, are kept in local banks. Whether a study of them would resolve the difficulty I do not know. Though both entries are edited in Hinshaw as Old Style, they can be brought into agreement only by taking the first as Old Style and the second as New Style.

To make confusion worse confounded the second entry, after correctly giving his death in February as on 2 Mo. 27, 1830,

adds that he was aged 84 years 1 month and 3 days. I cannot explain either the year implied for his birth (1746) or the day of the month (24th, or with the extra 10 days, 14th). The month implied is neither March nor May but January. Probably all these months are best explained if he was born in March. If written Quaker Old Style and misinterpreted New that would be January. If written Quaker New Style and misinterpreted Old it would be May. With so much by way of caveat I now authorize the editor to print this letter, if he wishes, near the Ides of March.

92

Denmark, for Example

I am prepared to defend the serviceableness of hobbies, though I would admit that their value varies with their availability. My friend whose hobby is orchids would feel somewhat hampered if he lived near the Pole. Others collect postage stamps, but those of them that collect only stamps of locomotives like a recent Danish issue or of alligators like a forthcoming Australian stamp, are evidently more curtailed than philatelists with more catholic tastes. My own hobby is Quaker history. In case its wide range of contacts and its connexions with a large number of circumstances have not been proved by ninety-one of these letters, I shall write a ninety-second.

Take Denmark, for example. I was lately on Danish soil for the first time—for part of a morning. It was tantalizing to be able to see so little and so few of local Friends. I was in Copenhagen, but had not time even to reach the office where they work so happily with the Friends of Peace (*Fredsvenner*). I had a glimpse of the beautiful town hall (*Raadhus*), but had to turn reluctantly

away from a door there with the sign "Archives."

By way of compensation I have been moving my thoughts back over many generations. The history of Quakerism in Denmark has never been written and I do not intend to write it now. Neither the country nor its capital is mentioned in most Quaker histories, whether British, Continental or American. But there are many episodes of interest. Many of us have been fascinated by the experiences of Danish Friends during the war and after, as we heard them related by one of their members lately visiting America. From earlier times there are stories of Quaker sufferings for conscience's sake, and as elsewhere, of emigrations to America. Refusal of oaths, military service and Church conformity goes well back into last century. The Yearly Meeting dates from 1879. There were once Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, too. A Quaker paper and a Quaker school there are almost forgotten, even in Denmark.

There have been many Quaker visitors to the country, though less fleeting than I was. They have come from England and America, sometimes by way of Norway or Germany. In fact, parts of Germany were once under the King of Denmark and he is mentioned in a passage in George Fox's Journal which was later censored and deleted. Steven Crisp was in Danish Holstein in 1670 and Thomas Chalkley in 1709. Daniel Wheeler was in Copenhagen in 1817 and, like a sensitive Englishman with a Quaker conscience, he noted unchanged since 1800 "the devastation committed by the British fleet, under the late Horatio Nelson." The fullest accounts in a Quaker journal are those of visits by Thomas Shillitoe in 1821 and 1824. He had interviews not only with the crown prince and crown princess but with the king himself. For a person who regarded the duty of a minister as "becoming like a clean tube," he suffered such agitations of spirit as

I will not attempt to summarize. Denmark appears to be one of the very few parts of Europe that the later Quaker traveller, Stephen Grellet, never touched in his four long tours.

By a curious coincidence I found that the earliest reference to a Quaker visitor to Copenhagen was right in my hands when I was there, though I did not know it, in a microfilm that I was bringing to America via Scandinavia, of some largely unpublished early Quaker letters in London. In three of these letters dated 1657-58 William Caton writes to Margaret Fell first how John Hall had "taken shipping for Coppinhaven in Denmarke the place where the kinge keepes his Court," then how he had been at two or three steeplehouses there and had dispersed many Quaker books (I wonder in what language), and how, though a priest fell into a rage arguing about a mediate call and miracles, "providence ordered things even beyond expectation in several respects on the Truth's behalf." The third letter, dated just three hundred and thirteen years ago, leaves John, as the Book of Acts leaves Paul, a prisoner, and leaves us in suspense:

"John Hall is prisoner at Coppinhaven in Denmark. He hath spoken with the king and given him books. And I suppose a good sound is sounded forth by him in that place. It is like that he was taken from his lodging and put in prison and had many of his necessaries taken from him (as his shirt and other linen), but the bearer Humble Thacher may inform thee further concerning particulars."

But Humble's report is not forthcoming. Perhaps behind that door marked "archives" I may one day find the particulars, officially recorded for this king and for his successors, of their odd Quaker visitors.

Jerusalem Journey

The appointment of a Friend to the job of non-military commissioner in Jerusalem was a tough assignment, but one has some reason to think hopefully of it because of precedents. In over three thousand years the people of that city have seen many strange political and religious situations. One recalls, for example, the fact that for many recent decades the quarrels among three major Christian claimants for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—Armenian, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic—have found some stability through the continued service as doorkeeper by members of a distinguished Moslem family of the city.

Jerusalem appears rarely in the travels of Friends of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I do not find that the inveterate travellers Grellet or Wheeler or Shillitoe penetrated that far. Of course Eli and Sybil Jones went to Palestine in 1867, and to them are due the schools at Ramallah near the Holy City, which are among the reasons why in these trying days the name of Friend is acceptable to the Arab population and to the representatives of the Arab High Council. For sixty years, Friends, especially those of New England, have had this link with the neighborhood. Probably many Friends have visited Jerusalem as tourists or students, not always under easy conditions. One well known Friend died there in 1899—Richard Cadbury, of Birmingham, England.

With the difficulties of the present Friendly mission to the city I am inclined to compare the story of George Robinson. He belongs to the Publishers of Truth in the first generation of the Society. Nothing is known of him except this visit to Jerusalem

in 1657, for which, like historians from Croese and Sewel down, we are fortunately able to depend upon his own account, published in 1663. Other Friends tried to reach the city about that time. I know at least a dozen cases. Their difficulties may be understood from Robinson's experience. But I know of no other actual visit in the early days.

George Robinson came by sea to Leghorn, Acre, and Jaffa, and from there made several attempts to reach Jerusalem, being baited alternately by the Turks and the Catholic friars. He steadfastly refused their demands, playing one party against the other, until the Turks compelled the friars to take him up to the city (where he relieved his mind to both parties) and then to carry him safe and free of charge to Ramleh. So, though robbed and threatened with execution, he evidently returned to England again to tell the tale.

94

Anent Quakers at Edinburgh

Apropos of the holding of London Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh in 1948, some echoes of the early days of organized Quakerism there may be of interest. Meetings for discipline were first established in South Scotland in 1669, the minutes of Edinburgh Monthly Meeting beginning in Fourth Month of that year. The records of that time include lists of the three monthly meetings, seven particular meetings, and seventy-four men members of the Quarterly Meeting. The minute book of Edinburgh Monthly Meetings begins in the same month. In fact, two books still extant and marked T and Q respectively are doubtless the "paper books" mentioned below. They record the very

items of business which the paper books disclosed to the inquisitors.

The references below to "the west port" and to James Brown neatly confirm the conjecture made by William F. Miller many years ago that the meetings were held in the 1670's as well as later in "the house of James Brown, tanner, at the Westport, a very zealous man for the Society."

The meetings came to the attention of the City Council in March, 1670. Three letters of that time, addressed from Edinburgh to the Earl of Lauderdale and published in 1885, describe their action. Excerpts in original spelling are given below. The English visitors in March 1669/70 do not seem to have been noted from the minutes in W. F. Miller's list of "Stranger Friends Visiting Scotland." Lancashire visitors at preceding and following quarters include John Abraham of Manchester and James Halliday of Allerton. John Swinton was a man of rank in the world and an active Quaker, though not always in good standing:

From Thomas Haye, 1 March, 1670

"There was a great complaint made to the boord that qwakers were suffered to meett soo frequently & many together in the north parts of this kyngdome, & particularly of Swinton, who went north in the late great storme, with sume English in his companie, and is now ordered to be seized and caryed to Dumbartone castle, to remaine prisonare without the access of any of that sect."

From the Earl of Tweeddale,
3 March, 1670

"... & when ue uer about to rise (having got informatione as ue sat doun of a general meeting of qwakers from all the corners of the country to be this afternone ue had sent the baylays to ceas them), the baylays brought us the account of 23 qwakers ceasid

at a meeting about the uest port, of uich number uer Swintoun & Reaburne, Sr Will Scot's son; the councel sent them to prisone & apointid Kincardin, the register, & I to examn the hole bussnes to-morow & report to the councel at 4 a clok at night: there ar two paper books got amongst them conteanig ther numbers, nams, placis, & tims of meeting, monthly & qwarterly, ther mar-iagis, & the ways how they seduce by sending emisarys to visit thos uhom they heare of & to confirme all that ar falling of. [Lat]terly a great many of ther practisis are discov-erid; yow shal have a fuller account by the nixt. Swintoun is appointid to goe to Dum-bartin castel, & of the rest to morow."

From the Earl of Kincardine,
5 March, 1670

"Yesterday in the forenoon some of the quackers that were catcht the night before were examined by a committie. That wh was found by the examination was little other then what was found by their bookes, that is that they are settling themselves into an order, by establishing their weekly, monethly, & quarterly meetings, their weekly for their devotions, their monethly for takeing caire of their poore, & of orphans, & of scandales, & what difficulties they meet with at these are carried to their quarterly meetings; at the weekly meetings are only those of a smale precinct, at the moonethly some from diverse weekly meetings, & at the quarterly some from diverse monethly meetings. This was a quarterly meeting, & at it they had two English men, one from Northumberland, and one of Lancashire who came along with J. Swinton. They had under their consideration the buying of ground for a buriall place, & a meeting house, & by their papers wee find that they are upon the same course in other places, & that at Aberdeen they have already got the ground for a burial place. The councill have

dismissed all but J. Swinton, Scott of Reaburne, one of Dumfreis, & James Broune, the master of the house where the meeting was. J. Swinton is to be sent to Sterling castle, formerly it was ordered to Dumbarton, and now they are speaking of an intention he hath to go some farre off voyage to the East Indies, and in that case he is to be suffred to go to liberty eight dayes before he go away. Nay I am of opinion that if he will say that he will go out of the contrie & when he returnes that he shall enter himself to the Clarke of the councell, I beleve he will upon that condition get his liberty. He hath strong friends in the councell, but he is very perverse in his wey & a wicked firebrand to promote that sect wh may prove more dangerous then many are aware of. Reaburne is to go to Jedburoug, where he was before prisoner, & the other two are to remaine prisoners here, & non of their oune principles to be allowed to see them in prison. This was ordered by the councell, wh did meet yesterday in the evning for that purpose only.

ADiew."

The manuscript records of the Burgh of Edinburgh for 1670 have not been published, but the Town Clerk informs me that there is no allusion there to any action of the Town Council against the Quakers in that year. In fact, there are only a few very cursory references to them in the Burgh records before or after. In 1657 a lay committee was appointed "to meet with the Ministers and Kirk Sessions anent the Quakers," and in 1659 some agreement was reached "anent restraining of Quakers." Later (and unpublished) council records report that in 1675 "the people called Quakers has bought a piece of ground lying in the pleasure for burying their dead there," a thing which the council forbids. In March, 1676, the council, yielding to pressure from higher

up, provides to discharge, i.e., forbid, meetings of Quakers within the city and liberties or any saying or hearing of masses. With that strange association of things unlike, it "ordains proclamations to go through the town, the one appointing the inhabitants to cause sweep their chimneys twice in the year for preventing accidents by fire under the penalty of an hundred pound, and the other discharging meetings of Quakers and papists under pretence of divine service under the penalty of fifty pound sterling *toties quoties*."

The earliest adverse reference to Friends at Edinburgh that I have found is in the surviving volume of the diary of John Nichol. Here, if one can make out the phonetic Scotch spelling, one can read how in the "month of January, 1655 and in sundry other months preceding and many months following there rose up great numbers of that damnable sect of the Quakers, who being deluded by Satan drew many away to their profession both men and women, sundry of them walking through the streets all naked except their shirts." "In the end of April and beginning of May 1656 multitudes of Quakers increased, both men and women, as well Scots as English, and publicly showed themselves through the streets of Edinburgh, and making twice at least in the week their pretended sermons and hortations at the castle hill of Edinburgh." Nichol tells how Friends criticized the preachers at the New Kirk and Gray Friar Kirk. He mentions their extravagant claims, symbolic if not miraculous actions, their renunciation of all ministerial teaching and ordinances, and their advice "to lay a new ground work, viz. to be taught of God within ourselves by waiting upon an inward light." He mentions Lord (John) Swinton frequently, finally telling how in 1660 he was taken out of his bed in a Quaker's house in King Street, London, then to Whitehall,

then to the prison of Gatehouse, then to Edinburgh where he was discovered by the town officers, being a person "forfeit and excommunicate," "a fanatic and a Quaker," and committed to close prison within the Tollbooth of Edinburgh.

These pictures of Quakerism are not complimentary, but they are a wholesome contrast to the overflattering references of our time. Perhaps some non-Friend will write a candid appraisal of our Society in the light of London Yearly Meeting of 1948. After all, it was a Scot who gave classic expression to the wish "to see ourselves as others see us."

95

A Minor Centenary of 1948

No mild protest of mine is likely to discourage the human foible of noting special numerical anniversaries. We shall have them always with us. The current year has some better known Quaker ones to be observed, like, for example, the bicentennial of Elias Hicks' birth and the tercentenary of that of Robert Barclay. It has also others that will hardly be noted. No matter how topical it would be, is it likely that Friends or Congress will celebrate the enterprise of George Logan, the Friend who, as a private individual, circumvented in 1798 the actions of government to prevent a war between the United States and France? Or will any public notice be taken of another sesquicentennial—the founding in 1798 in Tottenham, England, by a Quakeress, Priscilla Wakefield, of the first Savings Bank?

For good reason may be mentioned here one event of 1848—the publication at Leeds, England, of Wilson Armistead's *A Tribute to the Negro*. This handsome volume represents what a conscientious young man could do

for the advancement of a good cause. The first part is a characteristic presentation of the antislavery argument. The second part, twice as long, is a collection of illustrations of the moral, intellectual, and religious ability of individual Negroes. The author quite wisely anticipated that an important weapon against notions of black inferiority would be the presenting of one well documented case after another of thoroughly admirable members of that race. The style would seem today somewhat sentimental, and the argument would, I trust, be unnecessary in many quarters. Yet there is doubtless in this and in other areas a need for breaking down what is called a "stereotype" about certain sections of humanity. In spite of ourselves, we still tend to say within ourselves the modern equivalent of "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?"

Wilson Armistead died twenty years later at the age of forty-nine. He had published other valuable material, but this early work was long the most complete collection of its kind. Through it he exercised, I believe, considerable influence. Like Anthony Benezet, whose biography he also published, he showed the value of merely quoted evidence applied to a good cause. No doubt there is much more reading matter available today than a century ago. No doubt there is also room for the creative thinker and original writer. Yet the mastery and telling presentation of sheer factual material in meeting prejudiced and narrow social thinking is not to be ignored in 1948 by persons who are without genius but desirous of being useful, as Armistead was to his own generation.

Who Has Progressed?

Philatelists of Quaker leanings will not have overlooked the appearance of another Friend's portrait upon one of the memorial stamps issued in such numbers lately by the United States Post Office. Lucretia Mott shares the honor with Elizabeth Stanton and Carrie Catt. This fulfills a hope expressed earlier when I wrote about "The Stamps of Quakerism." As I mentioned then, another Quaker feminist, Susan B. Anthony, was similarly honored by a stamp issued in 1936. But Lucretia remained through life a much better Friend than Susan. Appropriately she is represented in a plain Quaker cap. Probably this is the first time the feminine headgear of a Friend has been so immortalized in the philatelic "portraiture of Quakerism." It is almost as unexpected in this place as the broad brim of Richard Jordan is in the famous Staffordshire chinaware that portrays his Quaker home in Newton, New Jersey. I may add that the stamp is much cheaper to come by than are those collectors' pieces.



The stamp is intended, as it says, to signalize "100 years of progress of women," and was issued on the anniversary of the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in July, 1848. Lucretia Mott was one of those who called that conference. In their work for the slave, especially by their exclusion because of sex from the Anti-slav-

ery Convention in London in 1840, these Quaker women became aware of their disabilities. Reading again about those early days, I have been impressed with the courage of these pioneers, but even more impressed with the prejudice against them. Public opinion was so strong that most of the people who signed the manifesto in 1848—not to be confused with the Marxian one of the same year—were forced by public opinion to withdraw their names. Men refused to let women like Angelina and Sarah Grimké speak on a public platform, because to do so would "threaten the female character with widespread and permanent injury." When Susan B. Anthony tried to speak at a temperance meeting in Albany, she was silenced by the chairman. These innovators were called atheists, hermaphrodites, and hyenas in petticoats. Today it seems almost unbelievable that their requests for educational opportunity or for economic legal rights could elicit such hostility and abuse. Of course in a hundred years they have educated public opinion. If it is not unchivalrous to say so, it is men who have really progressed in tolerance. The women remain as modest and feminine as ever.

This same dilemma meets Friends in another historical controversy—between the Puritans and Quakers in New England in the early days. For many years historians of that period have inclined to justify the New England persecutors by making out the Friends to have been pestiferous creatures, abusive in language and obscene in conduct. As a recent writer describes the patriotic local historians, they "blacken the Quakers to make the Puritans look whiter." Further, they salve their own conscience and appease the modern Quaker by speaking in the most flattering terms of the contemporary members of our Society. Here is the way the matter is put in a standard history of old England, the *Victoria History*:

"It must always be remembered that the Quakers of the seventeenth century with their fanatical interference with and abuse of others in their devotional exercises were in absolute contrast to the gentle forbearance of Friends of later times."

A Friend may well blush to read in a recent issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*:

"The episode of the Quaker persecutions in Massachusetts has been most curiously distorted by time. We today know the members of the Society of Friends as the most charming, gentle, naturally good people of our acquaintance; hence we come naturally by the idea that our ancestors were barbarians to persecute such people. The plain fact is that the Quakers have changed. Unlike most religious sects they suddenly exploded into being and flew to the corners of the earth, everywhere creating disorders by their determined assault on the established churches and on the state. . . . This radical and offensive wave of Quakerism lasted only five years in Massachusetts. After that the Quakers became orderly and inoffensive. . . ."

For a responsible historian, and a personal friend of mine, too, Clifford K. Shipton ought to have known better than to write so. But the viewpoint is all too general. Both Quakers and Puritans of that age had habits unlike our own. "Other times, other manners." Probably both have changed. In the interests of truth Friends cannot claim quite such one-sided and revolutionary improvement. The descendants of the Puritans today have learned something of tolerance, or at least of discreet handling of dissent, even though their historical judgments continue to be not entirely accurate.

'48 Centenary Prospects

For me as for many readers of these columns the *Friends Intelligencer* is only one of four Friends' papers which I try to read somewhat regularly. By a remarkable denominational distinction, all four of them (with their predecessors) have had a continuous history for over a century, so that it would be possible each week, if we had time to do so, to read what each of the four was saying not only ten or fifty years ago, but one hundred years ago.

Of course enough anniversaries are brought to my attention without my looking for them, but perhaps I may report this once what one would find in the issue of two of the four papers for Twelfth Month 30, 1848. These two were in prophetic as well as in a retrospective mood. The *Friends Weekly Intelligencer* (Vol. 5) was quoting from a book published in 1730 by Dr. Samuel Madden of Ireland, entitled *Memoirs of the Twentieth Century*. It purported to contain "original letters of State under George VI" of England, extending from "the middle of the Eighteenth to the end of the Twentieth Century, and of the World." The Quaker editor commented on the remarkably correct prophecies of politics and science which had been fictitiously presented as history a century before.

The editorial of the *Friends Review* for the same date (Vol. 2) combines in a curious way both retrospect and prospect of a hundred years. How easily it could be applied to us today may be sufficiently indicated by a few quotations:

This is the last number which we shall issue under date of '48. . . . If now, at

the close of the year, we look back through the vista of time, to the period when the Christian era was last distinguished by the number 48, what changes have been made in the surface of society? At the close of 1748 the King of Great Britain was a native of Germany; yet his dominion was acknowledged on this side of the Atlantic, from the northern lakes to the confines of Florida, and from the ocean westward as far as the Anglo-Saxons had pushed their settlements. . . .

What was the state of the arts in 1748 compared with what it is now? The discoveries of Bolton and Watt, on the application of steam; the inventions of Arkwright, by which the production of the finer fabrics had been so incalculably accelerated; the steamboat and the locomotive; all these have been brought into existence during the period in question. How many of the secrets of nature have been extorted from her during that period. The grand experiment of Franklin, by which the identity of lightning and electricity was proved, had not then been made. . . . When we reflect upon the discoveries and inventions which the century that is passed has disclosed to our view, and consider the accelerated velocity with which they appear to be advancing, we are naturally led to inquire what will the next century produce, and what will the year 1948 leave undiscovered to exercise the ingenuity of a following age?

After all that art and science have accomplished, it is mortifying, as well as painful, to reflect, how imperfectly the principles of the religion we generally profess, have been introduced

into practice. . . . Surely we may hope that another century will not glide away without impressing on the nations who profess the name of the Prince of Peace, a general conviction that a practical conformity to the doctrines of the gospel affords to nations and individuals a firmer ground of hope, and a more enduring protection, than the arm of flesh or the policy of man has ever supplied.

So today we ask the crystal ball again, "What of 2048? Unless indeed, as Dr. Madden's *Memoirs* anticipated, the world itself should end with the present century, what will the world be like then? What will be the state of America, of technology, of international morals, when next the '48's of successive centuries exchange their respective designations?"

98

Petrus Stuyvesant

Before the preceding letter was published, dealing with the postage stamp on the "Progress of Women," the post office of the United States in this year of its record-breaking prolificacy issued another stamp that must be mentioned in this column. Although Peter Stuyvesant, whose portrait appears under the caption "300th Anniversary Volunteer Firemen," was not a Friend but rather the inveterate persecutor of Quakers, yet a Quaker columnist ought to be impartial enough to notice honors to both friend (Friend?) and foe. Besides, I cannot remember any other anti-Quaker who received philatelic attention. Apparently all the others were "cut off," as George Fox used to say, without ever being immortalized on a gummed miniature engraving.

How legitimately Peter Stuyvesant receives the exact honors now given him one need not inquire. The subscription to his image and superscription runs: "Organizer of the First Volunteer Firemen in America." Under that tyrannical Dutch director general of New Netherlands, I should little expect that any service could be volunteer, though it might be unpaid. As I read the records of 1648, the governor simply instructed the council to appoint four wardens, or "fire-masters." The leather fire buckets, the hooks and the ladders were to be bought with the proceeds of fines on householders who built wooden chimneys.

When it came to dealing with the Quakers, however, Stuyvesant was himself the volunteer. He had more initiative in persecution than either the clergy or the people of New Amsterdam. Every record of Quaker contact with that area before he and the Dutch lost control of it in 1664 shows him the chief instigator of repression. Two of the principal accounts I know of have remained long unpublished, though the tattered manuscript record of George Rofe was finally printed in 1945, and the journal of John Bowne is being prepared for publication. The best known account of Quaker encounter with Stuyvesant is that found in George Bishop's *New England Judged*, issued in two parts in 1661 and 1667. Three of the victims were passengers on the remarkable voyage of the ship *Woodhouse*.

Perhaps Stuyvesant's zeal against the Quakers indicates something analogous to fire extinguishing. I recall that when the Friends on the *Woodhouse* went ashore to preach before finally leaving England, Robert Fowler, their captain, said, "They kindled a fire there and left it burning." There is a curious and independent account of their arrival in New Netherlands which confirms and expands the familiar Quaker narrative. It is found in two Dutch letters

written a few days after the event by two local clergymen. They tell how the ship approached the fort without flying a flag or firing any salute. [To this Quaker omission, whether due to pacifism or to disrespect, the New Yorkers must have become accustomed, for four years later the gunner's delivery book has this entry: "To powder, 10 lbs. fired for a ship that would not strike to the fort, being a Quaker."'] The dominies continue as follows:

"When the master of the ship [i.e., Fowler] came on shore and appeared before the Director-General [i.e., Stuyvesant] he rendered him no respect but stood still with his hat firm on his head, as if a goat . . . The following morning early they hoisted anchor and sailed eastward toward Hellgate as we call it . . . We suppose they went to Rhode Island, for that is the receptacle of all sorts of riffraff people and the latrine of New England . . . But they did not pass from us so hastily as not to leave some tokens of their having been here, for they left behind two strong young women. [Elsewhere they give correctly their ages as 20 and 28; from Bishop we can identify them as Dorothy Waugh and Mary Weatherhead.] As soon as the ship had fairly departed, these began to quake and to go into a frenzy, and cry out loudly in the middle of the street that men should repent, for the day of judgment was at hand. Our people not knowing what was the matter ran to and fro, while one cried 'Fire' [thus indirectly justifying our identification of arch-persecutor and fire chief], and another something else. The fiscal, with an accompanying officer, seized them both by the head and led them to prison. On their way to jail they

continued to cry out and pray according to their manner, and continued to do the same when in prison. We perceive from this circumstance that the devil is the same everywhere."

99

The Regicides and Others

On January 30 a tercentenary went by almost unnoticed in this country. It was only slightly observed in England, least of all by the baby Charles who bears the fateful name and is heir apparent to the crown once held by their Britannic majesties Charles I and II. When on January 30, 1649, Charles Stuart kneeled on the scaffold at Charing Cross and had his head cut off with a shining axe, the world was shaken with horror, as it was never shaken again until the French Revolution. By formal trial, verdict, and sentence, a crowned monarch was executed in the open publicity of the famous capital.

This is no Quaker anniversary, for among the regicides in 1649 the name Quaker was not yet known. Isaac Penington, the son and namesake of one of those condemning judges, was to become a leader in the Quaker movement. It is said that another future Quaker, and also a future martyr, Mary Dyer of Rhode Island, when she heard of the execution, returned to England to await developments, being herself, according to a persistent tradition, the daughter of Arabella Stuart by a secret marriage to William Seymour and hence presumptive heir to the throne. When in 1660 Charles II, son of the royal martyr, returned in triumph, he declared the day of his father's death a holy day to be observed annually, and so it was for two centuries. Friends, however, in England and in the colonies could no more observe such a holiday than they could

Christmas, and so in the records of their sufferings there are frequent references to punishment for "keeping their shops open on the 30th of the month called January." I do not find that even for non-Friends this anniversary had a convenient nickname.

Having themselves foresworn the use of carnal weapons whether for setting up or pulling down governments, Friends made much of the fact that the return of Charles II—the so-called Restoration—not only reversed the violent work of the regicides but did so without the use of the sword. The Friends also regarded it as a punishment upon their oppressors in the Commonwealth. George Fox notes that among the regicides executed was Colonel Hacker, who had imprisoned him; but he adds: "A sad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood."

The melancholy events of three centuries ago need not be brought to mind when we are surrounded today with similar formal trials of an equally political and partisan character. In more than one country justice seems to depend on who has the power. I need not specify or particularize. Who can say that such parodies will not someday reverse themselves or lead to sickening counter revenge? As the present Pope said a few years ago to his Cardinals, "It is a deplorable thing to note how frequently moral judgments on actions which have contradicted the rights and laws of humanity have been dependent on whether the responsibility for those acts belongs to one or the other party in the conflict. These moral judgments have never taken into account whether the act under review had violated those norms dictated by the eternal Judge."

Why Not, as well as Why?

The historian's task is usually thought of as including the study of why things happened as they did and not merely of what happened. In all conscience it is a big enough job and an interesting job to attempt to answer the question that is sometimes popularly phrased as "how they got that way." There are times, however, when one cannot help raising the supplementary question, "Why did history not pursue a different course?" This is not the same as the question, "What would have happened if—," a question generally or at least finally recognized as futile. Perhaps a historian may be permitted to apply one per cent of his time—that is, one letter in a hundred—to these alternative problems.

Such reflections are insistent and frequent. One may ask, for example, why did Quaker pacifism never systematically forbid the payment of war taxes, as their anti-ecclesiasticism forbade the payment of tithes? Why did it not taboo more extensively the acceptance of war profits, as many Friends boycotted the products of slavery? Why did they not become vegetarians like the contemporary "rationals," or millenarians like the Fifth Monarchy Men? Why with all his scores of miracles did George Fox not claim, as did the French Prophets shortly after, to have raised the dead? Why did their almost universal habit of open disobedience desert Friends, so that they came to practice secrecy and deception in their part in the Underground Railroad? Easy answers to some of these questions suggest themselves, but they do not fully satisfy.

I am led to such reflections at this moment because I have just read an excellent

little book on *The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution* by W. Schenk. Whenever I read about the antecedents and concomitants of early Quakerism, especially the Levellers and the Diggers, that same kind of negative query comes to mind. Why did not the early Friends go further to the left politically and economically? They seem singularly free from social inhibitions; they were able to challenge the *status quo* at a dozen other points. Their Testament with its story of early Christian fellowship expressed by community of goods and radical brotherhood might easily have led them all the way. Indeed, the anti-Quaker literature of the time suggests that their enemies did suspect it and expect it of them.

Schenk thinks it was their religion that prevented them: not that their religion was not radical, but it directed their motives to the spiritual ends to be gained and preserved them from doctrinaire democracy, whether political or economic. It also made them different from other radical groups with regard to the methods of pursuing their ends. They "had learned from bitter experience that the means, so far from being justified by the ends, have an insidious tendency to influence and distort the end; that if a thing of the spirit is fought for with material weapons it may in the process lose its very nature." Compared with the later radicals, these of the seventeenth century were as yet but slightly tinged with secularism. They knew the essentially religious nature of society as well as the essentially social nature of religion. Their restraints were due not so much to conservatism as to the more profound diagnosis of the cause and cure of social ills in the spiritual life of man.

Coming down to more recent times, last year in connection with the centenary of the Communist Manifesto, I learned for the first time that Karl Marx was a great promoter of

John Bright! The latter's biographers do not mention the fact; but apparently Marx, who was as opposed to slavery as any Quaker, fostered behind the scenes the great demonstration on behalf of the North and of Abraham Lincoln at which Bright was the apparent leader. In some other respects they had little in common; but we still ask, "What if Marx had converted Bright in 1862? or *vice versa*?"

101

Founding Father of Westtown

Among the forces tending to the present unity of Quakerism should be included the sharing of common anniversaries. Westtown School, which was first opened one hundred and fifty years ago this month, ministers today alike to the members of many Yearly Meetings, or of none; its history takes us back to the time which George Fox would have described as "before separations was."

This ancient institution was not built in a day nor by one person. Only after many years of agitation, in 1794, did Philadelphia Yearly Meeting finally appoint a committee of nearly sixty men and women charged with putting the matured concern at last into substance. Sesquicentennial memory naturally turns to these founding fathers and mothers. They include several well known names. Printed biographies are available of three of them, Rebecca Jones, Humphrey Marshall, and Warner Mifflin. But Helen G. Hole, in her recent history of *Westtown Through the Years*, selects for special mention a less familiar name:

"If any one person can be said to have fathered Westtown School, George Churchman is entitled to that recognition. For more than thirty years prior [to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1794] he had

labored indefatigably to interest Friends in his plan to found a boarding school in which children might be educated and where at the same time it would be possible to minister to their religious needs. It was largely owing to his tireless labors that the founding of such an institution was to be considered in this year of 1794."

Helen Hole proceeds to document this claim, relying on George Churchman's correspondence with the Pembertons. This correspondence carries his concern back to 1761 and to two short-lived attempts to realize his dream in a school near his own home at East Nottingham on the Pennsylvania-Maryland line.

One of the delights of the historian is to watch new information about an old subject coming to light and confirming earlier judgments. That has been my experience with George Churchman. Shortly after Helen Hole's book appeared, I came upon an even longer series of letters of George Churchman's, mostly to Henry Drinker of Philadelphia, which confirmed all that she had said. These, together with a letter that he wrote to Benjamin Franklin, show that it was Churchman who secured Franklin's advice about the future school, who obtained a £100 gift for it from John Eliot of London, and who promoted the venture in other ways. A third series of letters between George Churchman and another Philadelphia Quaker was in print fifty years ago, entitled *Letters relating to Westtown*. That the correspondent was Owen Biddle is clear, but strangely enough I have been completely unable to find a copy of this book. As was remarked not long ago, "If we can only recover the lost Biddle correspondence before 1999, the bicentennial historian of Westtown can use not one but three parallel sets of letters of George Churchman as sources for the prenatal period of the school. . . . As contributing to a better knowledge of

a man so important in Westtown's beginning all of them bear at least indirectly on the history of the school. They suggest the need and they supply the material for a fuller picture of this man."

Finally, not two months ago a Friend reported to me some old manuscripts found in her attic, which appeared to be the Journal of an unnamed Friends minister. I discovered at once that it was the Journal of George Churchman, or at least a part of it. To judge from the little I have read of its eight hundred pages, it has all the introspective character of the Quaker journals of that era, and thus proves that such morbid mournfulness was not incompatible with some constructive, practical service. One gets, also, the impression that George Churchman, the farmer and surveyor, had felt almost an inferiority complex among Philadelphia Friends when serving with them on committees or when attending meetings in the city. He writes on such an occasion, "I find it is not an easy task for feeble country folk to undertake to speak much among those who are wealthy, wise and eloquent." At another time in the city he said he felt "of little more consequence than a grasshopper." Similarly, he speaks of "not appearing in my own view more than a cypher." It was no slight thing for him to travel horseback those fifty-three miles from his home, and back. Once his saddlebags were stolen from off his beast on the street in Wilmington. Of another visit he writes that after attending Meeting for Sufferings "I had to tarry three days in the City being under indisposition of Body, which was cause of humiliation, as my wife was left in Cumber at home having the care of five children, the oldest not nine years old." The very next entry (1762) is the first to be premonitory of his Westtown concern: "I have some care on my mind respecting a school, where my children and some others, if it may be, may be under

some better guard and regulation than is kept up in common schools in this part of the country."

In concluding I would urge my readers please to notify me if they can direct my attention to any of the following:

- (1) the missing volumes of this Journal. They are probably in similar gray-covered copybooks plainly numbered 1, 8, 10, 11, 13, and later numbers.
- (2) the *Letters relating to Westtown published by the descendants of Owen Bidle*.
- (3) George Churchman's poem printed at Wilmington in 1764 entitled *A Little Looking Glass for the Times, or a Brief Remembrancer for Pennsylvania*. By G. C.

102

On Being Impressed

Had I been asked a few days ago what I knew of Sandwich (Massachusetts) Monthly Meeting, I would have said that its chief claim to fame is that it supposed to be the oldest Monthly Meeting in America. Otherwise I knew little except that it seems to have had a normal history.

Just because it is normal history, I was glad to come upon two old documents lately transferred to the Harvard Library from the papers of the late famous professor, George L. Kittredge. They have to do with a member of this Meeting named Hatsell Okelley. The name seems odd, but though the local records have not yet been fully published in the *Mayflower Descendant*, the surname is well attested in that Cape Cod area (in a dozen different spellings), and Hatsell (Hatsul) also occurs as a Christian name.

The documents explain themselves and are quaint enough to copy (with permission)

in full. The first is the certification that the prisoner is a Friend. The second is a copy of his mittimus:

To the yearly meeting Committee of friends at Boston and elsewhere:

Friend [s] these are to inform for that where as Hatsell Okelley of Yarmouth in the County of Barnstable in Colonel Silvanus Bourns Regiment is made prisoner in the County Goal at Barnstable for Refuseing to take up arms in the Kings service when impress by Captain Ralph Chapman or order Now the said prisoner is desirous application should be made by said Committee where they may think proper for his Relief and it being some time before there will be a monthly meeting where he belongs these are to testifie the Committee above said that the above said Hartsell Okelley is one under the Care of the monthly meeting at Sandwich where we the Subscribers do Belong Dartmouth the 31 of the 8th month 1748

Zacheus Wing, Nicolas Davis, Edward Wing, Seth Killay

Barnstable SS

[seal] To the keeper of his Majesties Goal

In Barnstable for the County of Barnstable

Whereas Hatsell Okelley of Yarmouth in the County of Barnstable Husbandman is this day brought before me the Subscriber John Otis, Esq one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of Barnstable aforesaid on the Complaint of Ralph Chapman of Yarmouth in the said County of Barnstable, Gent. and Captain of the Second foot company of Militia in the

town of Yarmouth in the said County of Barnstable in Colonel Silvanus Bourns Regiment setting forth that at Yarmouth aforesaid he Received orders from his said Colonel upon the 25th day of June last to Impress or cause to be Impressed Four able Bodied efectivemen out of his said Company to attend his Majesties Service Eastward on that Frontier and accordingly hes caused to be Impressed for said Service on the 5th of July following Said Hatsell Okelley who was then a Soldier In his said Company to attend the said Service. Yet notwithstanding the said Hatsell did not attend the said service by himself or other meet person in his Room to the acceptance of his said Capt at time and place appointed within Twenty four hours next after such impressment neither hath he paid the Sum of Ten pounds for his said neglect nor can the said Capt by whose warrant he was impressed find any estate of the said Hatsell Okelleys whereby to make Distress upon for said Ten pounds (as he saith) To which complaint the said Hatsell Okelley pleaded he was not Guilty upon hearing and Examining the Evidences in the case it appeared to me that the said Hatsell Okelley is guilty and he being convicted thereof I do sentence him to be committed to his Majesties Goal in Barnstable in the County of Barnstable and there to be safely kept without Bail or Mainprize for the full space of Six months from this day and to pay costs of prosecution taxed at Thirty six shillings and ninepence in bills of credit on the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England of the last Emision. You are therefore in his Majesties

Name hereby Required to Receive the Body of him the said Hatsell Okelley into his Majesties said goal and him there safely keep without Bail of Mainprize the full Term and Space of Six months as aforesaid and untill he pay the above Costs and your own fees. Hereof you may not fail. Dated at Barnstable aforesaid this 10th day of October In the 22nd year of his Majesties Reign Annoque Domini 1748

John Otis

A true copy of the originall Examined
per Joseph Dimoc Jr

keeper of his Majesties Goal

A Copy of Hatsell Okelleys
mittimus [Endorsed]

The Monthly Meeting minutes indicate that money was raised for "Hattel Kelly, a prisoner at Barnstable for not bearing arms" in September and October, 1748.

Thus it appears that while today we are kept carefully informed of Friends in prison for refusal of military service, cases of the same sort two centuries ago existed uncollected and unlisted. A mere accident brings now one or another to our attention. A few years before—in 1742—a minute of this same Sandwich Monthly Meeting complains of "a cowardly spirit about training" on the part of some of its members. That means they acquiesced in military requisitions. But not all Friends were delinquent. Here is a New Englander who just two hundred years before the first imprisonments under the 1948 Conscription Act also met a like penalty for a like crime. I cannot report the outcome of the imprisonments either then or now.

103

Goethe's Quaker Acquaintance

Some thirty years ago I heard a friend of the Friends in Germany say that it was as a disciple of Goethe that she was drawn to the Society. What the connexion of viewpoint is between the poet and our Quaker ideals, I shall leave to others to discuss. I want simply in this anniversary year to revive the memory of his one contact or indirect correspondence with Luke Howard, F.R.S. (1772-1864). Like the Dover shoemaker of the same name, the London Luke Howard was an earnest Friend. He was also a leading meteorologist, and one might say that it was in the clouds that he and the German poet found common ground. Howard's study and classification of clouds, with the now familiar Latin names *stratus*, *nimbus*, *cirrus*, and *cumulus*, became known to Goethe and so appealed to him that he devoted to him two poems which will be found quoted in the appendix to the history of German Quakerism mentioned in Otto Neuburger's article.

Luke Howard himself was once in Germany, right after the Napoleonic war, in one of the early forgotten chapters of Quaker war relief, distributing British charity to civilian war victims there. When, a few years later, Goethe wished to know more about him, he solicited information through a friend of his, a clerk in the British Foreign Office named John Christian Huttner, and by this correspondence secured from Howard a long autobiographical essay. Whether the scientist appreciated the greatness of the poet may be doubted.

In 1932, the centenary of Goethe's death, Elizabeth Fox Howard, a descendant, published in *Friends Quarterly Examiner* the correspondence of this intermediary. Plainly

the poet highly appreciated the account of Luke Howard's life, and especially of his religious experience. In a letter to Chancellor (Prime Minister) Müller he characterizes it as Christian through and through, and "so logical, so peaceable, so understanding that one while reading it might well wish to be able to have a like faith oneself." The document is in fact preserved, so far as I know, only in German, in Goethe's own works! Perhaps no more fitting contribution to the present anniversary could be made by some modern Quaker Germanist than to translate back into English the autobiography of Goethe's Quaker acquaintance.

104

Coatless Quietist

"Enthusiasm," "quietism," and "mysticism" are terms sometimes applied to the Quakers of the olden time. We may doubt, however, whether they themselves would have found the words acceptable. "Quietism," for example, is now applied to a certain period of the history of Friends and suggests an alien passivity. Yet the kind of introspection and inaction that we associate with the word is not incompatible with the ideals of service, or with a release from inhibitions. "Muscular Christianity," "shirt-sleeve evangelism" are hardly expected to be the proper description of quietist Quakers. Yet actual history sometimes belies the traditional contrasts. The way of Martha and the way of Mary, in spite of Rudyard Kipling, sometimes overlap.

Take the manner of preaching of Job Scott. He is a central figure in the chapter on "Quietism in the Society" by Rufus M. Jones, and is said there "to exhibit most completely of any of the Americans the quietistic ideal." But he was a vigorous

preacher. James Jenkins, who left delightfully outspoken pen pictures of London Yearly Meeting, remarks of the sessions of 1793: "At the Yearly Meeting we were favored with the company and communications of Job Scott from Providence, in Rhode Island, who ministered unto us with that energy of manner and rapid flow of native eloquence which often enchains and delights attention; when warmed with his subject his voice was extremely musical."

That Scott's warming up went further than the intonation characteristic of the older preachers is suggested by an outside visitor. In a passage in a diary, for which I am indebted to Frederick B. Tolles, Jacob Hiltzheimer writes under date line of Philadelphia, February 21, 1790:

In the evening attended the Friends meeting on Market Street and heard Scott, a New England man, preach to a full house. He was so much in earnest that he took off his coat and stood in his waistcoat; his discourse however was very good.

That this is no mere visitor's exaggeration is shown by a friendly report by a mature member of Sadsbury (Pennsylvania) Meeting, James Moore, in one of those lists of public Friends that have come down in manuscript from so many Quaker communities. He wrote:

1790, 1 mo 4th Our Esteemed friend Jobe Scott from Rhode Island Government Newengland Visited Sadsbury Meeting Who I think may be in a good Degree Accounted one of the Sons of thunder, for Before the Meeting was Scarcely Settled he arose on his feet pulled of his great Coat and hatt, and Began as truth opened the Way in avery Moving powerfull Man-

ner in the Line of the Gospell, Saying be still for it is in Stillness and Silent of all flesh that god is to be Worshipp'd in Spiritt—Mentioning his own Expearence when god was pleasd first to visset him In his Yong Days by Drawing his mind Inward into an Awfull Silence before God Saying it was in that Silence I Learned to Unlern all I had Learned in My Own Will and Become anew Creature Which must be performed in humble Waiting upon god in Spirit in the Secret Chambers of our hearts—or words to that purpose Not so much quoting Scripture passages as some is Led into although often mentioning Some passages as they came in his way for the Confirmation of the Doctrine he had to Deliver, But was Led to Lay Matters Closly home to the Witness of God in the hearts of Every Member of the Church of Christ and so proceeded on for perhaps an hour. Except at times would Make a full stop to clear his passage for Delivery Wipe his face and get his Breath. And Being so powerfully Led even in the Delivery of the testimony that was committed to his Charge he had to stop pull of his other Coat and Neckcloth from about his neck Laid them Aside and Left only a small under Jacoat without Sleeves, unbuted that and so went on in Avery Moving and Encourageing menner in order to Draw the attention of the peoples mind Inward untill he seemed to be allmost Spent. And Sat Down as it were to Refresh himself or to get Breath, for as I sat Beside him I thought he seemed Like a Vessel Ready to Burst for Want of vent for the Sweat Ran of him Like Watter, and after a Short time he Rose Again

and Went on in the Same Line of Doctrine for perhaps three quarters or near an hour Longer. Which I believe was to the astonishment of the people in Generall Especially them that are Led to Beleive the Gospell of Christ Cannot be preached to edification of the people unless it Be By those that are Colledge Bread.

The heat of this “son of thunder” was not mere solar heat, in January, 1790. Such detailed descriptions of outward delivery from an eyewitness are as rare in Quaker writings as are autobiographical psychological analyses of the inner development of a sermon. For that reason I have thought it worth while to publish the passage nearly in full. It is no argument for undignified dishabille in worship. It should remind us once more that the genius of Quakerism is the combination of repose and energy, of meditation and action, and that there is no damper on vigor.

105

General Washington

In an earlier letter I had occasion to discuss George Washington's opinion of Friends. Apropos of the sesquicentennial of his death (December 14, 1799) I may cite something of Friends' opinion of him. The sources are quite casual; as, for example, when Henry Hull, travelling in South Carolina, writes: “Stopping at an inn upon the road I heard of the death of George Washington. He was a good example to statesmen and those in office, appearing to have the welfare of the community in view rather than the honor of men or the profits of office.” I shall confine myself to the private writings of two Quakeresses, so that there

may be no doubt of the sincerity of the judgment. That judgment was evidently very favorable, though as a man of war—and Friends continued usually to call him General rather than George or President—he had two strikes against him from the Friendly viewpoint.

There was no reason, for example, for Elizabeth Drinker to remember him pleasantly. In April, 1778, with the wives of three others of the Philadelphia Friends imprisoned at Winchester, Virginia, she had had an audience with the General at Valley Forge, an unsuccessful appeal for their discharge, after an unpleasant journey, as she describes the affair in her Journal. A few months later when her husband was released, she declined an opportunity to call upon Martha Washington. Yet over twenty years later she writes:

William met Dr. Redman in the street, who told him that he had heard General Washington was dead, but desired him not to speak of it till he heard further. I fear 'tis too true; the Doctor said things are going against us. William went to the Library this afternoon, which he found shut up, and heard the bells ring muffled. From this he concluded the account of the death of G. Washington was true. He asked Dr. Kuhn whom he met, and he confirmed it. He died of the Quinzy . . . The bells are ringing muffled now, at past 11 at night.

And a week later, on Christmas Day, she writes somewhat sourly:

There is to be great doings tomorrow by way of respect to General Washington's memory; a funeral procession, an oration or an eulogium to be delivered by Henry Lee, a member of Congress from Virginia. The members

of Congress are to be in deep mourning; the citizens generally to wear crape round their arms, for six months. Congress-hall is in mourning and even the Play-house; there has been, and like to be much said and done on the occasion. I was sorry to hear of his death, and many others who make no show. Those forms to be sure are out of our [Quaker] way, but many will join in the form that cared little about him.

My other authority will be a much younger woman, Susanna Dilwyn (later Emlen) of Burlington, whose unpublished correspondence with her father in England is among the treasures of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Her own reaction to George Washington's death I do not find included, but her husband wrote her from Philadelphia of it as an event which "has affected the minds of all classes of people here by whom he was generally much and deservedly beloved," and her father weeks later from England, the England against which the deceased had once been the archrebel, writes:

You will not dislike to hear that the praises of the great Washington are eagerly echoed by almost all descriptions of men in Europe. Even in France there was an attempt to decree him funeral honours but it was objected to as informal. He was indeed a great man and in the public walks of life has left very few visible equals.

For young "Sukey" herself my evidence comes from earlier occasions, when she was between 18 and 20. Thus she tells her father:

5 mo. 1787. There is now sitting in this city [Philadelphia] a grand convention, who are to form some new system of government, or mend the old one. I suppose it is a body of great consequence. . . . General Washington is among them. He is certainly a very great character, but the common people dont know how to admire without adoring him.

I heard there were a few days ago half a dozen gentlemen who hearing he was gone a little way out of town followed him intending to take his horses out of his carriage and draw it into the city themselves but a friend of his, who knew it would be disagreeable, gave him private notice of this design, upon which he went another road and disappointed them. I have not seen him and shall be sorry to retire without having had that pleasure.

4 mo. 15, 1789. The people who guide the helm have lately been employed in new modelling the government and I suppose a great change either has taken or will take place. How it is I can neither understand nor inform thee, but this we hear that one governor is to preside over all states and not one to each as formerly. Their choice, I suppose with one consent, was fixed on General Washington. . . . Tis thought, from his character, he will leave with regret his present retirement and unwillingly embark again in public life. Should he pass through Bristol I shall try to catch a look at the greatest man in America as with justice I suppose he may be called.

11 mo. 4, 1789. My uncle Cox desired me before I left them not to forget giving thee a particular account

of Friends' address to General Washington. . . . The address was composed from three different essays written by James Pemberton, Samuel Allinson and William Savery and it met a very gracious reception as we say in England, but my uncle Cox did not tell me to make use of this word, being quite an anti-federalist expression. Nicholas Waln read the address, after which the General himself read his answer, which was considered a particular mark of respect as 'tis customary for one of his secretaries to read the answers. Neighbour Hoskins was very much pleased with his behaviour; indeed he gains the esteem of everybody—those who agree in few other things all unite in admiring General Washington.

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Concern for National Legislation

Anyone who thinks that our modern concern for national legislation is un-Quakerly or at least unprecedented just doesn't know our history. I am not thinking merely of the Washington Bureau established by Friends in the earlier days of the First World War under the Friends National Peace Committee, long before there was a Friends Committee on National Legislation and even before the American Friends Service Committee. Nor do I refer to the sporadic activities of individuals or groups such as were described in these columns lately by Frederick B. Tolles under the heading "Friends and the Rulers of the People." There has been in England a privilege for Friends to send a delegation to the new monarch, a cherished but innocent custom involving, however, some delicate problems of "dress

and address," as Friends used to say. In early days, at least, Friends did not mind saying "thee" and "thou" to royalty and wearing their usual garb, without a sword, but including a hat fixed firmly on the head. There is a pretty story of the king who, at such an interview, removed his own hat with the explanation to the expostulating Quaker, "It is customary when a king is present for only one person to wear a hat."

In American history I suppose there has been no President from Washington down who did not receive either individuals or groups of Friends who called upon him under concern, while Congress has from time to time been summoned into joint gathering for a Friends meeting in one of the legislative halls in response to the request from Joseph John Gurney or some less educated Quaker.

For sustained, varied, and integrated action on national concerns affecting Friends, let me direct the reader to London and to the years before the Toleration Act of 1689. Let him read the *Christian Progress*, the autobiography of George Whitehead, or the life of Gilbert Lathey, the former court tailor. There are chapters in the life of William Penn that show how his intimacy with James II as Duke of York and as king caused raised eyebrows both at court and in Quaker circles.

I have just been reviewing the life of George Fox in the 1680's. There is much in the more-than-a-line-a-day diary that was kept for him which I do not understand because it is covered by such general phrases as "Friends' business with Parliament," "Friends' business with the Attorney General," "Business with Friends and in Truth's concern." Nor do I know what he talked about in those busy days in London when he went to half a dozen different Friends' houses in a forenoon, or when almost every night many Friends came to see him wherev-

er he lodged. No wonder his wife once wrote to him from far away Swarthmore that when a man has a home it is nice to have him in it, though she recognized that "he was not willing to stay at his outward habitation" in these last years precisely "because it was so remote and far from London, where his service most lay."

There is enough both in and between the lines of the diary to remind me strongly of the engagement calendar of a modern executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation or of the confidential journals that I sometimes see of other Quaker lobbyists. There were *ad hoc* committees galore, and long individual conferences. If Charles II died on First Day, George Fox was already in conference with some Friends that he had appointed to meet him at his lodging, and next day after the regular Second-day morning's meeting a group convened at the same place, and discussed from 5 to 10 p.m. preparing an address to the new king. George Fox, for one, tried his hand at a draft. Other Friends usually did the actual interviewing of royalty because of some especially favorable contacts that they enjoyed, but George Fox was behind them.

Then, of course, there was Parliament. It is significant that Joseph Smith, the Quaker bibliographer, has two special sections, one headed "King" and one "Parliament," with long lists of printed items by Friends addressed to each. When the latter was in session, George Fox would be found nearby in the homes of Friends or in the coffee house "where Friends used to be," or in "the chamber that Friends had taken adjoining Westminster Hall" in Palace Yard, where he discoursed with "Parliament Men" (M.P.'s) or was called upon by Lord this or that. This occurred, for example, in January, 1689, when the Toleration Act was being debated. George Fox came up after an un-

usually long stay in the country and plunged into the discussion. Three Friends appeared before the Committee on the Bill to present their views.

The local application of laws concerned Friends in London as well as the making of laws; visitors and letters from the counties of England and from overseas raised questions to be taken up by George Fox and others with legal counsel, with parliamentary representatives, and with officials of government. The only person I have found mentioned as taken out by George Fox in London to dine was Rowland Vaughan, an attorney employed by Friends. George Fox wrote a memorandum for an appeal "to the King and Committee for Plantations on Barbados sufferings" or "to Judge Jeffreys when he was going the Western Circuit." To the country correspondents, or to Friends generally, he made suggestions of how they should present Friends' cases to the County Judges, and even wrote about election of candidates for Parliament. Any court decision favorable to Friends—and there were several in different places—was to be communicated as a useful precedent for Friends to know, even in the American colonies. One might be on the validity of Quaker marriages, another against tithes sued for in the county court. Most of these papers are no longer extant, but we know they existed.

In addition to all this, George Fox wrote much broadcast to authorities of all ranks everywhere. One pamphlet, *To All Magistrates and Governors in the Whole World*, was printed in Latin and French as well as in English. There were others printed, *To the Great Turk*, or *To [the probably mythical] Prester John*. What he specially wrote (twice) to the Emperor of Muscovia (Russia), to the Great Cham of Tartary, to the Great Mogul, and to the King of Suratt (I suppose in India) is not preserved even in manuscript, except the last.

Meanwhile, of course, London Friends had their regular Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly meetings, as well as Meeting for Sufferings, which met every Sixth-day afternoon and which George Fox usually attended, besides other business meetings, weekly, Two Weeks and Six Weeks, which often involved these problems of Friends and the government.

Merely to imagine the activity which our sources suggest is enough to make a strong man feel tired. This, however, was the classical age of Quakerism, before men conceived of George Fox or any good Friend as primarily a "red hot evangelist," before activity was damned by the phrase "creaturely," before separation of church and state was construed to mean quite as much that religion should not meddle with government as *vice versa*, and before Friends got the habit of hesitating to contribute to good causes because gifts to help influence legislation are not exempt from income tax.

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A Moslem Diplomat and the Quakers

"Hidden Years" is a term sometimes applied to the childhood of Jesus. It could be applied to the childhood of other persons in history whose later life is more fully known. George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, in his *Journal* tells little of his childhood, but in his case there are also later hidden years. Among the full, almost daily entries for his later life, there are several long gaps for which neither his first editors nor modern biographers have more than the most scattering data. The year 1682 is such a gap, and except for almost fortuitous circumstances we should have been robbed of

any knowledge of one of the most picturesque episodes in his career.

At the very end of the preceding December there arrived in England a special ambassador from the Emperor of Morocco to attempt to negotiate peace between his master and the King of England. The latter was Charles II. The King of Fez and Morocco was Mulai Ismail. The ambassador's name is variously spelled Mohammed ibn Haddu, Mehemet ben Hada, etc. From the newspapers of the next seven and a half months, from state papers and from other sources one can piece together a full account of the sojourn of this colorful figure.

Two British warships transported the ambassador and his presents respectively from Tangier. From Deal, where he and his retinue were fetched by one of his Majesty's coaches and other coaches with six horses apiece, he made his progress to London, stopping at Canterbury and at Rochester. From Greenwich to Tower Hill he came in his Majesty's barge, reaching London on January 5. Everywhere he was treated with ceremony, welcomed with speeches, and given an opportunity to see the marvellous sights of the country. For his entertainment and lodging Sir Richard Blake's house in the Strand had been made ready for him.

On January 11 he had a public audience with the King and Council at Whitehall. He brought a letter from the King of Fez and Morocco, which on presentation was delivered to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Jenkins, who received it on his knee. The presents which he had brought, though they included 24 ostriches for King Charles, seemed now to him too paltry, and he apologized for them, declaring that he had been misinformed by the Jews to the effect that the King of England was a petty prince. A private audience with the King followed a few days later. Seven Lords of the Council were appointed to treat with the ambassa-

dor, and after several meetings they completed on March 23 the Treaty of Peace which they had prepared. Apparently it included the mutual promise of free trade for twenty years, and perpetual peace.

For four months longer, while his secretary took the treaty home for approval, the distinguished gentleman remained in England. With his retinue of some twenty-five attendants, he was an attractive item of news. We are told in detail in what special manner his purveyor slaughtered meat for these strict ritualists. We are told that "their custom is never to travel before sunrising nor after sunset, they immediately repairing then to their devotions. And also none are suffered to drink wine but the Mufti and the Cook." They retained their country's garb with scimitars and slippers, clothed in loose gowns covering neither arms nor legs, but leaving legs and breasts bare.

On February 1 they were at the Duke's Theatre, where the *Tempest* was enacted; on the 16th they saw *Macbeth* at His Royal Highness' Theatre. (Nothing is said about any performance of *Othello the Moor*.) In the interval the envoy attended the King's General Touch, where those sick of the King's evil were treated and received a token. The envoy at least got one of the gold coins as a souvenir.

On March 30 or 31, the ambassador commenced, that is, received a degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of Cambridge. On April 26, 1682, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in London, his name being added to the roll only a few months after that of William Penn, the Quaker. For an account of his visit to Oxford in May, I am indebted to Sir Daniel Fleming, of Rydal Hall, neighbor and inveterate enemy to Margaret Fell, since he preserved for posterity in the Le Fleming Manuscripts a letter about it. This he had received from his son's tutor, Rev. Thomas Dixon of

Queen's College. Dixon's colleague, Dr. Hyde, the librarian, distinguished the occasion by a speech made in Arabic.

The secretary returned with the treaty confirmed. Mahomed ben Hada was given a letter for his Emperor written by "Gideon Royer, the King's writer, flourisher and embellisher on a skin of vellum partly in gold with all the King's arms, ornaments and badges." The ambassador was deeply impressed with the splendor of the court and even spoke favorably of the English religion.

The whole experience was a brilliant and impressive one with one slight exception. The ambassador's interpreter was an English renegade named James Rowland, whose entrance into the country was arranged by a special promise of protection with free license to return. But on July 20, just as the barges were ready in London for the envoy's departure in state, the interpreter, having some of his Excellency's money in his hand, got out at the back door and absented himself. When caught, he pretended he had returned to the Christian religion, but finally on promise of pardon and safety from the ambassador, "laying aside his pretense to Christianity with his English habit he fairly put on his Moorish clothes and religion again," and, not without another effort to escape, and a later mutiny on shipboard, followed him back to Africa, where he met a most gruesome execution.

Into this festive schedule of the ambassador was injected, hardly by the Master of Ceremonies, a strange interlude. In that exasperating *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* one finds this brief title and incomplete quotation:

G.F.'s speech to the Emperor of Morocco's Ambassador, viz. on the 8. 12mo 81[Feb. 8, 1682] in the morning I went with 3 Friends to the Ambassador, &c.

One can, of course, conjecture from his letter to the King of Algiers and from other extant writings what George Fox said. He counted the high and low in Islam proper objects for controversial writing and could even quote Alcoran to his purpose. I know of no other reference to the episode in Quaker records, nor do I suppose the ambassador's record is extant, though we are told he kept a particular account of his experience in England in a diary.

Except for the day of the month this incident is confirmed from a non-Quaker source, which fortunately indicates something of the other side. "Early in 1682," writes C. E. Whiting in his *Studies in English Puritanism*, "the Emperor of Morocco sent a special ambassador to Charles II and the Quakers seized upon the chance of trying to convert him. They obtained an interview with him on February 11th, but it was said that the ambassador after listening gravely to them told them that though their religion might make them good men in this world it would never take them to a better."

Surely under the premises that was as courteous a reply as Mahomet ben Hada could make. One suspects that on other subjects there could have been a closer meeting of minds, at least if the interpreter was for once sober and honest, that scamp of an English renegade. For example, the Moor, if he was what we expect of his countrymen, had no doubt a real appreciation of horse flesh and of horsemanship. So did George Fox, and like John Woolman after him a sense of sympathy with animals. His *Journal* has many references to the care as well as to the abuse of horses. One wonders whether, like the Earl of Conway, he had noticed the very long tail of the ambassador's secretary's horse. If only we had his daily diary for this year, we might know whether he happened to be passing by Hyde Park on January 13th

a few weeks before the interview. According to the *Loyal Protestant and True Domestic Intelligence* for that date:

This day the ambassador went to the gate of Hyde Park with all his attendants, where being arrived they severally rode into the Park upon their own Barbary horses, which were sent thither for that purpose. They rode round the Park in great state, showing their great nimbleness and activity on horseback, but by reason of the coldness of the weather, they were necessitated suddenly to retire.

A similar display is reported between seven and eight in the morning of February 20th.

Let me commend the February interview to some modern artist. Place: a seventeenth century Lord's house on the Strand in London. Persons: four Quakers standing together before a group of Moors, those on each side in their usual garb, including the exotic tunics, bare limbs, slippers, and scimitars already mentioned. George Fox, now fifty-eight years old, has perhaps abandoned the leather breeches and white hat of his earlier days. But he has a hat, and it is clamped squarely on his head, we may be sure, and beneath it are his straight, unshorn natural locks and his piercing eyes. His body is stiff and somewhat bent, so that, as he admits, he cannot ride as he did formerly. But he still has that massive frame. For the other principal in the scene I may quote Thomas Dixon:

He [the ambassador] has a melancholy thoughtful look, and is not so tawny as the rest by much. He wears a thin kind of turban [*sic*] on his head, and a kind of slippers on his feet, being bare legged, and having rich linen, or a loose garment rowled

about his body. He has a stately gate . . . and seems to be somewhat about 30 years of age.

Has this strange picture any meaning for us today? As I have heard frequently during the last two years reports from American Friends who have interviewed now one and now another Arab official in the Near East, I have wondered what these latter would report on the other side about the Quaker religion. Is conscientiousness of scruple still mutually respected as it was in 1682? And does Quakerism still to Moslem eyes commend itself at least for this world?

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Two Princesses of Hessen

The biographers of Elizabeth Fry duly record her continental journeys in the late thirties and early forties of the last century. Janet Whitney entitles the chapter "Royal Progress." It was for the Quaker reformer a time of meeting royalty as well as of being treated royally. Thus a fortnight in Berlin in 1840 had its climax in a meeting on April 21 arranged in her castle by Princess Wilhelme for the organizing of a Ladies' Committee on prison visiting. The events of this time are told for us in the racy letters of Elizabeth Gurney, niece and namesake of Mrs. Fry, and in the journal of the older and more weighty participant, William Allen. I shall not attempt to list what Elizabeth describes as "no end of Barons and Lords and a Countless number of Counts and Countesses," but will mention the princess who was hostess for the meeting of the committee. She was the Princess Wilhelme, wife of the brother William of the then King of Prussia. Her real name was Princess Marieanne, the daughter of the Landgraf of Hes-

sen-Homburg. "Such a party of Ladies," writes the niece, "and only our friend Count Gröben to interpret." In fact, she even left us a pencil sketch of the scene in the *Schloss*. Evidently with the King on his deathbed and the Queen absent, the friendly Princess Wilhelme was the prime sympathizer with the visiting Friends.

Today by one of those happy coincidences of history Friends from abroad are again the guests of a princess of Hesse. She with her husband (great-great-grandson of Princess Marianne) have been exceedingly friendly to the workers and the work of the American Friends Service Committee, and when a Central Office for that committee was sought they gladly leased to them quarters in a building which was the family hunting lodge, Jagdschloss Kranichstein bei Darmstadt.

Not long ago the Princess discovered among some old correspondence a letter which she thought would interest Friends, and so it does. Here is a translation of it. It is addressed apparently to Johannes Gossner, the leader of the evangelical movement whom Elizabeth Fry and her party had also met in Berlin:

Sunday, April 26, 1840

God be praised that you are feeling better again and that you may perhaps soon be able to praise Him in the Pulpit.

I am sorry that you no longer wish to accept the use of a court carriage, but since it is your wish I have had this service discontinued.

It made me very happy that you were able to see and hear the dear Quakers before they left, for me also it was hard to see them go. I wonder whether the beloved Fry reminded you a little of Countess Redern, as she did me. How those two would have loved

each other. I also gave her [Elizabeth Fry] her [or your?] name in Buchwald.

How pleasing and soothing is her simplicity, the peace, this love for the Lord in which she is living, how uplifting, Yes, I truly believe she was not here in vain. I am sure many a person has received a [spiritual] stimulus from her.

In the women's meeting which took place in my home she prayed on her knees after she had asked someone to read the 58th chapter of Isaiah. Though I do not understand English very well, I yet understood a great deal and was as greatly edified as if I had understood everything—Countess Bylandt later told me, "Even if you do not understand the words of a prayer, you get a blessing from it." The Crown Prince who was present was moved to tears and so were many of the women who were present.

May the Lord accompany the dear people on their journey!

Good night, may He protect you also night and day!

Your friend Marianne

The Quaker accounts exactly agree, but are fuller. A letter written by Elizabeth Gurney tells us how "when business was over our Aunt mentioned some texts in the Bible which she would read if she had a Bible. 'Run, Marie, and fetch one,' said the Crown Prince in English to little Princess Marie. But she only brought a German one. However, the dear Crown Prince took it . . . and handing it to the Count Gröben to read pointed him out the verse that our ever-ready-to-do-good Aunt had chosen. 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen, &c.' The Count read it, after which our Aunt said, 'Will the Prince and Princesses allow a mo-

ment for Prayer?' They all bowed assent and all *stood* while she knelt down and gave one of her touching, heartfelt prayers."

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Sports in Quaker Expression and Experience

A common literary exercise is the classification of illustrations used by an individual author with an attempt to draw inferences from them. In this way the athletic figures of Paul's Epistles or the legal terms of Shakespeare or the medical metaphors of Molière have been studied.

Here I call attention to the terminology from games displayed by one of our most effective contemporary writers on Quakerism. Going through one brief book of his and not half way through a second, I note the following: In the sixteenth century "the church became very literally the power behind the throne and from that protected position *called the signals*." The Continental spiritual reformers "*carried the ball* again and again to *score the gains* by which we have profited." In the later English struggle for citizen rights, William Penn "was not aloof *on the side lines*." His trial at the Old Bailey is recorded in "*a blow by blow* account." When he wished to secure land for an American colony "though Penn would not have called it by such a name, he had what is popularly called '*an ace up his sleeve*.' We do not know if he had to *lay the card on the table*, or whether Charles and the Privy Council remembered the 16,000 pound debt only too well." When Friends sent to Parliament a detailed record of persecution, it shows "how accurately *the score was kept* by the suffering Quakers." Years later when the second (Wilburite) separation in America occurred, the conservative Yearly

Meetings "joined in a *minor league*." In their fight against sin "the Quaker's motto is 'Just push, don't shove'; he uses *his weight*, but *not his hands*." The italics, of course, have been added.

Such language is no mystery. Its writer for sixty years has been connected with college life as student, teacher, president, and emeritus. In fact, he has long lived hard by the athletic ground. Whether in his speech he represents Quaker trends for modern Friends I do not know.

Certainly, as he would be the first to admit, the language, still more the experience, of such sports is foreign to early Quakerism. George Fox had little use for games. The range of sports in his day was not the same as today. I have seen lately contemporary references to horse baiting in the bear pit, to exhibition tennis, and to the Royal Archers. I do not recall that George Fox mentions any of these. He does, however, speak explicitly at one time or another against horse racers, against players at shuffleboards, at bowls, at cards, and play-games. Perhaps like some Philadelphia Friends he would distinguish between Archers and Racers. The earliest laws of West Jersey prohibited gaming and profane pastimes, while those of Pennsylvania forbade specifically "stage plays, cards, dice, May games . . . bull baitings, cock fightings, bear baitings and the like."

There are two well known scenes in Quaker records which make a striking contrast. In one, Edward Burrough in London on a summer evening was watching the lusty fellows wrestling in the fields. "When one dexterous fellow had already thrown three others and was waiting for a fourth champion, if any durst venture to enter the lists, Edward Burrough stepped into the ring" and preached so powerfully to the whole company that many were convinced of the truth. In the other scene, William Penn in Pennsyl-

vania was watching some Indians at their games. "Not to be outdone in any of those feats of personal prowess which the Red Men value so highly, he rose from his seat, entered the lists with the leapers, and beat them all." Such prowess was not the achievement of a moment. Perhaps it goes back to the days of his youth when his father's neighbor and colleague, Samuel Pepys, tells of looking out at the window one Christmas afternoon and seeing the local "boys playing at many several sports in our back yard by Sir W. Pen's." Shall we count the emancipated attitude of Penn in this instance as another example of William Penn and our liberties?

Certainly some occupations in this category have held a different standing from others, even for Quakers in the modern world. Without citing George Fox's unpublished warning to horse racers, I may remind us of the difficulty raised by the question in England some years ago whether the Cocoa or Quaker Press, as it was called, was abetting evildoers by publishing not only racing results but also the odds on future races.

In this connection may be quoted two items mentioned at the recent American Friends Service Committee meetings. One was about a young woman Friend visiting Vienna who discovered that in a forthcoming race one of the horses was named "Quaker" (probably in appreciation of our services in Austria). I regret to say that she so far deviated from her religious education as to venture a small number of schillings on this contestant. "Quaker," however, came in last. The other item was the report by the Gifts-in-Kind department of various strange offers made to the Service Committee. One of these was of a full-blooded race horse. The report indicated that the offer was declined unless the horse could be converted—into cash. Whether the first incident had any bearing on the second was not stated.

"The Occasion of Wars" and Its Occasion

More than one inquiry has come to me lately as to the date when George Fox made his oft quoted remark that he "lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars." Evidently it is being recalled this year that the episode belongs to his Derby imprisonment of 1650, and perhaps some tercentenary observance is being considered.

An exact answer is hard to give. George Fox himself says when his six months' sentence was out, he was offered a captaincy and refused it with these words, for which they clapt him in a dungeon, so that altogether he was kept a year within three weeks in four prisons of the town. He gives the date, October 30, 1650. This is the date of the mittimus by which he was first committed—a document which, by the way, in its original form refers to him uniquely as "George Fox, cordwinder." This suggests that the episode fell in the early spring of 1651, perhaps in April.

But George Fox gives another datum. He says the offer was made when Worcester fight was coming on, and he was solicited to go forth to Worcester to fight. The battle of Worcester occurred September 3, 1651, though the arrival of the King's army near Worcester in late August would provide anticipation of the fight. This date seems to coincide more nearly with the final release of George Fox. Evidently exact anniversary hunters are doomed as often to disappointment or to inaccuracy.

There is, however, a further ground for hesitation. The record of the events was made from George Fox's memory when he

dictated his *Journal*. In its standard form the wording then belongs 25 years later—about 1675-6. In 1664 he had described the event in his *Short Journal* as follows:

“And then one night they had me before the commissioners and would have had me to take up arms and to be a soldier, and I told them I stood in that which took away the occasion of wars and fightings.”

His actual words at the time may have been different from either account. The phrasing so far as it is common to these two accounts is not limited to them. The expression “to stand (or live) in that which takes away the occasion of war” was for a period of his life characteristic. I have counted more than ten occurrences in George Fox’s writings. They carry the phrase back in his vocabulary at least to 1654. The term and the idea belong, therefore, not to one occasion or one event of Fox’s experience. They do not even belong only to George Fox. Contemporary Friends used very similar expressions.

I am very glad that this is so. It is precisely the timelessness of George Fox’s words that have made them favorites. Many of us can testify to their present appropriateness. They belong to our time quite as much as to his. They emphasize several things of permanent importance. One is that the problem of war is moral and psychological, not political nor material. George Fox has in mind “James his doctrine,” that is, the statement in the Epistle of James 4:1,2 that wars and fightings originate from inner desires (“lusts”). Another feature of George Fox’s reply is his indication that refusal to fight is not so much a negative noncompliance, as it is the result of a positive commitment to a way of life and power that makes participation in war impossible. I quote two separate passages from George Fox, both from the disturbed year 1659. “The Lord hath brought us to the Light . . . that takes

away the occasion and root of the wars.” “To bear and carry carnal weapons to fight with, the men of peace, which live in that which takes away occasion of wars, they cannot act in such things under the several powers.” The refusal to fight is made naturally because we “stand” or “live” in a different element.

I may add one small verbal observation. If George Fox says in the Derby passage “in the virtue of that life and power” in place of the usual and simpler “in that,” I think the phrase is not like our colorless “by virtue of,” nor does it use virtue in the moral sense, but is due to the reference in the context to his physical valor (“virtue”) for which, he says, they flattered (“complimented”) him. His reply admits that there is valor or bravery needed for the pacifist position also. It is not, however, a claim of moral superiority, but rather a modest reliance on the power of God, a reversion to the innocence before the Fall.

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Music—A Study in Liberalized Conscience

We do not really need to look at the dusty Volume VII of the *Friends Weekly Intelligencer* for 1850 to feel sure that the centenary of the death of John Sebastian Bach was not observed there as the bicentenary is being observed today. Of course Bach’s reputation has grown greatly in the last hundred years.

Friends, however, a century ago were in no mood to pay tribute to any kind of musical genius. In 1846 Isaac Robson published in London anonymously a vigorous indictment against *Music and its Influence*. The anonymous answer *Music Defended* correctly identifies its origin when it remarks,

"The tract bears along with it its own condemnation, as it is said to be the production of one of the Society of Friends—a society well known not to consist of the most excitable people in the world." Indeed the *Intelligencer* itself for 1850 not only neglects any reference to Bach but in successive editorials uses the American visit of the Swedish songstress Jenny Lind as an occasion for repeating the Quaker strictures against all music. It admits her integrity of character and her generosity. The tickets for her first concert were auctioned off for \$40,000, which she gave to charities in New York (in most of which Friends were greatly interested). "But," the editor reminds us, "the Society of Friends standing upon apostolic grounds has condemned as unlawful all the avocations which tend to fix the affection upon the transient gratifications of time to the prejudice of man's eternal welfare. Among these the science of music, both secular and sacred, as commonly termed, has justly met with a steady, consistent, and decided reprobation at its hands."

The reasons for the Quaker reprobation given in this and in many other places in our earlier literature do not concern me here. I wish rather to point out that in the past century, and mostly in our own lifetime, the Quaker attitude has very largely changed and to suggest that this change would make an interesting study in social conscience.

The slow evolution of stricter scruples is one of the most intriguing phenomena of our history. The emergence step by step of our testimonies forms an instructive lesson in the progressive sensitizing of conscience against the current of the times. The reverse, the liberalizing process, is less often studied, though in it also new insight into conditions, independence from accepted norms, and the logic of circumstance play their part. Just as the movement—let us say—toward abolition of slavery showed in its process inconsisten-

cies that were sometimes humorous, so the movement towards the acceptance of music among Friends is marked by equally piquant episodes.

It is a far cry from Solomon Eccles, the music lector, who when convinced sold his violin and virginals and learned the trade of a tailor, but, still bothered by conscience, bought them back and took them to Tower Hill in London and publicly burned them. A more moderate friend (though whether of history or of fiction I am not sure) is said to have been unwilling either to use his fine cello or to destroy it, and so he buried it.

The opening rifts in the Quaker objection to music were often humorous. We recall that for many Friends' families the jew's-harp was the humble precursor of more elaborate musical instruments. So the aeolian harp, since it was played by the wind in the window, was tolerated by those who felt the wickedness of instruments made for human touch. I suppose for the same reason the music box preceded the handplayed instrument. The experiences of great musicians like Edward MacDowell and David Bispham while still in their Quaker homes are merely more noteworthy examples of similar conflicts elsewhere. Friends schools have been in a peculiarly difficult position, and quite as much when the trend of Quaker opinion was towards conformity with the world as when it was in an opposite direction. There is, for example, the story of the Friend who wished to present a piano to Haverford College. To prepare the way for the offer he asked each member of the Board separately how he felt and received from each a personal favorable response; but when thereafter the Board of Managers officially met to consider the offer they unanimously declined it.

These and many other incidents I commend for consideration as a study of liberalized conscience.

Thee for Thou

Why and when Friends came to use for the nominative *thou* the form *thee* must have been often asked before and often answered. Since I cannot at the moment refer the inquirer to any authoritative printed discussion, I shall venture my own reply.

As is well known, Friends' early distinction was that they used *thou*, *thee*, and *thy* to all and sundry. Non-Friends used *ye*, *you*, and *your* both to more than one person and to one person whom they wished to honor, until at last they gave up *thou*, *thee*, and *thy* even to subordinates and intimate individuals. Friends first levelled all address down to the humble *thou*; non-Friends later levelled all address up to the honorific *you*.

Since Friends alone kept the distinctive singular pronoun in current speech, they were liable to such changes as befall language unconsciously. The substitution of *thee* for *thou* was probably such a gradual and unintentional change. There is in languages a tendency to reduce the variety of inflected words. One way to do this is to assimilate the nominative case to the accusative. Just as the plural pronoun *ye*, *you*, *your* became *you*, *you*, *your*, so, almost inverting the sounds, the singular *thou*, *thee*, *thy* became *thee*, *thee*, *thy*.

This nominative *thee* occurs already in Shakespeare a few times and in Bunyan. It was facilitated by the fact that the vowel sound of *thou* was often pronounced short, *tha* or *the*. In some dialects a superfluous *thee* came to be added before the imperative: "Thee get out of here," instead of, "Get out of here." This in turn may be partly due to the reflexive *thee* in the sentence "Get thee behind me." In any case,

the Quaker nominative *thee* follows a tendency natural in language and was already adumbrated in general English or in some British dialects before the whole pronoun dropped out of general currency.

When the change took place among Friends I do not know. Careful reading of Quaker letters would give some data, including late examples of *thou* and early examples of *thee*. I think *thou* survived longer in England than in America. Woolman in one century used *thou*; Whittier in the next century used *thee*, and so quite rightly did the Friends in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Most historical fiction cannot, however, be trusted for this or for other Quaker idioms.

With the change of form of the subject goes also a change of form of verb, which may have been even more important. Nothing was more likely to disappear than the peculiar and awkward verb forms required by *thou*: *art*, *wert*, *wast*, *hast*, *hadst*, etc., and in regular verbs, *killest*, *killedst*, etc. The new nominative by a process of assimilation to the third person singular simplified the verbs to run *I am*, *thee is*, *he is*, and the like. In Great Britain, curiously enough, the plural form came into use, at least in questions, so that one said, "Have thee seen?" or, "Are thee nicely?" or on the 'phone, "Are thee there?" Modern German also has for the second singular what looks like a third plural (both verb and subject).

All these changes must be regarded as the kind of philological development natural to a living language. They constitute some rather piquant contrasts to the conscious emphases of the early Quaker insistence on plain language. The contemporary use of *you* (singular) only to superiors was regarded by William Penn and Robert Barclay as flattery or concession to pride. In modern terms we would call theirs a democratic concern. But since many modern Friends now use the Quaker language among Friends and say *you*

to any outsider, the very scruple that cost our forefathers so dearly has created a new highly undemocratic dual usage.

In justifying their theing and thouing, the early Friends added to their scruple the simple claim of good grammar. In a remarkable collection of linguistic lore from over thirty different languages, George Fox argued in his *Battle-door* that *you* to one person was simply ungrammatical. It did not occur in any language from Hebrew down, nor in current English Bibles. That was, of course, not his real objection; he was not otherwise any stickler for grammar. Here, as often, one sees that to adduce for one's concern other than the real reason is a dubious if not dangerous proceeding. For again, by a curious irony of fate, his own followers were to develop a form of speech in which with disregard for classical inflexion they apparently use an accusative form for a nominative and a third person verb for a second, "confounding the persons," as the theologians used to say, and also confusing the cases. Meanwhile, the evolution of language pursues its own imperious way independent of moralists and purists and mocks them with the tricks into which the subtle laws of phonetic change inevitably lead.

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Minor Queries *re* Reunion

The proposal to unite two Meetings is always fraught with difficulties practical and spiritual. In combining the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings two questions which occur to the historian are less important or difficult but not without interest. They concern the original name of our common ancestor and the numbering of modern sessions.

As in New England five years ago, there will be the old problem of marriage—two

differing names. Both Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends and the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends for Philadelphia and Vicinity trace their ancestry back to the body which prior to 1827 met undivided annually in Philadelphia, before 1760 alternately in Philadelphia and Burlington, and from 1685 back to 1681 at Burlington. What was its name? Many would say "Philadelphia Yearly Meeting;" But in 1681 Philadelphia was neither founded nor named.

The first dated references known to me to this city of Philadelphia (as distinct from the pre-Christian cities in the Near East so named) are in November 1682, or January 1683. If we turn to the oldest minute book of the Yearly Meeting, the first entry reads: "At a General or Yearly meeting held at the house of Thomas Gardiner in Burlington the 31st day of Sixth Month 1681." Later minutes speak simply of the Yearly Meeting. Yet probably "Yearly" is no more original in the title than "Philadelphia." The minute book referred to is written for many years in a continuous hand, a fact which indicates that it has been copied from an earlier book, or in this case perhaps from separate loose records of the successive years. The copyist has left space for missing records. There are, for example, no minutes for 1684. Though he wrote in a beautiful hand, he evidently wrote a decade and a half later. Did he copy the first minutes as they came to him, or did he change their wording to later usage? I have been fortunate to find two earlier copies of the minutes of 1681, one of them almost contemporary, though in a very crude handwriting. They show that in the official minute book on which historians depend the copyist has freely and frequently departed from the older wording. It read: "At a General Meeting held in Burlington the last day of the Sixth Month 1681." Thereafter other sentences and early copies

of the minutes for 1682 use "General" rather than "Yearly."

Those who five years ago christened an autumn gathering "Philadelphia General Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends" hit upon the oldest adjective in their title. Of the words "Philadelphia Yearly Meeting" only "Meeting" has claim to go back to the beginning.

As for the numbering of current sessions, two other Yearly Meetings have met a problem in the last decade in connection with a two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. The newer Yearly Meetings in America which have numbered their sessions regularly have little trouble with accuracy or consistency; but that is not so easy for those who start numbering a couple of centuries late, as was done by Yearly Meetings in Baltimore in 1898 and 1900, in New York in 1898 and 1909, in North Carolina in 1901, and in New England in 1909. The catch here is that the number of the session is not the same as that of the anniversary. The second session is held on the first anniversary, and the two hundred and fifty-first session is held on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. Anniversaries we number as we do a birthday, omitting or counting as zero the year in which the birth or the founding takes place.

According to the minute just recited, the first annual gathering of what was to become Philadelphia Yearly Meeting occurred in Sixth Month (August, by Old Style) 1681. The two hundred fiftieth anniversary, as many will recall, was celebrated correctly in 1931 and in Burlington, though the month June in which it occurred is Sixth Month by New Style. Probably remembering this event of 1931, the minutes of Arch Street Yearly Meeting began two years later, in 1933, to number its sessions as two hundred fifty-second, and so on every year since. Race Street Yearly Meeting more modestly has mostly refrained from advertising its age, but when

once or twice in recent years it has done so in its Epistle, it has given to its sessions a number larger by one than that assigned at Arch Street. In this I believe it is more accurate. Assuming that the Yearly Meeting met once every year beginning in 1681 (and we know it did meet in the years when military occupation or yellow fever made omission most natural), the 1950 session should be called the two hundred seventieth, not the two hundred sixty-ninth, as the Arch Street minutes have it. Here is quite a minor point, on which a meeting of minds must be arrived at by those who plan reunion.

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On Rereading John Woolman's Journal

The arrival in many homes of Janet Whitney's new and attractive edition should stimulate even those who think themselves acquainted with John Woolman's *Journal* to read it again. Unless my experience is unique, they will find something new in it. I must have read the *Journal* half a dozen times in the last two or three years, but every time I go over it in any edition some new features come freshly to my attention.

Let me report a few of the matters that sank into my consciousness the last time I read it. Here are three or four passages having to do with wider movement than on earlier reading I suspected.

(1) In 1747 Woolman describes at New Milford and other "back settlements" of Connecticut some persons trained as Presbyterians who came to a deep religious experience and for a time established separate meetings, until later they either joined the Society of Friends or returned to their former church. This refers almost certainly to the

local expression of the Great Awakening, of which I have read lately a published and an unpublished account. They were called also New Lights. The leaders were Yale graduates in divinity. For Friends the interesting fact is that the most radical among them was David Ferris, who was attracted to Quaker ideas and left Yale just on the eve of graduating and becoming a parson. He joined our Society and left Connecticut; but the leaders of the movement were his former college mates. John Woolman makes none of these identifications; he mentions not even George Whitefield or Jonathan Edwards anywhere by name. There is no doubt, I think, that his references in Connecticut are to these less well known local New Lights.

(2) John Woolman does use the term "New Lights" in another connection. In 1757 in Virginia he mentions them as a group concerned as Friends were to instruct Negroes in reading. This may possibly refer to some of Whitefield's southern converts, but I judge from the context that this is the southern branch of the Nicholites, better known in Maryland. John Woolman met them there in 1766. He calls them correctly the followers of Joseph Nichols. They were like Friends and later merged with Friends. They were sometimes called the New Quakers. Knowledge of them comes mainly from Quaker sources and has more fully than ever before been compiled in print in an article in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The term "New Lights" is not cited there, but it was a widespread nickname, far more so than the uses given in the *Dictionary of American English* suggest. It was used of Friends themselves the century before, and in New Bedford in the next century it was used of a kind of Hicksite Quakerism.

(3) In connection with his Indian journey, John Woolman suggests that his interest was previously aroused by meeting in Philadelphia in 1761 a company of natives from

Wyalusing. He little indicates what was another result of that meeting. There is extant a brief report of it in his own handwriting, but never published in his *Journal*. Anthony Benezet took it and expanded it, and it was almost immediately published in London. Within a half century the idea of "the noble savage" filled the writings of men of letters in England and the Continent. William Bartram's *Journal* contributed to it; but I know of no earlier printed book in which the Quaker idealization of the Indians supplied the basis for this development than the Woolman-Benezet account of Papanahung.

(4) In the light of modern concern among us regarding war taxes, one naturally notices in reading the *Journal* again how much John Woolman says about this scruple, more, indeed, than about any other aspect of militarism. As a concern it ranks second only to slavery in emphasis in these pages. Two of his longest quotations on the subject are often omitted in the printed editions. It is not surprising, however, that during his lifetime and after his *Journal* was printed, other Friends did not feel easy on the matter. John Woolman mentions an early exponent of nonpayment in North Carolina. In New England a little later there was a kind of separation on the subject. Other objectors gently made their suggestion that Friends generally ought to unite in adopting this as an outcome of their peace testimony. No less a person than Job Scott drew up in 1780 an effective essay of about forty pages, of which the first eight quote the several passages from Woolman's *Journal*. The pamphlet was submitted to Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, which politely vetoed its publication. As I lately read two manuscript copies of this piece, safely stowed away among the archives in the vaults at Providence and Philadelphia respectively, I realized for the first time how nearly this concern of John Woolman's came

to matching in influence his concern against slavery. Only by "the hinge of fate" did refusal of taxes that included taxes for war not become standard Quaker practice.

These four chain reactions of reflection are no doubt partly due to fresh back-grounds on my part. There are other kinds of things that the reader may note. The style of John Woolman is rightly admired. Study of the manuscripts shows what pains he himself took with it. One is surprised that after nearly two centuries so little of its language is archaic, obsolete, or obscure. There is little need of a glossary. I conclude with two or three such verbal matters.

(5) On almost the first page John Woolman compares something he saw in a dream to a "sun worm." Evidently this was some homely popular name used by colonial Jersey farmers. But its identification completely eludes me. Stung by frustration, I have searched all the English dictionaries back to Dr. Johnson's, and I have consulted the zoological glossaries in various languages. I have bothered the experts in several universities and museums of natural history and all the individual entomologists and helminthologists I could reach. They have turned up no other use of "sun worm" and have no certainty whether it was a worm, perhaps luminous, or a caterpillar, perhaps radiate, or what it was.

(6) Near the end of the *Journal*, speaking in England of the many Friends involved there in the slave trade, John Woolman twice uses the word "factories." The modern reader at once thinks of places of manufacture, though if he remembers the date, 1772, he will avoid the anachronism of steam factories, and will, like Janet Whitney, refer the term to the hand factories that preceded them. A little more thought or another reading of the *Journal* may suggest another answer. In the older English usage "factor" and "factory" had to do with trade rather

than with manufacture. The factories referred to were, I think, the trading posts or loading stations where the ships for Africa were laden with trading supplies of various kinds used in exchange for the purchase of slaves.

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Paying for War

Friends who reluctantly pay their income tax with its huge war budget may well envy their predecessors to whom such payments were optional. But except for the difference between voluntary and involuntary payments, the philosophy behind supplying "the sinews of war" is the same.

Historic parallels, to which these letters are addicted, are rarely supplied already written up so well as one entitled *Pacifism Demolished—in 1798*, by Geoffrey Carnall, a young English Friend. I quote with permission from *Peace News* (London, November 3, 1950):

In 1798 a deadly struggle was going on between the powers of darkness and of righteousness, and as usual the British were proving themselves children of light. The children of darkness of the time were not, however, either the Russians or the Germans; they were the French.

In order to strengthen the powers of righteousness, the merchants of London opened a fund to help finance the war. They drew up a printed address encouraging citizens to contribute. Copies of this address were sent to, among others, the Society of Friends. The merchants were thoughtful men, and accompanied the address with a letter intended to allay the

scruples which might otherwise have afflicted the tender consciences of Quakers when they were invited to contribute to a war fund. This is what the letter said:

"It is not necessary to remind you that the enemy who now threatens to invade this land has already covered the half of Europe with desolation and blood—plundering and ravaging the property of every people around them. Have they not defaced their own country with outrages, cruelty and assassination—and with impieties too shocking to bear recital. Have they not persecuted, nay massacred, thousands and tens of thousands, for adhering to the religion of their fathers. Have they not made a scoff of morality and common decency, and set up the profane idol of reason—poor, weak, corrupted, erring reason, as the object of worship, instead of the Almighty and Merciful Creator and Judge of the World. What could we expect, if they should be able to carry into execution their dreadful menaces against this land.

"FRIENDS, it is not to make war, but to *prevent the continuance of war*, that we call upon you to join us in giving public aid at this awful moment; to cause the sword to be sheathed; to keep our happy and fertile fields from being stained with blood. How wonderfully has Providence favoured this island! . . . Should we not then endeavour to express our gratitude to the Supreme Being, by joining as one man to preserve those blessings, which, if once lost, may never be regained.

"The measure of public contribution has been sanctioned by the *Highest Authority*; it was into the public

treasury that the widow cast *that mite* which was approved by the Saviour of the World. Let us reflect upon the terms in which her conduct was applauded; and let us lay it to our hearts, whether, under that authority, we ought not to consider a warning voice saying to us: *Go Thou, and Do Likewise.*"

This eloquent reasoning seems to have made no impression on the mulish Quakers. The clerk of Meeting for Sufferings wrote:

"This Meeting . . . thinks it right to inform the Committee, that as the end proposed thereby is to be effected by Arms, this Meeting believes that the circulating of such address would be a violation of our religious testimony against *all war*."

The article goes on to remind us that the war which Friends were asked to support was waged against revolutionary France by a coalition of powers, which, as Charles James Fox, M.P., contended at the time, contributed to the frenzy of France and to the prolongation of the war, because it assumed that war was inevitable and failed to try all means of negotiation or to accept an interpretation of events or a government policy in accordance with the facts of the case. I am reminded of what John Bright said in 1878 of this and other conflicts: "You will find that wars are always supported by a class of arguments which, after the war is over, people find were arguments they should not have listened to."

"The Lord Cut Him Off"

The article on "Early Quakerism in Friedrichstadt" is a welcome addition to Quaker history, especially since the late William Hull's volume that would have dealt with Western Germany was never finished. Probably editorial modesty prevented mention of earlier studies of the same subject by William Hubben and by Anna Corder herself.

The article provides occasion to consider a curious if unimportant interest of early Quakerism. In the account of his visit to Friedrichstadt in 1677, George Fox's *Journal* narrates:

"This city is in the Duke of Holstein's country who would have banished Friends out of the city and country, and did send to the magistrates of the city to do it: but they said they would lay down their offices rather than they would do it, inasmuch as Friends came to that city to enjoy the liberty of their consciences. And not long after, the Duke himself was banished out of that city by the King of Denmark."

Such references to punishments befalling their opponents are not infrequent in early Quaker literature. George Fox elsewhere in his *Journal* often tells what happened to his persecutors: "The Lord cut him off soon after," "The evident hand of God fell upon them," etc. The Index under "Judgments" gives these incidents. The abundant literature on Quaker sufferings was pretty sure to include consolatory reference to instances where their opponents had smarted for their misdeeds against the Children of Light. The queries in an early form included the ominous question, "What signal judgments have come upon persecutors?" Still earlier inquiries—questionnaires we should call them,

though they are only queries "writ large"—asked the same question about opposers. Sometimes they added a more charitable alternative, "What judgments on and repentance of any such?"

This kind of motif is not unique to Quakerism. As early as the fourth century a Latin Christian writer compiled a whole work, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*. Contemporary with early Friends the churchmen of England and New England indulged in such edifying narratives. They, too, called the items "Judgments" and collected examples. "Examples" was also the Quaker name for them, and George Fox compiled as a kind of companion piece of his Book of Miracles a whole Book of Examples.

Particularly impressive were the cases where "the punishment fits the crime." The constable that thrust George Fox out of the steeplehouse developed a very sore shoulder, just as a murderer by poetic justice is likely to be bitten in the hand by a snake. That expectation is implied in a story in the Acts of the Apostles. It is explicitly illustrated in the literature of that early time. Several opponents of Quakerism suffered appropriately in their tongues, since they had spoken ill of Friends or even jested at them with their tongues "lolling out of their mouths." The correspondence between act and retribution was felt to refute any suggestion of mere coincidence rather than of providence. It is in this light that one is to understand the reference to Friedrichstadt in George Fox's *Journal*: the Duke who wished to banish Friends from the country was himself soon after banished from it.

Any modern reader who feels scepticism or merely distaste for this morbid feature of our early history may welcome some information about the sequel. Instances of poetic justice are only too easily invented or exaggerated. That seems to have been promptly

suspected of George Fox's *Journal*. Before the first edition was completely circulated, two instances were caught, and those who noticed them realized that if historically inaccurate they would do more harm than good. They therefore went to the trouble of trying to supply corrected leaves to replace the original. A new leaf omitted the gruesome details on page 309 about a persecuting justice in Derbyshire who died distracted, while Friends in Holland printed and sent over to England a substitute set of leaves for pages 441-42. The former actually got inserted in many, perhaps half, the copies. I have never seen the other leaf, but I feel confident that it omitted the final words already cited: "And not long after, the Duke himself was banished out of that city by the King of Denmark." Either the sentence was not true, or, if true, the publishing of it was not politic, since the Duke had rather promptly become friendly to the Quakers. In either case Dutch Friends would know better than English.

For one reason or another Friends on sober second thought retreated from this kind of emphasis. George Fox's *Book of Examples*, though still extant in 1694, was never published. The query about judgments upon persecutors was discontinued in 1701. Of course, there was no longer much persecution of Friends, but I should like to think that other motives than historical accuracy or changed circumstances affected them.

Natural as such comment seemed, it did not represent the essential spirit of Quakerism; nor does it represent it today. Yet few of us can affirm that we take "no pleasure in the death of the wicked." Vindictiveness even when conceived in terms of vindication is none the more lovely. Difficult though it be, a true Quaker will, like Job, put beyond the pale the very suggestion

If I rejoiced at the destruction of him that hated me,

Or exulted when evil found him.

117

"First Endure—Then Embrace"

Who is there who has not been in the embarrassing position of not knowing what to call a person because of the prevailing use of a nickname? It is all very well for others to use the familiar sobriquet, "Babe," or "Sandy," or "Red," but its use by a comparative stranger or outsider seems presumptuous.

Plainly that is the way a great many people feel about using to Friends or in the presence of Friends the word "Quaker." Perhaps they know that originally we were, as our old book titles say, "called in scorn Quakers." They do not know whether we still resent it. Just as we ourselves often have to ask a young person whether he or she wants to be called by the usual nickname, so non-Friends are uneasy or uncertain when they find themselves calling us Quakers.

Probably our own attitude has changed over the decades. Perhaps that is because the name has become honorable in the sight of men. Certainly the early Friends thought the word uncomplimentary and tried to put its origin in the best light.

A good while ago in this column—it was Letter 22—I was pointing out the use of "Quaker" in place names. The *United States Postal Guide* in successive editions shows how such names have automatically become fewer in America, at least officially. But that does not reflect Friends' own objection. On the contrary, I think Friends now tend to exploit the word.

Probably all who read these words are already familiar with the names Quaker

House in New York City and Quaker Hill at Richmond, Indiana. But if one looks over the pamphlet *Trends in American and Canadian Quakerism 1925-1950*, he will be introduced also to Quaker Meadow Camp and Quaker Haven in California Yearly Meeting, Quaker Heights and Quakerdale in Iowa Yearly Meeting, a new meeting house on an old Quaker Lane in New England Yearly Meeting, Quaker Lake in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and Quaker Haven Camp in Western Yearly Meeting.

If we may judge from the way we name our places of retreat and refreshment, even the name "Quaker" is being revived. In that sense a Quaker revival is a trend in American Quakerism revealed but not mentioned in the pamphlet.

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The Evolution of a Quaker Drama

Of the many Friends who sooner or later come to worship at the Meeting in Longfellow Park, Cambridge, few guess that across the way are unexpected mementos of the Quaker past. Craigie House in "Tory Row" on Brattle Street is associated with Washington, the general, and then with Longfellow, the poet, but neither of them had much to do with Friends. In this very house George Washington probably interviewed the Quaker delegation bent on neutral relief during the siege of Boston. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was a friend of John Greenleaf Whittier, but, so far as I have noted, he is not ever mentioned in Howard Hintz's book on *Quaker Influence on American Literature*.

Half a morning spent recently in Craigie House opened my eyes. Under skilled direction I was permitted to see what the casual sight-seer is not shown. I shall pass over the

folder of original letters of Whittier written by one poet to another. Nor shall I list the short shelfful of Quaker books, including a presentation copy of William Penn's *Treatise on Oaths* inscribed in his own hand "To my honoured Friend B: Whitlocke 2d 8ber 1675." This must be among the earliest evidences of the long friendship of the Quaker for the Puritan lawyer, Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke.

My principal report has to do with what is, after all, one of the few full-length Quaker dramas, Longfellow's *John Endicott*, the first of two pieces entitled *New England Tragedies*. Some time ago I reported here the striking facilities provided at Craigie House for the centennial of another poem, *Evangeline*, but I noted that "the Quaker element in the poem is slight." That cannot be said for the much later composition.

The records available for tracing the origin and growth of *John Endicott* are of just the kind to delight the researcher in literature. Here under one roof are the poet's diary, his correspondence, his notes on reading, the successive drafts of the manuscript, and the printed forms beginning with the first edition, of which there were "only ten copies printed." One can start with the entry in his diary for March 16, 1856:

"Scherb wants me now to write a poem on the Puritans and Quakers. Promise to think of it. A good subject for a tragedy."

Twelve years later he wrote J. T. Fields, his publisher, asking him to fix October 10, 1868, as the publication date. In between is a long development. Emmanuel Vitalis Scherb was a Continental litterateur and friend of Longfellow. By the next entry in the diary two days later the poet had at least learned to spell Quaker, and was "looking up the Puritan and Quaker history." Later he mentions reading histories of the Puritans and Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, "a strange record of persecutions for trifles

light as air." Later he got at the College Library Bishop's *New England Judged*, but did not like it as well as Besse.

On these and other books mentioned in the diary his small notebooks can be consulted, showing how he was already collecting ideas and even phrases used in the final work. It is almost a year (March 2, 1857) before he mentions writing "a scene in the New England Tragedy which I carry in a state of fusion (or confusion) in my mind." Often the Muse refused to inspire, but at other times he felt "possessed." One day he records: "At home all day pondering the New England Tragedy," and the next day, "Snug by the fireside, meditating the tragedy. . . . It is only writing down which fatigues."

For some reason the drama, called then "Wenlock Christison" and written in prose, languished almost ten years. Perhaps the reason is in another entry (1859): "Fields came out and I read him two acts of Wenlock Christison, with which I do not think he was much struck." And of course James T. Fields was Longfellow's publisher.

In February 1868, he was not only completely rewriting the Quaker story in blank verse—he finished it on the 12th—but was adding "another tragedy entirely new on the Salem witchcraft," but in writing thus to Charles Sumner he adds: "Please say nothing of this as I may never publish them and can hardly yet form an opinion of them, they are so fresh in my mind." At any rate the intermittency of composition had disappeared, and with it some of the birthpangs of authorship. Referring to this work of rewriting, he says, "This has absorbed me day and night, and puts me into better spirits. Happy the man who has something to do—and does it." To appreciate that sentiment one does not have to be a poet.

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George Fox vs. the Richmond Declaration

Since many American Quaker Disciplines quote one after the other these two writers or documents it may seem a little surprising to suggest any suspicion of conflict between them. Of course George Fox's letter to the Governor of Barbados covers only a limited number of headings of belief, much fewer than does the Declaration, while the whole second half of the letter dealing with the very unpopular views of Friends in regard to the Negro slaves on the island is omitted in the modern reprints. Besides, both documents are controversial, written to counter heresy or charges of heresy, and they date more than two hundred years apart, during which interval the matters of controversy had changed somewhat.

Until I reread it lately, I had forgotten how vigorous is the denial of the inner light in the Richmond Declaration of Faith. It is uniquely negative:

"We own no principle of spiritual light, life or holiness inherent by nature in the mind or heart of man. We believe in no principle of spiritual light, life or holiness, but the influence of the Holy Spirit of God, bestowed on mankind in various measures and degrees through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The writers of this document were not ignorant of George Fox, but their denial was aimed elsewhere. The result was that they come very close to contradicting a recurrent idea of the founder of Quakerism. More frequent in his writings than the terms "light" and "seed" is the even more impersonal phrase "that of God." It is usually "that of God in every one." It is used specifically of those very persons, the hea-

then, whether Indians, Moors, or Negroes, to whom Jesus Christ has *not* been known.

The prominence of this term was noted frequently by the late Neave Brayshaw, and he collected dozens of instances out of George Fox's writings. The last time I saw Rufus M. Jones he commented on the term, and in the paper that he prepared on his deathbed to be read at the approaching Yearly Meeting in New England he wrote:

"George Fox very early coined a remarkable phrase, 'There is something of God in every man.' I have in my hours in bed been counting the number of times he used this phrase in his Epistles and I have found it or its equivalent used fifty-one times."

For a partial set of examples I shall quote two paragraphs from an article "Answering That of God," which was published in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, XXXIX, 1947, pages 3 to 14.

"By your light shining," Fox writes to Friends in Carolina, "you may answer the Light in all men" (Ep. 371); and those in Holland he bids to "be the salt of the earth and the light of the world, to answer the light of Christ in all" (Ep. 374).

Of particular interest is George Fox's use of this phrase in application to non-Christian peoples. Thus to Friends captive in Algiers he urges conduct that may answer the Spirit of God both in Turks and in Moors, and the rest of the captives [that is, white Europeans] (Ep. 366), or answering God's witnesses in the Turks, Jews, Moors and your patroons (Ep. 388). Speaking of the heathen in general he writes in 1656, "Be diligent answering the witness of God in all their consciences and . . . bring the truth over all the head of the heathen to the witness" (Swarth. Manuscripts ii, 90). In Pennsylvania he brackets the Indians and whites together, for Friends are by their behaviour to answer that which is good both in the people among you and in the Indians (Ep. 412), or to

answer the truth in all the professors (i.e., nominal Christians) and the heathen (Ep. 404). So, too, with regard to Negroes, "Let your light shine among the Indians and the blacks and the whites, that ye may answer the truth in them" (*Journal*, 1694, p. 610). "You may answer that which may be known of God in all both white and black and make them confess with that of God in them which they do transgress that God is in you of a truth" (12, 109F). Speaking in 1675 specifically of the slaves of the Quakers in Barbados, George Fox wrote, "You should preach Christ to the Ethiopians that are in your families, that so they may be free men indeed and be tender of and to them and walk in love, that ye may answer that of God in their hearts" (*Gospel Family Order*, 1701, p. 15).

It is evident that such a viewpoint would have been as repugnant to some Quakers in 1887 as it was to George Fox's opponents two centuries earlier. Perhaps they forgot in framing the Richmond Declaration what George Fox had said, or they interpreted what he said in the light of their own emphases. Yet it is hard to see how what George Fox affirms—and he not infrequently calls it a principle—differs from the rejected belief in "a principle inherent by nature in the mind or heart of man," or how George Fox's "that of God in every man" can be identified exclusively with "the influence of the Holy Spirit bestowed on mankind . . . through Jesus Christ our Lord." We are faced with a clear dilemma: (1) If there is no real distinction, then a lot of misunderstanding between divisions in the Society of Friends would be avoided, (2) If there is a distinction, then George Fox and the Richmond Declaration do not agree, the former affirming what the latter denies. Those who accept this horn of the dilemma cannot be equally loyal to both classics of our Quakerism.

Perhaps all this is salutary warning for the makers of modern disciplines or statements of faith. Such documents tend to be definitely dated and to become outdated. Their content is often more determined by the heresy they feel called on to deny than by the faith that they have a positive concern to express. The formulations may seem satisfactory at the time. To read Bevan Braithwaite's account of how he dictated the Richmond Declaration in his hotel, one might suppose he was inspired. He had read George Fox, and he even wrote a widely circulated book about him; but in the theological climate of 1887 he was no Foxonian Quaker.

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The Son of Westtown's Father

It pays to advertise. Sometime ago in writing on George Churchman, "Founding Father of Westtown", I asked any reader to notify me if he ever came upon a copy of G. C.'s poem printed at Wilmington in 1764 entitled *A Little Looking Glass for the Times, or a Brief Remembrancer for Pennsylvania*. He mentions it in his unpublished journal, but I had never seen a copy. Now more than two years later the Friends Library at Swarthmore College kindly tells me that a copy has just come in for accession to its collection.

Meanwhile I have become interested in Churchman's son John. The latter bears the same name as John Churchman, his grandfather, the well known Quaker journalist, but very little seems to be known of him. According to a memorandum by John Trimble in the Quaker records now at Baltimore in connection with Nottingham meeting near the Maryland-Pennsylvania line, he

was born in Eleventh Month, New Style (i.e., November), 1753, the eldest of ten children of George and Hannah Churchman. The time of his death is not recorded.

The memorandum continues: "lived unmarried. Became a noted Philosopher, corresponded with societies of learning in Europe, on various subjects, particularly on the cause of the variation of the magnetic needle. He published a theory on that phenomenon that was favorably noticed by Thomas Jefferson and others, whose letters complimenting him on the originality of his views I have seen. He died at sea, on a return voyage from St. Petersburg in Russia, whither he had gone in the prosecution of his favorite study."

The publication referred to is probably *An Explanation of the Magnetic Atlas* by John Churchman (Philadelphia, 1790), or its second edition, *The Magnetic Atlas or Variation Charts* (London, 1794). He offered communications not only to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia but also to the Russian Academy of Science. He has the distinction of being the second American (Benjamin Franklin being the first) to be elected a member of the Russian Academy. Princess Dashkov was his sponsor, and the date of his election was the 8th of January, 1795. All this has been lately brought to light from research by a Russian scholar. But more information would be welcome.

His father's unpublished diary says little about John. Perhaps he lived little at home. On Seventh Month 31, 1796, George Churchman writes: "This evening my son John came home to see me, after an absence of near three years and an half which he hath spent in Europe." One wonders what he was doing during this and evidently a later sojourn abroad. Was he much of a Friend, or in touch with Friends? And did his pious father approve of his son's scientific interests? A later passage in the diary is

about as enthusiastic as one would expect (December 1803):

"Also went to see the School of Nature [Peale's Museum in Philadelphia] wonderful varieties at the Museum so called of beasts, birds, reptiles, insects, etc. The most wonderful seem'd to be the monstrous bones of the Mammoth connected together! This recreation seemed not condemnable, as I thought: being the first liberty of this kind I had ever taken; in viewing an artificial display of nature."

To judge from his diary, George was more sensitive to the delicate guidance of the inner light than concerned for the variations of the magnetic needle. He was something of a surveyor, but his interest in theoretic science may well have been small.

For modern Friends, deeply concerned for "cultural relations" between the West and Russia, this pioneer scientist reared in our Society and son of an excessively conscientious Quaker is an interesting landmark.

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New Style in Calendar and Flag

Most persons know the story of Betsy Ross and the American flag, at least "nearly everybody in Philadelphia." Not all striking facts about her are so familiar, or so uncertain.

She was born two centuries ago on January 1, 1732; but the date was an unusual one. By agreement it had been decided to change the calendar in Great Britain and the colonies on that day from Old Style to New Style, or the Gregorian calendar. Previously the year had begun in March; now it was to begin the first of January. For Friends the change was particularly important, since, while other persons had come generally to use the names of the months, Friends used

numbers for the months, and not Latin numbers like September to December. When the year beginning was changed, while the names of the months were retained and became henceforth erroneous as far as the Latin numbers were concerned, the Friends renumbered all the months. Thus January changed from Eleventh to First Month. It is said that Betsy Ross's family said, "She was born the first day of the month, the first day of the year, the first day of the new style." As Friends, I think they would have said simply, "First Month first (N.S.)."

For Betsy was born a Quaker. Her parents, Samuel and Rebeckah Griscom of Philadelphia, were Friends. Elizabeth Griscom (or Betsy) was one of their seventeen children. Her husbands were not so numerous as her siblings, but there were three of them. The first was John Ross, a fellow apprentice in the shop of a Philadelphia upholsterer. He was not a Friend, and for her marriage "out of meeting" in 1773 she was disowned. He died about two years later, and in 1777 she married Captain Joseph Ashburn. Finally, after his death she married John Claypoole. From 1783 to her death in 1836 she was Elizabeth Claypoole, while for less than four years was she, as wife or widow, Betsy Ross.

Many genealogical facts are known about the family of Elizabeth (Griscom) Ross-Ashburn-Claypoole, and about her husbands, and about her daughters, two of them born in her second marriage and five in her third. She and John Claypoole in 1785 joined the Society of Free Quakers in Philadelphia. She outlived nearly all the members of this original group of "Fighting Quakers." Thus the Betsy Ross of fame was successively a birthright Quaker, an ex-Quaker, and a Free Quaker. The three-cent United States postage stamp issued to mark the bicentennial of her birth may, therefore, be added to the philatelic items of Quakerism.

It is only fair to add that the story has been challenged giving her the credit for first stitching the combination of stars and stripes. The story was first published in 1870 and refers to events assigned to about June 1776, when George Washington is said to have shown Widow Ross a design for a national emblem and asked her to make one. There is no doubt that she made such flags later, or that the design was not used earlier, or that it has similarity to the old Washington family coat of arms, e.g., at Sulgrave Manor in England.

The picture reproduced on the stamp, combining the finished flag with the scene at which it was requested, is admittedly fanciful. The tradition has been pressed by her Quaker descendants, with supporting affidavits, which have also been given by other members of the family. It is a difficult tradition to prove, and it has been vigorously disputed, though with no specific counter claim. Even the house, now 239 Arch Street, so close to a well known Quaker center, is not certain as the exact scene of her shop. But inasmuch as July 4, 1776, the supposed date only a few weeks later of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, is very likely quite erroneous, we may as well leave this minor tradition about Betsy Ross undisturbed. It has not played much part in Quaker history. We have no reason as Friends to claim it or to disclaim it.

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Another Quaker Legend of Lincoln

In years past I celebrated Abraham Lincoln's birthday by publishing in this column reasons for doubting the pretty story that when Lincoln was killed it was found that he was still carrying in his pocket the letter which he had received from Eliza P.

Gurney some two years before. This year I shall mention another story of Quaker influence on Abraham Lincoln and give reasons for doubting it, also.

The story, repeated as recently as 1939 in Carl Sandburg's *The War Years*, was known to readers of the *Intelligencer* years ago through Henry W. Wilbur's *Friends with Lincoln in the White House* (1913). It tells how Isaac and Sarah Harvey, Friends from Clinton County, Ohio, came all the way to Washington to call on President Lincoln. They were accidentally found by Salmon P. Chase, who arranged an interview for them on the next day and escorted them to it. President Lincoln gave them at their request the following note:

"I take pleasure in asserting that I have had profitable intercourse with friend Isaac Harvey and his good wife, Sarah Harvey. May the Lord comfort them as they have sustained me.

Sept. 19, 1862 ABRAHAM LINCOLN"

Three days later in a sudden shift of policy the draft of the Emancipation Proclamation was issued.

The story as Henry Wilbur gives it was, he said, adapted from Nellie Blessing Eyster's narrative. She had first printed it in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for September 1870, "A Day among the Quakers," and in a revised form in the *New Voice* in 1899 under the title "Mr. Lincoln and the Crazy Quaker." But the names she gives the couple are throughout Samuel and Phoebe Haddam, except that in the second version the words of the letter, given "*verbatim*," say Samuel Harvey and his good wife Phoebe Harvey. She claims to have visited them in their home in July 1868, and to have reported their story exactly.

Neither couple is known to Quaker records, but there was a couple, Isaac and Sarah Harvey, to whom Henry Wilbur transfers the

story (on what grounds he does not say) and confirms it by reporting conversations or correspondence which he had in 1911 with their sons William and Jesse. They said they recalled their parents' visit to Lincoln nearly fifty years before.

A new light on the subject comes from the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln in the Library of Congress. These were kept sealed until July 1947. Otto E. Neuburger promptly published in these columns "Quaker Documents in the Lincoln collection."* Now Roy P. Basler has found and published three documents dealing with Isaac Harvey and his wife (whose name is not given).** They are:

1. A letter of introduction from Governor Richard Yates of Illinois, September 3, 1861.

2. A letter of introduction from Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, September 23, 1861.

3. A letter to Abraham Lincoln from Isaac Harvey himself, of July 25, 1864, as follows:

"Please be so kind as to inform me when it will be convenient to thee to receive a short call from my wife & self (members of the Society of Friends from Ohio) in a little matter of business, when I will be prepared to present a letter of introduction from Govr. Brough, endorsed by Govr. Curtin."

The Governors named were of Ohio and Pennsylvania, respectively.

Thus there is evidence that in 1861 and again in 1864 Isaac Harvey and his wife planned to visit the President. It is natural that their sons should recall it if they did visit him. But the date given by Mrs. Eyster seems unconfirmed, as also the note requested by them from the President. The business of the visit is not told in the story any more than it is in the letter. Probably most of the rest of the story is as fictitious as the names Samuel and Phoebe and Haddam. Fortunately,

Quaker historians do not seem to have fallen for the story as much as have Lincoln's biographers.

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Queens and Quakers

For obvious reasons I have been wondering what contact Friends have had in the past with female sovereigns. In spite of the sound of cozy intimacy in my alliterative title, there has not been much. I shall limit myself to what Friends might call "birth-right queens," not queens by marriage. In the three hundred years of Quaker history there have been before Elizabeth II only two such queens in England, Queen Anne (1702) and Queen Victoria (1837-1901). Recently I think the Dutch queens have seen most of Friends, since the little Princesses attend a Quaker school.

Turning to my usual sources for Quaker research, I find two stories in Poley's *Friendly Anecdotes*. The very first one is about the Philadelphia Friend who wrote home that he had danced with Victoria-Dick (Vaux) with Vick—so that his mother remarked, "I do hope Richard won't marry out of Meeting." But at that time Victoria was not yet queen. The story on the next page, in which is related how the late Dame Elizabeth Cadbury was requested by a queen to tell her husband to put his hat on, has to do with a queen consort, the oldest of the three current queens in England.

Next I find in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends Books* under the heading "King" some seventy printed pieces mentioned before 1830. All the earliest ones are com-

**Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 105, 1948, pp. 467-470.

**Isaac Harvey or Samuel Haddam, *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, vol. 6, 1951, pp. 353-357.

plaints about persecution addressed to the King. With them there are just two addressed to Queen Anne. The only relevant mention in some fifty thousand references to persons and places in the Pendle Hill index to *Friends Library* is a passage in the life of William Penn, which says that he was a frequent and welcome visitor at the Court of Queen Anne. A reference to the visits of Guli Penn to another queen every year of her exile until her death is found in Agnes Strickland's *History of the Queens of England*; but neither William Hull nor I have been able to identify its source or to explain it. In any case, this was only the wife of the ex-King James II. About the same time several sources, and perhaps George Fox's *Book of Miracles*, speak of a Quaker woman serving as wet nurse for a child of Prince George and Princess Anne. But that was before Anne was crowned. I think Daniel Quare, a Friend, continued as "clockmaker to the Crown" even into her reign.

Under Victoria Friends were perhaps for the first time members of the cabinet, at least, two of them, William E. Forster and John Bright, and had the right to talk to her. The reader may be referred to their biographies or diaries to learn what little they had to do directly with the sovereign. Bright certainly had meals and conversations with her, but the nearest Bernard Barton, the Quaker poet, ever came to the same experience was a vivid dream he had of dining with the Queen and being asked by her to write an extempore poem in her album.

A curious privilege enjoyed and claimed by the Society of Friends ever since 1683 at the end of the reign of Charles II is "the prescriptive right of reading and presenting by its representatives in person an Address to the Throne on the accession of a monarch, or on other occasions when it was appropriate to express their loyal sympathy in joy or grief with members of the reigning

house." These addresses were printed and appear in the latter part of Smith's list referred to above. One, of course, was to Queen Anne in 1702. I know no firsthand account of this interview, but Willem Sewel, who was in touch with events, relates briefly (with the text) both this and five other such interviews in her reign. Among those engaged in this service he mentions William Penn, George Whitehead, and Thomas Lower.

In Victoria's reign there are eyewitness accounts of two such occasions. The first was at her accession in 1837. The Quaker delegation numbered more than fifty. Before they entered "the room where the young queen was seated on the throne" in "James's palace," they had their hats taken off for them. The second was fifty years later, at Windsor. There were ten men Friends, including J. Bevan Braithwaite, plus John Bright, then Privy Councillor. In fact, Bright's diary is one of our sources. They were provided special trains with royal coaches between the station and the castle. The queen had intimated that they need not be in "Court Dress," and they were given an early hearing in order that they might get back to Devonshire House to attend the Yearly Meeting of Ministry and Oversight! They drank her health in water. The whole account in the contemporary *Friends Quarterly Examiner* is full of interest. As the editor anticipated, "Possibly our successors in the twentieth century may turn with interest to the present volume to see how affairs were managed on this jubilee occasion." For good measure he inserts an extended history of "Addresses to the Throne by the Society of Friends."

The new Queen of England will offer a chance for Friends to renew their loyalty, whether more to the throne or to Quaker scruples is always a dilemma. Meanwhile, they, like their fellow subjects, will have to

get used to the unfamiliar nomenclature which a change of sex requires. I had to think twice when I read a lately published petition of William Penn, where "her Majesty" (i.e., Queen Anne) was mentioned, and I have thought more than twice when I discovered that the object of the petition of William Penn and the Quaker merchants of Pennsylvania was to have the privilege and profit of provisioning "her Majesty's ships of war." In these times of austerity just imagine all the new stationery, signs, and forms that must be provided, substituting "her" for "his" and "Queen's" for "King's." Since it is British custom (unlike the American) to embellish postage stamps with portraits of living rather than of dead rulers, over fifty British dominions, colonies, etc., down to the little Pitcairn Island will produce new treasures for stamp collectors.

Le roi est mort, vive la reine.

124

Fox and the Faith-Makers

I had no expectation of reverting so soon again to the modern practice of drawing up Quaker statements of faith, and would not have done so if I had not come upon an interesting fragment of manuscript all in George Fox's own handwriting. Technically this would be called a "holograph" (no connexion with foxholes).

The fragment begins: "When the Son of Man cometh shall or doth He find faith upon the earth or in it? . . . But the Son of Man may find many faith-makers in the earth and persecutors of them that He worketh faith in," etc.

That George Fox held no high opinion of creed-making is evident from other of his writings. In 1658 the Independents at the

Savoy drew up in eleven days *A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practiced in the Congregational Churches in England*. George Fox wrote several papers at this time explaining his objection to such documents. He compares the newest of them to the Catholic Mass book, the Anglican Common Prayer, and the Models and Platforms of the Presbyterians and of the New Englanders. Such books can be equally grievous. Their adherents have fought for them and killed one another. Their name "Faith" permits George Fox to contrast them with that term as used in the New Testament for a gift of God, which works by love. As for Friends, they have the Scriptures as their directory, guide, leader, and comforter. They see to the end of all directories and faiths which men invent. "And we say that all the Priests in Scotland, London and New-England cannot make the gift of God."

To judge from these and other comments, George Fox's objections to the non-Quaker documents were (1) that they were a "relic of popery" and not in accord with the prior religion of the New Testament; (2) that they were the basis of hostile attacks on other Christian groups and of demands for conformity to the creed-making group. To George Fox, persecution of this sort seemed usually done not for the good of the persecuted but for the advantage of the persecutors, financial (church dues, salaries of hiring priests, tithes, etc.) and otherwise. Modern Friends might express their objection somewhat differently but to the same general effect. They feel that such statements of faith are intended to exclude rather than to include. ("Love drew a circle that took him in.") In looking over church history they congratulate themselves that the Quaker tradition has escaped one of the most fertile causes of ecclesiastical quarrels in its eschewing of creeds, as it has avoided similar sources of controversy by not having out-

ward sacraments or formal ordination of the clergy.

One can ask: But why, then, did George Fox and other early Friends draw up and publish themselves statements of faith? This indeed they did, as Arthur Mekeel showed some years ago in his book on *Quakerism and a Creed*. The important difference seems to be that these statements were made merely to defend early Friends from false charges. For the Friends were often accused in the first half century of rejecting common Christian doctrines, which, as a matter of fact, they firmly held. Such defensive documents were truthful and were justified as efforts to avert unmerited suspicion. But for permanent use or as precedents for our own time they must be carefully scrutinized. They served in no sense as a test of membership, and they made very little reference to the distinctive beliefs of Friends. They are therefore quite misleading if taken as complete or characteristic. George Fox's famous letter to the Governor of the Barbados mentions distinctive Quaker positions in the last third of it only. Ironically, this part (on attitude to slaves and Indians is regularly omitted in Books of Discipline which reprint the letter.

Early Quakerism differed from the common run of contemporary Christianity by the vitality and reality which it added to the least common factor in the churches of its time, and by the testimonies in which its Christian faith found expression. This is doubtless the positive role that Quakerism should play in the ecumenical movement today. Without too much concern about verbal formulation it can call men to the spirit behind the letter, the lived reality beyond the assertion.

Early Quaker Arrivals at Oxford

If it is appropriate for Friends papers to give a preview of the forthcoming Oxford gathering in 1952, it is not premature to recall the first precedents for such an invasion. The full history of Quakerism in that university town has not been written, so far as I know, and I am not now intending to write it. Its beginnings are faithfully recorded by the early Friends themselves and with a fulness and multiplicity of record that is not usual. Missionaries from the North came to the South in 1654, and on June 20th two young women, Elizabeth Fletcher, aged 17, and Elizabeth Leavens, met the usual treatment then meted out to Friends in college communities. The girls were arrested by two justices for speaking in church. The students abused them with physical violence, including a ducking in St. Giles pool and under the pump at St. John's College. Other visitors the same year were Elizabeth Williams, Richard Hubberthorne, John Camm, John Audland, William Simpson, Humphrey Smith, Richard Farnsworth, Ann Audland, and Dorothy Waugh.

The maltreatment by the students is fully described in the Quaker records, some of it almost unfit to print. Naturally the boys made the most of the opportunity for horse-play, "arch-abominable and antic actions." The Friends, of course, had a particular testimony to bear against the training schools for hiring priests, whether at Oxford, at old Cambridge, at Cambridge in New England, at Aberdeen, and even at Durham, where a university was only projected, not then actually founded. A favorite term of their denunciation in such places was to style them, after Revelation 18:2, "a cage of

unclean birds." Young women especially seemed called upon to testify against the rude students. Perhaps preaching Quakeresses seemed to the future clergymen and their teachers particularly obnoxious rivals. The sex and the phrase referred to are illustrated by a printed piece about 1657, apparently unique and unknown to Quaker bibliographers: *A Lamentation against the Professing Priest and People of Oxford; and to all in the Cages of unclean birds, called Colleges*, by Margaret Greenway. Some of the persons named above will be recognized. Dorothy Waugh, for example, was preaching Quakerism in New England two years after. Margaret Greenway is in George Fox's Book of Miracles.

Although the University authorities, including the vice-chancellor, the famous theologian, John Owen, opposed the Quakers, the mayor of Oxford, Thomas Williams, did not. He even let the Friends hold a meeting at his house. One of the converts at this time was Thomas Loc, whose ministry later had so much to do with the conversion of William Penn. Another convert was Richard Betteris, at whose house a meeting was held for many years, "the first settled meeting in this city."

Full as are the Quaker records of that early day, there is always a special interest in searching out the light one can get from non-Quaker sources. I have resisted the temptation to follow out these clues in full, though the temptation is real when one's library stall is not ten feet away from four shelves of books on Oxford history and within easy reach of large collections on the history of the Oxford colleges and of the maps of ancient Oxford. A principal authority would be Anthony à Wood, the contemporary local antiquary who diligently collected pamphlets, ballads, and satires about the Quakers (and about everything else connected with Oxford). He says:

"Oxon this year [1654] in the time of autumn was pestered with the northern Quakers, of whom George Fox was chief, so that whereas we had a meeting of the Quakers very rarely in anno 1653, or scarcely at all, now we had them constantly in the lane called the Seven Deadly Sins."

And again: "The Quakers came first to Oxon in that year [1654] and had their meetings in an old stone-house, almost opposite to the common gate of New Inn (in which house Richard Betteris, chirurgion and Quaker then lived) as they journeyed from the north parts of England to London. The said Richard Betteris, one of the chief Quakers in Oxon, lived to the time of King James II."

But I must not quote further what Wood and others said of the "unstable" Quakers. Perhaps some English historian is collecting data for the forthcoming Conference, or we ourselves may do a little research on our own to identify under their new names the lane and house above mentioned, to learn what we can about "Giles pool" and the pump at "John's College" and about the friendly mayor and other actors.

We anticipate a happier reception for friends in August 1952 than occurred in June 1654, and happier not merely because "the black tribe of scholars" will then be on vacation. There are later periods of Oxford history full of interest to Friends, like those of William Penn, student of Christ's Church, who still later intervened in a controversy on academic freedom at Magdalen College. There are also more friendly sentiments to report than those contained in the earlier chapter. It was Thomas Crosfield, sometime undergraduate, graduate, and Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, who at his parsonage in Spennithorne, Yorks, wrote in his diary on November 24, 1653: "God out of evil can bring good, and why may he not out of the new sect of the Quakers produce

glory to himself and good to his people, if they but with patience wait his lesson." If modern Oxonians repeat these words, their meaning will not be quite the same.

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Occupational Trends of Friends

In the London *Spectator* there has been a discussion of the occupational tendencies of Quakerism. The distinguished authors, not themselves Friends, have attributed to us historically an unexplained trend to brewing and banking, more recently to cocoa, and they have complimented us as combining with our faith good scholarship and even *belles lettres*.

Such speculations are not new, and they are not readily settled. One could easily think of other occupations to which Friends have been prone. There is a temptation to accompany generalizations with reasons. If early Friends came from a specific occupation or if later Friends gravitated into it, one can in either case conjecture the causes for the combination. Is the trade congenial to the mystical or the practical side of Quakerism? Or has the trend of Quakerism into certain lines of living been because of the latter's attraction or in part because of exclusion from other lines?

For early Quakerism abundant lists are available of men with their occupations specified. The statistics do not reveal any startling preponderance. There were special trades' meetings of Friends in the time of George Fox, but they were set up not so much because those trades were particularly favored by Friends but because special problems confronted Friends who were respectively vintners, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, schoolteachers, doctors, or mid-wives. So each group met for mutual advice and

consultation. In the choice of trades neither religious sentiment nor biblical precedent seems to have played much part.

Appropriate reasons for certain trades are easy to imagine. Years ago in his *Sartor Resartus* Thomas Carlyle immortalized George Fox's making his suit of leather. He associates him thus with the trade of tailor. A fanciful recent writer has connected all this with the clothing work of the American Friends Service Committee. There is, of course, no historical or hereditary connexion. It may be merely personal. I myself have wondered, why, though a mere man, I felt such sympathy with what is mainly an enterprise for Quakeresses. Lately I discovered that my father ninety years ago was chairman of the clothing committee of the Friends Freedmen's Association. If there is any congenital influence in my case, it may be family rather than religion.

If any occupation was likely to obtain special veneration among Friends, it was that of shoemaker. The earliest reference to George Fox's occupation, the mittimus by which he was sent to Derby jail in 1650, calls him a cordwinder (or cordwainer). But when the mittimus was printed in the *Journal*, the word was omitted. More often he is called a shoemaker, or shoemaker's apprentice. In later life public documents call him a gentleman. His opponents ridiculed his original status. When William Penn mentioned George Fox's other early employment, that of shepherd, Penn was accused of turning painter, "for 'tis well known he was a shoemaker, but 'tis observable that in Luke 2 we find that the shepherds were the first that preached Christ, the world's savior, so G. F. was the first that preached the Quakers' Christ, therefore 'tis convenient to be recorded shepherd too, though in truth he was a shoe-maker." A later critic writes:

"The first Quaker that ever sprang up in England was George Fox, an ignorant

mechanick, whose highest perferment was to be a Journeyman to a shoe maker in Mansfield, a fellow that could neither write nor speak English . . . his awls, his boots, his hammock and old trundle bedstead are kept by his executors with the highest veneration."

Other early Friends who were shoemakers are known by name but not out of proportion to other trades. According to Ernest Taylor's list, there is no shoemaker among the "Valiant Sixty" except George Fox. There were annual meetings of Quaker shoemakers in Ireland about 1700. Of later Quaker shoemakers or ex-shoemakers perhaps Anthony Purver, author of a whole Bible translation, and Thomas Shillitoe are the best known. William Lloyd Garrison says that he found John Greenleaf Whittier at work on his shoemaker's bench when Garrison first went to see him. I can recall no Quaker bootmaker within my own memory. Perhaps other readers will think of some.

Although George Fox in a letter written January 1, 1670, recommending trades for Quaker apprentices mentions without emphasis shoemaking along with more than a dozen others, I know of one Friend who specially chose that trade for his son. He mentions it as the trade of George Fox, but being himself an earlier adherent of Jacob Boehme, the famous cobbler of Görlitz, I suspect that that connexion had equal or greater sentimental influence. This was Hilary Prache, a learned German, who joined Friends and came to England in 1674. Two years later he wrote in a letter:

"My son Ephraim . . . was brought by the Friends to London and put by them to the bootmakers' trade. He has tried now for three weeks if the work would suit him and he his master. I proposed this to him, seeing that Jacob Boehme was a bootmaker; and George Fox, the leader amongst us Friends, whose mouth God opened and who was the

first to institute the silent meetings or quiet gatherings, is such an one by a Divine vocation; and, besides, various speakers and highly gifted men of God in our *ministerio* are bootmakers."

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Publicity of Quaker Gatherings

Speculating on the probable public notice that the Friends World Conference at Oxford will receive, I turned to a file of the *London Times* to see what attention was given there to the International Conference of the Society of Friends held in London, August 12 to 20, 1920. The paper explained that it was a private conference, but two short notices amounting to about five inches in all appeared in its dignified columns. It said that over a thousand delegates were in attendance. The subject of the basis of the Quaker opposition to war had been "introduced by Miss Joan M. Fry, daughter of the late Sir Edward Fry, and by Dr. Rupert [*sic*] M. Jones of Haverford College. On Saturday a debate [*sic*] on 'War and Liberty' was opened by Mr. Frank Collard [*read* Pollard] of the National Peace Council and Mr. Walter C. Woodward, editor of the *American Friend*."

In 1920 there was much ominous foreign news to compete for space with domestic and pacifist discussion in London. Thirty-two years later the international scene is no more peaceful than when several British and American expeditionary forces were fighting the young Soviet government and were prevented from a war in Poland only by the direct action of British labor unions. Besides, paper shortage in 1952 will curtail space in the *Times*. Quite likely Oxford will be comparatively "unnewsworthy."

There were no real world conferences of

Friends before 1920, but reports of Quaker gatherings in earlier days were bruited abroad, exaggerated, and more incorrect. The assemblings of Quakers almost anywhere were "viewed with alarm." Thus from Oxford itself one can cite the report recorded by Anthony Wood for November 1677. "On this month was a general synod or council of the chief of the English Quakers at Frankfurt beyond see; William Pen, one of the chiefest. This I heard and it was commonlie reported." Now William Penn was in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1677, but it was in August and not November. His associates there were Robert Barclay and George Keith. George Fox and several other English Friends were at the time elsewhere on the continent. They made up altogether a remarkable mission 275 years ago. They were all back in England by October 23. So much is the truth of this report from overseas.

Large assemblings of Quakers in parts of England were reported earlier. The first reference to Friends in the State Papers is of gatherings in Derbyshire in 1654. According to George Fox, one early comment about Friends was that they would not come into any great towns but lived in the fells like butterflies (Newcastle, 1657). In 1660 it was reported "these people meet in several places of Yorkshire in great multitudes" and "in every corner" of Sussex. In the same year it was reported from Bristol that "here they all center and have their meetings at all seasons till nine of the clock at night and later, sometimes above 1000 or 1200 at a time, to the great affrighting of this city as to what will be the consequent thereof."

According to the Friends, the terror they roused in others was the result of a bad conscience in the persecutors. In 1661, when the first General Meeting was set up at Rhode Island, the people of Boston sixty miles away "raised an alarm that the Quakers were gathering together to kill the

people and to fire the town of Boston." As I write, New England Yearly Meeting is holding its two hundred and ninety-second successive undisturbed session. For better or for worse, neither it nor the notable affair at Oxford rouses either much fear or much conscience in others.

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Between Gutenberg and Now

The year 1952 will witness widespread celebration of two events in Bible publication. It is the year somewhat arbitrarily selected to mark the five hundredth anniversary of the publication of the great Bible of Mainz, usually called the Gutenberg Bible, the first book printed from movable type in the Western world. On September 30, 1952, there will be published in America the whole Bible in the Revised Standard Version, of which the New Testament was issued in 1946. This is therefore a good year to recall here some Bibles with Quaker connections.

I have no thought of repeating the excellent article in the *Intelligencer* for August 19, 1950, on "The So-Called 'Quaker Bibles.'" That was written by an outstanding Biblical bibliographer, Edwin A. R. Rumball-Petre. The two works he mentions there deserve the name Quaker. Isaac Collins was a Friend and published at Trenton in 1791 the first Bible printed in New Jersey. Lately copies of New Testaments have been found printed by him in 1779 and 1782. Anthony Purver was also a Friend. He translated afresh from Greek and Hebrew into English the whole Bible, quite single-handed. John Fothergill financed the publication in 1764. Thus it is doubly a Quaker accomplishment.

The Bibles I would refer to are not so clearly ours. One was published in 1653,

about as early as anyone could use the name Quaker; in fact, it was long before there was any definite line of Quaker membership. It was called the "Quakers' Bible" because its publisher, Giles Calvert, at the sign of the Black-spread-Eagle in London near St. Paul's, was the publisher of many Friends books. This address long continued as a Quaker publishing center. The Bible itself is not distinctive. It was the Authorized Version in duodecimo, and included at least sometimes the Apocrypha. I have seen one copy. Only a few others are known.

A second near-candidate for our list is the family or "house" Bible projected by William Bradford of Philadelphia in 1688. Of Bradford's Quakerism at that time there is no doubt. When he came to Philadelphia in 1685 to establish a business in the importing and publishing of books, George Fox himself wrote a letter commending both the man and the enterprise. He is called there "a sober young man . . . a civil young man and convinced of Truth." The defect of the claim is that the book itself was never printed. Owing to its expense, Bradford planned to print it on the basis of advance subscriptions. In the end these were evidently not forthcoming in quantity to justify him, or perhaps it came to his attention that nowhere in the British dominions was it permitted to publish Bibles without a license from the king. That explains why the first English Bibles with American imprints date from the time of the Revolution. They begin with Robert Aitken's, Philadelphia, 1782-87. It has even been claimed that Aitken was a Quaker.

The terms of payment proposed by Bradford were generous, half the price of 20 shillings in cash (silver) and half in kind. For a young man 25 years old, with only the experience in England as apprentice to his father-in-law, Andrew Sowle, and now attempting for the first time in the semiwild-

ness of the middle colonies to print a complete Bible, and two years later joining in starting on the Wissahickon nearby the first paper mill in America, such enterprise is truly remarkable. The details of the plan were submitted first to his Monthly Meeting and then on March 1, 1688, to the Half Yearly Meeting held only two days later in Burlington. The Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting on the 5th minuted its recommendation to the Monthly Meetings in this county that they "use their endeavors to forward the same." The proposals were printed by Bradford himself on the 14th of the same month. The surviving autograph letter and the rare broadside about it make interesting reading. The former is at Haverford College, the latter at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Two years before, Bradford had been warned "not to print anything but what shall have license from the council." The council was, of course, as Quakerly as the Meetings to whom he appealed. They were not likely to object to the contents of the Bible. He proposed to include, as did Bibles generally in this day, "the Apocrophy" and "useful Marginal Notes." But for so expensive an undertaking Friends would not provide a large enough market, even if one included, as George Fox expected Bradford to do, all Quaker communities from Piscataqua (Maine) to Carolina. A wider circulation is plainly suggested by Bradford's seventh suggestion, "Those who are minded to have the Common-Prayer shall have the whole bound up for 22 shillings."

Though not realized, this proposal was a remarkable venture. No such plan was even broached in the older New England settlements until 1695, when it was proposed by Cotton Mather, and then again it was only proposed. If Bradford had succeeded, he would have anticipated by about a century the first English Bibles in America and by

nearly thirty years the first folio books on any subject printed in America. These appear to be Samuel Willard's, *Body of Divinity*, Boston, 1726, and Willem Sewel's, *History of the Quakers*, "third edition," Philadelphia, 1728. The second of these is not only a Quaker item; it is noteworthy as the book for part of which young Benjamin Franklin set the type.

A third Bible with Quaker connections is, like Purver's, a one-man achievement. In 1808 appeared in Philadelphia in four volumes a completely new translation from the Greek, not only of the New Testament but of the Old. The Greek Old Testament, or Septuagint, though it was the form used by the early Christians and quoted in the New, had never been translated into English before. Charles Thomson, formerly a school-teacher and the secretary of the Continental Congress, retired in later life to his home at "Harriton," Bryn Mawr, and produced after twenty years' labor this very competent and unique work. But Thomson was not a Friend. He favored the Revolutionary War if not that of 1812. He was a devout Christian and had been a church member. Just because he was, as he said, "attached to no system nor peculiar tenets of any sect or party," he felt able in his translation to seek the true meaning of the original. He had been a teacher at the Friends Latin School in Philadelphia, and his wife for over 30 years until her death was a Quaker of the Quakers, Hannah, the daughter of Richard Harrison, granddaughter of Isaac Norris and great-granddaughter of Thomas Lloyd. These were his visible Quaker connections.

Quaker Bibles, fortunately, have shown no sectarian bias, whether they used the existing version or made fresh translations of their own. When one sees a Baptist New Testament with the word "baptize" rendered "immerse" or a Jehovah Witness New Testament with the word "God" always

rendered "Jehovah," one wonders what Friends needed to do to appropriate the Scriptures more fully. All Old English versions supported their use of "thou," "thy," and "thee." They did publish in their first decade a pamphlet noting some mistranslations of the usual version, which could be slipped into any quarto Bible. But, so far as I know, they never printed John 1:9, the "Quaker text," in special type nor capitalized the word "friends" in John 15:14, 15, or Acts 27:3. Nor did they, like a later feminist translator, issue a version in which both "he" and "she" are used whenever the sex of persons referred to is ambiguous or is inclusive of men and women alike.

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Atlantic Passage—Westbound

As one of the hundreds of Friends straggling back to America after the Oxford Conference, I find my thoughts turning to the earlier journeys of Friends in this direction. Their ships bear names that should be classic in Quaker tradition. Once when I was asked to give suitable names to cottages for transients in a Quaker colony, I suggested some from among them, such as *Woodhouse*, *Swallow*, *Speedwell* (all for New England before 1660), *Griffin*, *Kent*, and *Shield* (to New Jersey before 1679), *Welcome* and *Canterbury* (William Penn's two westbound crossings, 1682 and 1699). Only a small proportion of the passages to the Delaware can be identified by date or ship's name. It would be interesting to try to compile a partial list. Penn reported that about ninety ships bearing passengers had arrived in his province before the end of 1685. Probably no comparable aggregation of Friends on a single ship has made a westbound crossing since those days until August 27, 1952, with

some ninety-three Friends on the *Zuiderkruis*.

Of these early passages only a few detailed records remain. The fullest, appropriately enough, is that of the *Industry*, which brought George Fox, Elizabeth Hooten, and several other Friends to Barbados in 1671. It is a kind of daily log written by John Hull; it reports the weather, the health of the passengers, their religious occupations, and of course any excitements like flying fish or a leaky hull, or the sighting of a possible Sallee pirate ship. Better known is the voyage of the *Woodhouse*, written by Robert Fowler, who believed the Lord had guided his craft as a man leads a horse by the bridle. Though Friends had planned to invade Massachusetts, they reached instead the neighborhood of New Netherlands. Such misses were not unusual; witness the ships bound for the Delaware Bay that actually landed in Maryland. Even the famous *Mayflower*, there is now reason to believe, intended to go to Manhattan and only by accident gave fame to Plymouth and Cape Cod. In spite of that ship's alleged later connexion with Friends and with Jordans, it is not to be included in our Quaker fleet.

The vicissitudes of ocean travel in the early days are of interest. From sundry Quaker journals a considerable collection of examples could be given. Here we may include the passages in which only one or two public Friends travelling on concern took part. We know of about a hundred such visits from Europe to Pennsylvania in the century between the founding and the Revolutionary War. Frederick Tolles has given evidence to show that the figure should be substantially higher. Even at best, life in these vessels was austere, not to say grim. At its worst it included destruction of gear in a storm, foundering at sea, shipwreck on a coast or island, capture by pirates or privateers. It was no consolation to Quaker

ministers with experience of vicissitudes of land travel to add to them the terrors of the deep. The diaries of women travellers showed that they had no stomach for such real or imagined dangers. The mariners were not always reassuring company.

In lieu of the collection of Quaker sufferings in transatlantic travel which is yet to be compiled by some modern Besse, one could pick out specially striking voyages. One of these might well be that of the "Norwegian Mayflower," the *Restoration*, whose Quaker builder, Lars Larsen, sailed it safely in 1825 from Stavanger (via Madeira!) to New York. He preserved all of the fifty-two members of the wider Quaker fellowship that crowded his little sloop, and in addition his wife presented him en route with a daughter, from whom some worthy American Friends still trace their descent.

Not least adventurous was the voyage of the *Black Eagle*. We meet it first in the Thames lying at anchor at Bugby Hole under command of a master named Fudge, alias "Lying Fudge." He had been hired by the government to transport to Jamaica some of the Quakers convicted of a fourth offense under the Conventicle Act of 1664, for which the statute penalty was transportation to one of his Majesty's plantations overseas and seven years hard labor there. The passengers had already been thirteen months in prison. Evidently shipmasters were loath to treat their fellow freeborn Englishmen so. Neither Fudge himself nor his original crew remained on board to continue the enterprise. The former was arrested for crimes of his own; the latter were conscripted for the navy.

When a new master and crew were assembled, the passengers were forcibly put aboard with the help of guards from the Tower. They numbered fifty-five, thirty-seven men and eighteen women. But it was now late in 1665, and the great plague

A Quaker Grandmother to Adlai

reached the ship. Half the Quakers died during the seven weeks that they remained in the Thames. Many of these were buried in shallow graves in the marshes below Gravesend. At last the survivors made the open sea, but not more than three leagues west of Scilly the *Black Eagle* was taken as a prize by a Dutch privateer. The captors divided the Quakers again, putting half into each ship, and made for Holland. The *Black Eagle* met bad weather and went around Ireland and Scotland. It even put into Bergen harbor for twenty days. The Friends of both ships finally reached Holland, where after fourteen days' imprisonment they were released and refreshed and made their way back to England with the exception of Jan Claus, a Dutchman, who against all pleas of alien status, had suffered in England like the rest.

Here is a westbound passage that was fortunately frustrated. We have eyewitness accounts by Degory Marshall and Lawrence Fullove, two of the exiled English Quakers, to which most of the details given are due. Just before I left America I came upon a third account not published hitherto, an autobiographical letter in German by none other than Jan Claus. Such full documentation is surely appropriate for such a sea tale as that of the *Black Eagle*.

Another piece that I first read recently is a prose essay on "John Woolman in the Steerage," written by John Greenleaf Whittier in 1864 for the *Boatswain's Whistle*. As I travelled westward in the Blue Riband luxury liner at a speed of over thirty knots an hour, the contrasts of these and other records of our Quaker past naturally gave me sober and somber reflections.

[As the last sentence indicates, this article was written and set up by the printer prior to the November 4, 1952, election. Whatever the outcome of the voting, it seemed important that this material be shared with our readers at this time.]

It is a common jest among Friends that so many non-Friends claim a Quaker grandmother. The jest is not without foundation, and neither is the claim. At the recent convocation at George School each of the two opening guest speakers devoted considerable time to telling of his Quaker grandmother. Evidently the Mormons think that enough of their ancestry is Quaker to justify their copying all available Quaker records so that such ancestors can now receive vicarious post-mortem baptism.

The London *Friend* lately pointed out the distinguished Quaker ancestry of Capt. Harry Frederick Comfort Crookshank, M.P., Lord Privy Seal in her Majesty's Government. I recall the statement of a Quaker genealogist perhaps fifty years ago that probably half the members of Parliament at that time had Quaker ancestors. Whether that is true of the American Congress, I do not know. But I do know that Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois has on his mother's side several lines of descent from Pennsylvania Quakerism. One of his distant Quaker cousins has provided me with a chart showing how both of them trace their ancestry back nine generations to Joseph Allibone of Worcester, England, whose sufferings as a Quaker in 1681 and 1682 are duly recorded in Besse's martyrology.

Let me here make mention of just one of

the Governor's great-great-grandmothers. According to the records of New Garden Meeting in Chester County, Rebecca Roman (1781-1846) of East Caln was married on 2nd month 23, 1803, to Jesse Fell, son of Thomas and Grace Fell of the same place.* In 1805 their membership with that of one son was transferred to Bradford Monthly Meeting; in 1816 with five minor children to Little Britain Monthly Meeting. Jesse Fell was a hatter, but the family lived on farms during these years, successively near Downingtown, at New Garden, at Little Britain, and again near Downingtown.

They had nine children, all of whom grew to maturity. In Pennsylvania the children went to Friends schools, and their Quaker inheritance showed later in many ways, including a strong antislavery concern. In 1828 one of these children, Jesse W. Fell, left home for the West, and in 1832 settled in Bloomington, Illinois. Three or four years later his brother Kersey (undoubtedly named for the well known Quaker Jesse Kersey) joined him there. In 1837 the father, mother, two sisters, and three brothers came to make Bloomington their permanent home.

Meanwhile the Hicksite separation had occurred, and the mother became a strong adherent of Elias Hicks. In 1829 at Little Britain she was recorded a minister, and for some years a Friends meeting was held in their home in Bloomington in which both she and her husband, now blind, took part. In 1837 her membership was transferred from Bradford Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, to Whitewater Monthly Meeting (Hicksite), Indiana, and in 1842 to Clear Creek Monthly Meeting, Illinois. The latter records her death on 10th month 30, 1846, aged 66, "a minister," buried at Bloomington, Illinois.

Her husband had resigned from Little Britain Monthly Meeting in 1828 and joined

the Methodists, and in 1859 her sons, Jesse W. and Kersey, were among those who formed in Bloomington the free Congregational Society. It was strongly Unitarian in character and ultimately became a Unitarian Church. Jesse W. Fell was acquainted with many well known Unitarians and abolitionists. He was in frequent conversation with Abraham Lincoln on religious subjects and prepared a sketch of Lincoln's religious views for one of the early biographers. According to those who have written about Rebecca Fell, either from knowledge or from hearsay, she was a woman of remarkable ability and character.

Two of Rebecca Fell's sons were active in Illinois politics. They were acquainted with Abraham Lincoln and actively promoted his nomination for President, working through their Pennsylvania acquaintances as well as in his home state of Illinois until he was finally nominated in 1860 at the Republican convention in Chicago. It was Jesse W. Fell who during these preliminaries secured from Abraham Lincoln the brief autobiography, now so well known to Lincoln experts, and supplemented it with further data which, printed first in a West Chester newspaper, was the basis of all campaign biography. In this document Abraham Lincoln also

*Rebecca Fell's parents were Rebecca Vickers and Joshua Roman, married at East Caln in 1776. Her grandparents were Thomas Vickers and Rebecca Dillon, married under Buckingham Monthly Meeting in 1746 but transferred with their children to Bradford Monthly Meeting in 1775, and Joshua and Rachel Roman of East Caln. I hereby express my thanks to those who helped me trace this family in the Friends records. I am also indebted to accounts of three of her sons in the following books: E. Buis, *Good Old Times in McLean County, Illinois*, 1874; *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society*, vol. 1, 1899; Frances M. I. Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell*, 1916; R. D. Richardson, *Abraham Lincoln's Autobiography*, 1948. Cf. Sarah M. Fell, *Genealogy of the Fell Family in America*, 1891

claimed descent from Pennsylvania Quakers, who he says migrated from Berks County to Virginia, and in a later generation to Kentucky.

Jesse W. Fell married Hester V. Brown, also of Pennsylvania origin. Their daughter, Eliza B. Fell, married William Osborne Davis of Pennsylvania Quaker ancestry. Their daughter Helen married Lewis G. Stevenson, the son of the first Adlai. To them the present Adlai Ewing Stevenson was born in 1902. Whether this other Illinois lawyer of Quaker ancestry will follow Abraham Lincoln to the White House is at the present writing still under discussion.

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Quaker Cap and All

Although these letters are delightfully free from the inconvenience of regularity, one thing which they do attempt systematically to report is the issue of postage stamps which feature Friends. I have therefore to record the appearance in September 1952 of a brown 4 + 2 pfennig stamp bearing the picture of Elizabeth Fry, Quaker cap and all. I suspect it is based on the painting of 1823 by Leslie. This is one in a set of stamps with charity tax issued by the West German or Bonn government, featuring helpers of mankind. Each stamp bears the legends "Helfer der Menschheit," the name of the individual, and "Deutsche Bundespost."

The other denominations—I use the word in the monetary, not the religious sense—have portraits and color as follows:

10+5 green	Dr. Carl Sonnenschein
20+10 red	Theodor Fliedner
30+10 blue	Henri Dunant



These men are worthy associates of the Quakeress, but I fear they are not well known to myself or to my readers. Dunant (1818-1910) was a Swiss and the founder of the Red Cross. I think he was an early recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. The other two were Germans, Fliedner (1800-1864), the founder of the Protestant order of deaconesses, Sonnenschein (1876-1929), of the Catholic social student movement.

Probably Elizabeth Fry has been known in Germany ever since her visit there, to which I made reference in one of these letters (No. 108). She exerted some influence in turning Fliedner towards his career of good works. I was less surprised to see this British Quakeress on a German stamp, since I had lately read the short articles on Quakerism in each of the latest German lexicons and found mention of her there.

The occasion of this German honor is hardly to be found in this year's prolonged handseling of the New Friends Meeting House at Earlham and Norwich and the Gurneys. Of that connection I need not speak here, but I may venture to make this little gummed sticker the occasion for two supplementary comments on Elizabeth Fry.

I happened to note in the *Bulletin* of the Institute for Historical Research (England) that some Gurney-Fry manuscripts were acquired in 1950 by the British Museum. So when last in London I went through the

procedure necessary for getting a look at them. They include a well bound, nicely written, grangerized copy of her Journals, more complete than the originals at Friends House, a collection of parchment deeds, etc., and a very large collection of correspondence. I had not time to look at much of this abundant material. Probably it was known to past biographers, but it was a pleasure to me to turn up an original letter of William Savery to Eliza Gurney (as she then was) dated 13 4mo., 1798. I noted also one of the letters to her from her future husband, rather too formal to be styled today a love letter.

The other item which I may mention here was lately called to my attention by a young literary Quaker. It is a *Friendly Address to Mrs. Fry in Newgate* by the English poet Thomas Hood and was published in his *Odes and Addresses to Great People*, 1825. With his usual sly banter, puns, and satire, the poet rather blames Elizabeth for not teaching her "pupils" *before* they go wrong. In the first part he deals with the Quaker garb and playfully contrasts it with the symbolism of other colors. I shall quote just the first two of nineteen stanzas.

I like you, Mrs. Fry! I like your name!

It speaks the every warmth you feel in pressing

In daily act round Charity's great flame—

I like the crisp Browne way you have of dressing,

Good Mrs. Fry! I like the placid claim You make to Christianity,—professing

Love and good *works*—of course you buy of Barton

Beside the young *fry's* bookseller, Friend Darton!

I like, good Mrs. Fry, your brethren mute—

Those serious, solemn gentlemen that sport—

I should have said, that *wear*, the sober suit

Shap'd like a court dress—but for heaven's court.

I like your sisters too,—sweet Rachel's fruit—

Protestant nuns! I like their stiff support

Of virtue—and I like to see them clad

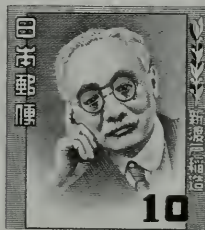
With such a difference—just like good from bad!

My next philatelic comments are likely to be on a promised Japanese postage stamp honoring Inazo Nitobe.

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A Quaker Scholar

There has come to hand now the promised stamp, reproduced herewith, of Inazo Nitobe (10 yen, gray). Its inscriptions are, I understand, simply his name and "Japanese Postage." It was issued in Tokyo on his deathday, Tenth Month 15, 1952, but is one of a current series of stamps giving portraits of Japanese scholars.



No full life of Inazo Nitobe (1863-1933) has yet been published. His career was brilliant but in some ways sad. His first contacts with Quakerism were made, if I recall rightly, when he was a student at Johns Hopkins University. His marriage to a member of the Elkinton family of Philadelphia served as a link with the larger Quaker groups while he lived in Japan. His understanding of Quakerism was deep and real, and not merely in the area of peace. He found much in it congenial to the older wisdom of the Orient, which he understood and interpreted. There is at least one printed piece by him on the subject, *Vom Quäkertum*, a lecture that he delivered in German at the University of Geneva in 1926.

Beside the gratification one feels in having an outstanding Friend thus honored, there is another evidence here that the newer governments are conscious of their spiritual heritage. I mentioned in connection with Elizabeth Fry the recent West German government's series of stamps showing founders of social welfare movements. It has published this year also a 500-year-anniversary reproduction of Leonardo da Vinci's "Mona Lisa" (5 pfennigs, in colors). A Friend has just sent me from India a new series of six beautiful stamps of poet-mystics of that country, of whom the most recent and best known in the West is Rabindranath Tagore (12 annas, chocolate). East Germany (Communist), like Japan, has been recently honoring in postage stamps the nation's scholars, including, I was pleased to note, the well known savant on early Christianity, Adolf von Harnack (50 pfennigs, blue).

The numerous anniversary stamps of the United States seem in contrast to tend, with some exceptions, towards the material, political, or military features of our life.

Bread Upon the Waters

For the first time since the child feeding in Germany thirty years ago I had a chance last summer to revisit that country. Among other things, I was interested to inquire whether that large-scale Quaker operation of the early 1920's has left any tangible or visible results.

Take, for example, the use of the Quaker name. Germans very easily change street names for political reasons. The names of Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler, Goering, etc., though frequent in German cities ten years ago, have completely vanished. We have now, in one sector of Berlin, Clay Allee; in the other, Stalin Allee. Yet there is also still in more than one German city a "Quäkerstrasse" which goes back to the days when tens of thousands in each of the larger cities were receiving what was known as "Quäkerspeisung." Often the street and its name are about all that is left. In Frankfurt I visited a large park called "Quäkerplatz." Three large schools once bordered it, in which the name "Quäker" was daily used. One school partly restored is still there. The attractive lawn and garden keep alive the name. To earlier letters on "Quaker" in place names these German instances may be added.

Whether named Quaker or not, many of the scenes familiar to some Friends' in the 1920's are clean gone. The central offices were in a handsome building in Berlin near the University and the Castle. No. 2 Dorotheenstrasse is now No. 2 Clara-Zetkin-Strasse in the midst of a scene of desolation. The number and enough of the front wall remain to provide identification. I know of no permanent memorial in Germany to correspond to those in France, where there is

the maternity hospital of Châlons-sur-Marne built from the profits Friends made by buying and reselling army dumps, and the bronze plaque which identifies Hotel Britannique in Paris as the place which became the headquarters for Friends War Victims Relief both in 1870 and in 1914-1920.

Less formal or intentional is the survival of the word "Quäker" in popular language. For now any wholesale feeding of children, even when done by the local authorities, carries the name. The word is used as a noun for the ration of food, as an adjective to apply to the teachers who administer it, for the money contributed to it, and for the cups which the children bring to eat it in ("Quäkermänner," "-geld," "-becher"). There is even a verb, "Ich komme Quäkern" (I come to partake of school feeding). These usages are not recorded, so far as I have observed, in the latest German dictionaries, but I am assured by persons conversant with vernacular children's practice that the above statement is correct. The most recent lexicons or condensed encyclopedias in German definitely refer to the beneficence of the Quakers as making them "even in Germany one of the best known groups of Christians."

The continued influence of the Quaker effort is not to be tested only by names. When I asked about it, some middle-aged persons, survivors of some two million children that shared in the feeding, said simply, "But I remain." Then, of course, the now substantial Germany Yearly Meeting undoubtedly resulted from the fact that the widespread fame of Friends' work led a number of persons first to become friends of the Friends, and then to form the nucleus of a Yearly Meeting.

My inquiry raises two more general questions. Should Friends expect their work to perpetuate their name? It has not been part of our purpose to proselytize to the Society but rather to present an ideal. There may be

reason to supply the ideal with a name, since a label often makes the ideal seem more tangible, and Friends should not regret that they can sometimes supply a fresh and living example that others will adopt and imitate. Rufus Jones used to tell a story of a little German boy who came home and said, "I saw a Quaker today helping an old woman cross the street." When asked how he knew it was a Quaker, the boy replied simply, "I know it is Quakers who help people." I noticed that the present Quaker efforts in Germany make little use of the name or the star.

The second question is more searching. Did the child feeding promote the ideal it stood for? Did not most of the children saved in 1920-24 later become convinced Nazis and thus little exempt from the bitter spirit of war? I recall being in Essen one day in 1920 and reflecting on the problem of success. There were, as it happened at that time, two American groups in the city. One was part of an Inter-Allied commission supervising the dismantling of the munition-making machinery in the famous Krupp factories in preparation for conversion to the manufacture of civilian goods. The other group was of two or three young Quaker women supervising the distribution of white bread, rice, and cocoa to many thousands of workers' undernourished children. One was attempting to disarm an industry, the other to disarm the human mind. I wondered then which would more completely succeed. Looking back, I can see that both the factories and the minds were a few years later converted to a wartime basis. After the Second World War they again ceased this connexion, but at present under American pressure they may again be found preparing for war. Does not this show that the work of the Friends as well as of the military was a failure?

The trouble with this question is that we

are using the wrong criterion. Friends' work neither now nor then depends on assurance of success, but on assurance that it is our duty so to act. I think it was Clarkson who said in his *Portraiture of Quakerism* that Friends act on the basis of principles, not on consideration of results. There is a story told with approval by the philosopher Epictetus more than eighteen centuries ago which illustrates this approach. A lady who wished to send supplies to Gratilla, who had been banished and was in need, was met with the statement that "Domitian [the emperor] will confiscate them." "I would rather," said the lady, "that he should confiscate them than that I should not send them."

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Eras of Oaths

Someone has suggested that future historians, looking back to the period in which we are now living in America, may well refer to it as "the era of the oath." Beginning about twenty years ago, and unconsciously following the example of Mussolini and Hitler, our state legislatures have had an epidemic of enacting ever stricter and more inclusive demands for loyalty tests. At first teachers were the target. Now government employees in all fields are being included. The characteristic thing for Quaker history is that in so many cases those who have balked at the legislation turn out to be Friends, and not Communists or "subversive" persons at all. As one of them said lately, "So far are we from believing in the overthrow of government by force that our Society does not believe even in the defense of government by force."

The antiquity and familiarity of this experience in our history has been brought home to me by looking over lately two

unpublished monographs running to over 400 pages each. One, entitled by the phrase I have quoted, "The Era of the Oath," deals with the period of the American Civil War and after. With the usual wartime fear of traitors, Congress passed and President Lincoln signed in August 1861 a law requiring promises of future fidelity. It applied to ever larger circles—sailors at ports, telegraphers, pensioners, juries, voters, emancipated slaves, etc. At this time began the requirement of oaths of loyalty for citizens going abroad or returning, and for visitors to this country.

Later the test had to do with the question of past loyalty, as it has shifted in our time both in this country and in ex-enemy countries. Obviously this was very difficult in the reconstruction South, and the laws became unworkable and were finally repealed. During the fever many persons were unjustly treated, and more were unnecessarily deterred or inconvenienced. Famous cases were Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), who planned to become a steamboat pilot but decided not to because of this requirement, and U. S. Senator from Delaware, the younger Thomas A. Bayard. For Congress then demanded strict oaths of its own members, also. Bayard took the oath because the law was passed, but at once resigned his seat in protest against it. This monograph makes no special mention of Friends—Mark Twain had a Quaker great-grandmother—but presumably they were embarrassed by the laws in both the North and the South. On the Confederate side, as I learn elsewhere, the attempt in North Carolina to enact a test oath caused many families of Friends to start emigrating to the North.

The second monograph is on Friends in the American Revolution. Again the fear of disloyalty on both sides led to the enactment of test oaths. The rebel governments in the several colonies followed each other in

demanding usually of all males over 18 an oath or affirmation of loyalty and, of course, of abjuration of the King of Great Britain. According to a typical law, all persons refusing could hold no office or place of trust, nor serve on juries, nor qualify for electing or being elected, nor buy, sell, or transfer real estate. In New Jersey the association test was required of schoolmasters and attorneys. In North Carolina nonjurors were threatened with banishment and the confiscation of their estates. Wherever there were Friends, these colonial laws caught some of them.

The official position of the Society was clear and identical towards such demands by either side. While a military contest was in progress in which they could not bear arms, they could not take the test in an issue that was still dependent on a military decision. In some cases understanding officials made some exception for Friends. Those Friends who took the test were liable to disownment by their Monthly Meetings.

The place of the oath in the sufferings of early Friends is known to anyone familiar with that period. In the seventeenth century to demand the oaths of allegiance and abjuration became a usual technique of persecution. The Quaker objection was, of course, to the oath as an oath, and there was then no provision as in the later American chapters for the alternative of affirmation. It is not possible, therefore, to tell in most cases whether the earliest, like later, Friends objected to the purpose and contents of loyalty tests as partisan, ineffective, easily broken, and infringements of liberty of conscience. There is some evidence that, in their objection to oaths as forbidden by the New Testament, they sensed also the insights characteristic of Friends in more modern wars, both hot and cold.

Pleas for Clemency

There was never a time in my memory when so often invitations or impulses have come to us to intervene on behalf of condemned persons. Within one day lately I noted that there had been by mail or caller or telegraph or long distance telephone four appeals for different cases.

But the situation is not new. The Rosenberg case was preceded by the Trenton case, by the Scottsboro case, etc. Nearly 30 years ago Boston Monthly Meeting had an urgent request from some Friends in the antipodes to use its influence to prevent the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. I can still recall the indignation of some local Friends then at the temerity of people so far away in seemingly to impugn the integrity of the courts of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. One of the most generous features of William Penn was that he so often intervened, with such influence as he had, on behalf of political prisoners. He even attended notorious criminals at the gallows. The earliest extant letters of George Fox, written when he himself was in jail at Derby, include a protest against capital punishment for those who steal cattle or money.

Undoubtedly our Quaker experience as prisoners ourselves, from George Fox in 1650 to the young member of my Monthly Meeting who was sentenced last week as a nonregistrant, makes us particularly sensitive to such appeals or impulses. At the same time the yielding to them involves some risk. William Penn was himself quite suspect when he pleaded for religious toleration. Plainly today thousands of persons are just afraid to be identified with humanitarianism of this kind. To use the contemporary jargon, they

would be "sticking their necks out." A friend of mine has recently been pilloried by the printing of a list of the subversive, leftist, or "front" causes in which he has been involved like the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder or the Schappes Defense Committee. Even if he also did his best to liberalize American immigration for refugees from Hitler or protested the treatment of Archbishop Stepinac, that will not improve his standing among his accusers; for they can be anti-Communist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic all at once. The *Christian Beacon* has nothing against Professor B. personally; its tactics are aimed against the National Council of Churches, which sponsors a translation of the Bible in which he had a modest part.

What is the occasion of these reflections? I have been looking recently at the petition on behalf of James Nayler sent to Oliver Cromwell and Parliament by "divers peaceable and well-affected persons in and about the cities of London and Westminster." They ask that now that James Nayler's punishment has been partly carried out, the rest should be remitted. Here, for us Friends, the shoe is on the other foot. Other persons are interceding for a Quaker. It is not that Nayler was not guilty of that for which he was being punished. The petitioners declared themselves "not at all concerned in his judgment or practice," but they appeal "out of tenderness to the good cause of our spiritual and civil liberties." Like some modern petitioners, they reminded the Protector that liberty of conscience is "one of the grounds you declare upon in your war with Spain." I need hardly add that the petition was refused.

Even at this distant date this document of 1656 intrigues me. It is signed by eighty-seven men. One other name was written and then crossed through; I wonder why. I recognize very few of the names; but I intend to

look them up. How did they have the readiness to appeal on behalf of a really guilty, erring man, and one of the unpopular (I spare the stronger adjectives then in use) sect of the Quakers? I am going to have an investigation. I have already ordered from the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, London, a photostat of the signatures. I plan to enlist the help of some experts whom I know, exploiting my slight acquaintance. One is the bibliographer of Giles Calvert, the printer of heretical books, whose name appears on the list. Another is the authority on the personnel of Cromwell's army. A third is a student of the Puritan and radical clergy of the time. A fourth has examined exhaustively the movement for religious toleration in seventeenth-century England.

Yes, I am going to track down those daring signers. I have appointed myself a security committee of one. I shall have a regular witch hunt, using heavily the well known technique of guilt by association. It will give me sympathy with the compilers of the *Red Network*, or *The Guide to Subversive Organizations*, or other modern red black lists, and with the sleuths that I hear Senator McCarthy has already hired to help him ferret out Communist-minded professors in colleges. I will imitate the example of those hard working secretaries who so diligently from various sources compiled my own dossier in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee.

But I shall have one advantage over them. I can tell in some cases what happened to these suspects afterwards. I don't need merely to foretell. I have already found that several of them turned out to become Quakers themselves! Three are included in the list of two hundred and eighty Friends who were imprisoned in Newgate in 1660 by Richard Brown, Lord Mayor. Edward Bushell is the same name as that of the member of the jury that tried William Penn and

William Meade at the Old Bailey in 1670, a jury which stubbornly refused to bring the verdict the judge insisted on, and, being fined by the court, carried the matter further and won the resounding victory in the famous *Bushell's Case*. I have other clues already to evidence of radicalism in the list of petitioners; I expect further ramifications to appear. I may report them later. Or should I keep all this in a "top drawer secret" file? It might come in handy if I wished to turn state's evidence on the Day of Judgment.

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Some Graves Revisited

Five years ago I wrote in this column about visiting the graves of George Fox, William Penn, and John Woolman. Many other American Friends must have made pilgrimages last summer to these and other Quaker shrines in England. Two slight changes have taken place. The graveyard at Bunhill Fields, one of the oldest properties of Friends in London, formerly called also Chequer Alley, has been leased to the local authorities and turned into a garden with a tennis court. At the same time the solitary upright stone there in memory of George Fox has been removed and, I believe, destroyed, while in its place is a horizontal piece of Westmoreland stone inscribed:

This garden is on the site of Bunhill Fields Burial Ground which was acquired by the Society of Friends (Quakers) in 1661/ The remains of many thousands of Friends lie buried here including George Fox the founder of the Society of Friends who died 13th. January 1691

It is a beautiful spot with green grass and bright flowers, though still the gaping ruins produced by air raids all about it almost to the day just two hundred and fifty years after George Fox's burial remain unrestored. I believe it is called the Quakers' Garden. This place name compounded with "Quaker" is not found in the list of such named in America which I published recently; nor are the English examples visited in the northwest pilgrimages, Quaker Garth, Quakers' Sepulchre. Like another place, it could have been called Quaker Acre. A similar gift of the oldest Quaker freehold in Bristol is to be turned from a graveyard into a public park for the blind.

At Jordans the error of date on the stone of Guli Penn was after ninety years corrected but entirely inconspicuously. It now reads rightly 1694 instead of 1689. Both these changes make obsolete some recent publications. Anna Littleboy's pamphlet guide to Jordans was reprinted a year or two ago and mentioned in a new footnote that the date on Guli's grave was wrong. Now that the stone is right, the pamphlet is wrong. Also the change of George Fox's memorial makes incomplete the statement about his grave in the new edition of his *Journal*. This was published the very week that the Garden was opened. These events seem to contradict the common saying, "The past is secure."

I may add another corrective needed at this point in the new *Journal*. The modern writer says that he does not know of even a lay diagnosis of the cause of George Fox's death. Now to honor the tercentenary of Quakerism the General Register Office at Somerset House, London, had on display from the original Friends' Registry Books which they preserve, among other items, the death or burial records of George Fox, William Penn, and John Woolman. In the first is the explicit statement that George

Fox, "being viewed by the common searchers, they report he dyed of a stoppage in the stomach."

In the same exhibit is a copy of the following:

Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall, widow, aged 89 years convinced of the Truth in the year 1652 and made a faithful minister of the Truth dyed there the twenty second day of the second month [1702]

But like Guli's, her monument, to be seen at Sunbrick near Swarthmoor, was not quite accurate. It says she died April 23, 1702, aged eighty-seven years.

I will conclude these notes by two quotations from the racy reminiscences of James Jenkins, written about 1821 in over a thousand pages of notebooks. These have never been published, but I had the chance to look them over when I was in London:

"I think it was about midsummer 1822 that (being in London) Wm. Small told me of several gentlemen, among whom . . . was a dignified clergyman of the Church of England, visiting the burial ground of Friends at Jordans in Buckinghamshire. The graves of Isaac Penington, Wm. Penn, Thos. Ellwood and some other eminent Friends being pointed out to them they stood for a while silent, and then one of the company said, "Great and good men were these who lie here." "Yes (replied the supposed dignitary) and therefore what a pity." He then requested the person residing there to bring him a basin of clean water, and that being done, he uttered over it something like an ejaculation, and after sprinkling those graves with the water threw the remainder of what the basin contained upon one of those adjoining. They soon after departed apparently much pleased with what they had seen and with what they had done."

The second item is dated 1783:

"It was about this time that Robert Howard caused the grave-stone of George Fox to be broken to pieces—it had long been taken up, and kept with the grave digger's tools in a shed at Bunhill-fields burial ground. I have seen it several times—it was inscribed G. F. 1691. The reason given for its demolition was to put an end to that superstitious veneration with which it was visited by many Friends. Many Friends from the country, at the time of Yearly Meeting, used to go on purpose to see it."

A further note occurs in a letter addressed to Dr. Hodgkin. It reads: "N. B. Morris Birkbeck the elder, the collector of Quaker books was the fanatic who got the stone in the wall removed. G. Foster 10. 10 mo. 1841."

Friends were warned last summer not to make the occasion a time for ancestor worship. There were other good reasons for this warning, but one can understand why it would be just an antiquarian who would feel strongly about overattention to memorials of the past by indiscriminating people.

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Emerson's Praise of Quakerism

"The Quakers in their best representatives appear to have come nearer to the sublime history and genius of Christ than any other of the sects." So begins a brief review of a recent Quaker work. The words are a quotation from Ralph Waldo Emerson, though not from anything he published. They are, however, in accordance with what he said and printed on some other occasions. For Ralph Waldo Emerson was evidently an outspoken admirer of Quakerism. One of his other lectures, still unpublished, deals with George Fox. He had a very high opinion of

George Fox—he names him with the great of history—and evidently of William Penn, James Nayler, and others of the early Friends. He read Sewel's *History* with appreciation. His knowledge of Quakerism was not exclusively through books. He had known slightly two contemporary Friends whom he admired so much that he listed them with the best of his acquaintances.

What did he admire in Quakerism? Wise Quakers are few, he writes again with the same adjective, "but a sublime class of speculators. They have been perhaps the most explicit teachers of the highest article to which human faith soars, the strict union of the willing soul to God and so the soul's access at all times to a verdict upon every question which the opinion of all mankind cannot shake and which the opinion of all mankind cannot confirm." His admiration was partly philosophical and partly practical. The life of George Fox shows that the untaught mind of religious enthusiasm is better than a university. It shows also that the religionist is of necessity a reformer. "The Quakers have the honor of having first established in their discipline the equality in the sexes." He mentions also their contributions to religious liberty, abolition of slavery, peace, prison discipline, and other causes. The agreement of Emerson with Quaker standards is not to be regarded as due entirely to Quaker influence. That there was such influence Frederick B. Tolles sufficiently proved in his essay of 1938 on Emerson and Quakerism. In both philosophical and practical ideas Emerson arrived independently at like opinions.

Probably he was too independent a person to suit any group. At one time the Harvard Divinity School, of which he was a graduate, refused to let him speak there. He resigned from the ministry of the church because he regarded the Lord's Supper as no more than a memorial, and in doing so he

borrowed wholesale the Quaker arguments against it. He was no institutionalist of any kind. One can hardly conceive of him as a comfortable member of any New England Yearly Meeting, whether before or after the Gurney-Wilbur division of 1845. There is no reason to think he was really in warm rapport with John Greenleaf Whittier, whom he knew. Mary Rotch, whom he admired, was too liberal for New Bedford Friends. He pored over the account of how she was ousted from her Select Meeting.

With all his praise of Quakerism, he used it as a basis also of criticism:

Jacob Behmen and George Fox betray their egotism in the pertinacity of their controversial tracts and James Naylor once suffered himself to be worshipped as the Christ. Each prophet comes presently to identify himself with his thought and to esteem his hat and shoes sacred.

The Quaker has established Quakerism and prates of spirit. There is no spirit, but repetition, which is anti-spiritual. But where are his new things today?

Ralph Waldo Emerson thought the Quakers' inner light was negative only, like Socrates' daimon. "The illuminated Quakers explained their Light, not as somewhat which leads to any action but it appears as an obstruction to anything unfit." Though he understood the Quaker views on the hired clergy and on rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper, he did not share them. The sermon on the latter is not really his own point of view. He thought Friends had gone to ridiculous extremes in their notions of plainness of speech, behavior, and apparel. He accepted uncritically the statement that in Amsterdam Friends printed books not having a capital letter from beginning to end.

He noted that the Quaker custom of silent meetings had not been accepted by other groups. Yet, with this exception, he said that Friends of his time held almost no peculiar opinion. And with the exceptions noted, Emerson felt that George Fox's opinions have been confirmed by the voice of the wise and good ever since.

Such an attitude towards Quakerism is not unique. We hear it from notable non-Friends today. It need not make us blush, since generally those who praise us know us more by hearsay than in fact, or judge us by one or two specimens. They select one or another trait without accepting us as a whole; they use us to promote one aspect of their own faith or more often, like Voltaire, in order to criticize others; and they have no intention really of endorsing us by the costly step of becoming a full-time Friend or even a nominal one. Emerson said once and probably on more than one occasion that he was "more of a Quaker than anything else." But he died a Unitarian.

When now the sesquicentennial comes around of his birth on May 25, 1803, the American Unitarian Association will claim him with appropriate ceremonies; but the Society of Friends which he praised will scarcely own him. I hope it is not unkindly of us in such cases to remain quite realistic and to listen modestly and without impatience to persons who like to speak well of us but who usually have no intention of imitating or implementing what they half ignorantly praise.

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Monster Petitions

I am still "investigating" the signers of the petition mentioned in a previous letter (No. 135). That was on behalf of the convict-

ed James Nayler, but it was not promoted by Friends. Meanwhile I may call attention to a remarkable Quaker enterprise. This also is in the form of a petition to Parliament, and only two and a half years later.

Parliament in the middle of 1659 was a small body of legislators. It held power for a few months between regimes of military control, after the Protectorate and before the return of King Charles. Its members were called "the Rump." To outsiders and to Friends themselves they seemed likely to be favorable to Quaker concerns, especially such men as Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Rich. Contemporary letters from Friends in London say, "The committee of Parliament are most of them very moderate and examine things very fully," or ". . . they are pretty open to hear counsel and do profess to stand for good things."

In view of this favorable situation vigorous efforts were made to get instructions sent down from Parliament for the release of Friends. Such petitions were made in April and May, but soon an even more ambitious undertaking was launched. For years Friends had suffered under the system of tithes. These were local dues for the support of the "hireling" ministry and state churches and were sanctioned and supported by even the most nonconformist Parliaments. As early as 1652 a committee had been appointed in the House of Commons to "take into consideration how a convenient and competent maintenance for a godly and able ministry may be settled in lieu of tythes."* Now seven years later the time seemed ripe for a further effort. A petition was drawn up and circulated in all parts of England. It asked the government to allow each religious group to provide support voluntarily for itself, "leaving everyone to have and hear and

*Journal of House of Commons, VII 128, 29 April

maintain their own ministers." When it was presented on June 27, it had been signed by over 15,000 "freeborn people of this commonwealth." On July 20, additional papers signed by more than 7,000 women were presented. One wonders if they intended it to be reminiscent of the Biblical 7,000, "all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal and every mouth which hath not kissed him."

Of course, we have witnessed in our time petitions signed by millions, like the Peace Pledge in England before World War II and the Stockholm Petition after it. But, for infant Quakerism in 1659, 22,000 signatures is quite a big subscription. The signers were not all Friends. I am not sure that there were that many Friends in England at that time; but it was evidently organized by Friends. Contemporary letters again tell of how they collected names. Friends were appointed in each meeting for this service. At Kendal two Friends were named "to go through the town." Men knowledgeable in politics went up to London from various areas to present this huge petition in person.¹

The text was printed at the time of submission. The women's petition printed, in addition, the names. It was one of the largest Quaker books up to that date. The names are arranged by counties, not alphabetically, and constitute an interesting hunting ground for biographers and genealogists. One recognizes many of the prominent women Friends among them. Margaret Fell was evidently a prime mover.

The petitions did not prevail. A similar earlier petition from a smaller group in more restricted areas (Somerset, Wilts, and some parts of Devon, Dorset, and Hampshire) presented just before, on June 14, had led the House to resolve itself "a grand committee" (committee of the whole?),² which deferred or discussed the matter until this short-lived Parliament was dissolved. The

discussion was continued by the next *de facto* government, the officers of the army. Richard Hubberthorne wrote to Margaret Fell in November:

"As for tithes, they debate about them, sometimes talking of selling them, and how to provide a maintenance for the ministry they are in great consultation: sometimes they tell of reducing the 9000 parishes in England to 3000, and so to have some certain ministers, who shall be the State's ministers and the State to pay them; and they spend their time talking of such things."³

Although the Friends and their sympathizers met the very common difficulties of such procedures, their effort deserves attention. It indicates their willingness to become the leaders of a wide popular movement and to do what is called today "the foot work" in trying to influence legislation. By their zeal and through their network of local meetings they were in a favorable position to mobilize support, as we say, "at the grass roots."

As our own Friends Committee on National Legislation celebrates this year its tenth anniversary, we may well recall that in this and other incidents of our history such labors have the sanction of not one but of many decades. What if today similar concerted efforts against war taxes became our concern? It is quite clear that many of the early signers intended to refuse payment of tithes and to take the consequences, as Friends have done consistently ever since. They say:

"We are willing yet more to endure and not only with joy to suffer our goods to be spoiled and our bodies to be imprisoned but

¹W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 458

²Journal of House of Commons

³Letters of Early Friends, 1841, p. 78

also our lives to lay down if the Lord shall require it, till our testimony be finished against all these abominations and for the Lord and for Christ Jesus."

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The Quaker via Hell Gate

A few months ago in the London *Friend* (April 24, 1953, pages 373-374), under the heading "The Oldest Yearly Meeting," was reported the discovery of a contemporary journal entry of John Bowne of Flushing, N. Y., telling of his attendance at the general meeting of Friends at Rhode Island in June 1661. Long Island was then part of New England, the separate New York Yearly Meeting not having been established until 1695. This very early gathering in New England has long been claimed as the first session of the oldest Yearly Meeting known. That claim can be disputed. Naturally John Bowne himself did not make it. In fact, he mentioned the journey quite casually along with such homely items as the pea crop, the barley harvest, and the swarming of the bees.

More recently I have come, I believe, upon some identifying data about another Friend present on that occasion. This is Robert Stage. George Rofe, in a letter quoted in the previous article, said he had sailed from Virginia and Maryland to New Netherland and so to Rhode Island, New England, "in a small boat with only two Friends." and appointed there a general meeting. He did not name the Friends, and their identity remained unknown or wrongly guessed until there turned up lately the fuller account of this journey, also mentioned in the preceding article. It tells of their vicissitudes with the Indians and shipwrecked whites on the New Jersey coast, with the Dutch Governor of New Amster-

dam, Peter Stuyvesant, and of their own shipwreck "on the backside of Rhode Island," until at last "they got to the Yearly Meeting there." It describes how Rofe went from New York "through that place called Helgate and got to Flushing amongst Friends," who would certainly include John and Hannah Bowne. But above all it named his two companions, Robert Hodgson and Robert Stage. Rofe and Hodgson are well enough known. They were Publishers of Truth from old England. The former had been in old Netherlands and hence could speak Dutch in the New. He died a few years later when his little boat capsized in a storm in Chesapeake Bay. Hodgson was one of the famous Quaker Argonauts who sailed to America on the ship *Woodhouse* in 1657. But Robert Stage is a new name in Quaker records.

I had already conjectured that he is to be identified with the first named person in the following brief entry in Besse's *Sufferings*, under Maryland Anno 1661: "About this time Robert Stake and William Illingsworth were imprisoned several months for their religious Testimony." I now find that presumably the same person is mentioned under the name of Robert Stack in a long series of entries, partly illegible, in the records of the provincial court published in *Maryland Archives*.

He was indicted on February 13, 1661/2, for disturbing the minister and people at divine service on two Sundays in January, once at the house of Robert Joyner of Newtown Hundred in the County of St. Mary's, and once at the church at the head of Cross Creek in the same county. He answered, "Not guilty," but apparently confessed the indictment as to the disturbance at the church. In October he was asked whether he had paid ten shillings fine and other charges. He had been committed to successive sheriffs since January 21, 1662,

but had left the province without paying fees of 1,700 pounds of tobacco incurred during imprisonment. William Shackerly, master of a New England vessel, had carried him out of the province contrary to the Act of Assembly.

In April 1665, Stack was in the custody of the sheriff of Calvert County, who was asked to bring him before the provincial court in the following June. He did appear in October, and said he was "not of ability to satisfy what is demanded by fees." The court ordered him to make satisfaction either by servitude or other ways, or else to remain close prisoner in the custody of the sheriff of St. Mary's County. Finally in March 1665/6, Robert Stack came to the court and had it enter four quitclaims against him, signed and witnessed in October preceding, representing two sheriffs each of St. Mary's and Calvert Counties and releasing him from any claims they had against him "from the beginning of the world to this present time." How these long standing charges against him were extinguished is not disclosed. The refusal of fees by Quakers is attested in other contemporary Maryland records.

Robert Stage or Stake or Stack may be regarded, therefore, not as Publisher of Truth from England like Rofe and Hodgson, but an American visitor to New England with them in 1661 and again perhaps in William Shackerly's ship a year or two later. If he was a Marylander, he may well have supplied the fourteen-foot canoe in which they traveled and the seamanship which prevailed over difficulties.

The vicissitudes of these early Friends are always interesting, whether at the hands of men or from the hazards of travel. For American Quakerism of this period the missionaries or First Publishers from abroad get usually more attention than the converts they made among the residents. But the

latter had much to bear. Their names are likely to be forgotten like Robert's, unless, like his, we can identify them in early local court records. It ought to give us inspiration to recall the courage and fidelity of those early "meeters." I often do recall the episode of Stage, Hodgson, and Rofe, since it has long been my practice two or three nights a month to travel between Boston and Philadelphia on a train of comfortable sleeping cars marked "The Quaker via Hell Gate."

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America's First Pusey

When Nathan Marsh Pusey was selected President of Harvard University in June 1953, it was the emergence of a "dark horse." It was also the emergence in New England of an unfamiliar surname. No matter how common Pusey sounds to Friends and to Pennsylvanians, there is no such surname in the Boston telephone directory nor for nearly three hundred years in the list of Harvard graduates—that directory of Brahmins—until the new President himself. The pronunciation of the word was at once debated. Evidently there was precedent for uncertainty, for genealogists who traced the family back in Ganfield Hundred, Berkshire, in old England, to the eleventh century have found at least ten different early spellings of the name.

The local newspapers were caught unprepared by the selection, since "Nate" was little remembered as a quiet student at Harvard, and he himself, schooled in dealing with Wisconsin Senators and others, was not very communicative to interviewers. One enterprising reporter made copy by offering as relevant to the new curiosity a picture of "the house of America's first Pusey." We may follow his cue.

The person indicated is, of course, the Quaker emigrant with William Penn, and the house the small stone house still standing on Chester Creek a mile above the Delaware, erected in 1683 and said to be the oldest dwelling house in Pennsylvania. A good deal is known about Caleb Pusey (1651-1726), for he was eminent on several counts, though certain minor data about him are lacking. He appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, in local Chester County histories, and in Quaker records. A few salient facts will suffice.

He was born at Lamborn in Berkshire, brought up among the Baptists, and became a Friend in middle life. In 1681 he bought land in Pennsylvania and emigrated the next year with his family, settling at Upland near Chester. By agreement with William Penn, a prefabricated grist mill was brought over by him and set up on Chester Creek. Caleb Pusey was proprietor and miller, but the mill had several owners. At one time they were Caleb Pusey, William Penn, and Samuel Carpenter. A weathervane erected on the mill with these three sets of initials and the date 1699 is preserved at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Like so many early settlers, Pusey had to be a jack-of-all-trades. One wonders if they were really so versatile naturally as the records seem to show. He was something of a surveyor and was one of the representatives from Pennsylvania when the circular boundary with Delaware was first drawn by three commissioners from each colony. Perhaps this is the clearest way he put himself on the map. He held various local offices and was at times a member of the Assembly and of the Provincial and Governor's Councils.

His name appears often on the minutes of Chester Monthly Meeting. Twice at least he had to do with copying or arranging the minutes, and he was nominated often to care for members as well as for records. He was

also an author of several pieces in the pamphlet war carried on in the Keithian controversy, writing, of course, on the right side. He deserves our remembrance even more in that he initiated the collecting and writing up of materials on Pennsylvania history which passed through many hands until they were composed and published by Robert Proud.

He removed in 1717 from near Chester to near the present Kennett Square. He left no sons, but two daughters. His successors of the name Pusey are descended from his nephews, two brothers William and Caleb, Jr., who came over from England later and lived with him in Pennsylvania. It was about this time that the Pusey line in England was left without male heirs, and the name there was perpetuated only by its adoption by collateral relatives.

Two anecdotes of Caleb Pusey, the elder, specially please me. William Penn sent over a number of hats to be presented to Friends. James Logan reported that he had distributed all the hats but one, which was much too large for every man until Caleb Pusey came in from holding his monthly court. He tried on the hat, and it was found to fit exactly.

The other story is from Proud's *History of Pennsylvania* and may be due to Caleb Pusey himself. It has often been told. As summarized by an English author it is as follows:

In 1688 a mysterious report arose that five hundred Indian warriors had assembled at an Indian "town" and were preparing to march on Philadelphia to massacre all the immigrants. The rumour was so persistent and alarming that the Council took cognizance of it, whereupon one of its members, Caleb Pusey, a leading Friend, offered to visit the alleged

rendezvous, with five others, all unarmed. When the deputation reached the town, they found an old chief surrounded by women and children. The men were out on a hunting expedition, and the only ill feeling shown was by the chief against the authors of the report, who, he declared, should be "burnt to death."

The role of the President of Harvard has usually exceeded merely local importance. The auspices are good that the new incumbent will prove a worthy successor of the first American bearer of his surname.

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Easton Meeting Revisited

An excellent kind of book and an excellent book of its kind is the new *Directory of Friends of New York State and Adjacent Areas*. It is published by the Committee on Printing of the New York Yearly Meetings; but as its map indicates in its legend, it includes in addition to General Conference Meetings and Five Years Meetings, "united," "joint," and "independent" Meetings. Beside the names and addresses of nearly 8,000 persons arranged alphabetically under their respective Meetings, its five hundred and forty-two pages include 100 pages of the same names listed in full in a two-column index and much useful supplementary matter, such as a brief historical account of each Meeting, with directions for getting to it, and descriptions of Quaker agencies in the area. The information was corrected up to within two months of actual publication, an important asset, for the notices in our Friends papers show how rapidly changes by birth, death, and marriage make such records obsolete. Though not a member in the area,

I was able to buy a copy the day it was published, thus not losing a day of its maximum usefulness. I find frequent use for it. I will illustrate one of these uses.

Two weeks after it was issued I found myself due to drive on a First-day in August from the Adirondacks into central Massachusetts. We had a little time to spare, enough to attend meeting, if we could find one at the right time on one of the available routes. With the new *Directory*, which was still in the car, and a road map, it was possible to check the alternatives. We should be passing through Glens Falls rather too early for meeting, even for a meeting listed as held in Eighth Month at ten o'clock. Saratoga Meeting meets only on "the first First-day of the summer months," and that at Troy only "by appointment." Other meetings were too far to reach on time or rather too much out of the way. But Easton seemed possible. So we drove first to Middle Falls, where the *Directory* gave us the name of its clerk, from whom we confirmed the hour and place of meeting. The latter was important, as there are two meeting houses, both sometimes used, only a few miles apart. We arrived as local Friends were gathering and "attended to satisfaction," as the Quaker journals used to say. It is, I confess, difficult for a historian to separate any religious concern to attend meeting from historical interests.

There are or have been Friends Meetings at other Eastons. That on the Eastern Shore of Maryland is particularly old and interesting. The New York Easton interests historians and other Friends, if they know it, as the scene of the Indian episode during the Revolutionary War made familiar by Violet Hodgkin's story of "Fierce Feathers." I need not retell here the well known incident of how the Indians surrounded the meeting house, found the Friends sitting motionless in silence, and slowly changed their hostile intent and came inside and "attended meet-

ing peaceably," as the historical marker puts it. I may, however, make two or three comments connected with the place.

I have mentioned the brief historical summaries in the *Directory*. That for Easton says that since it was set off in 1778, "seventeen subordinate meetings were established." This statement is full of significance for the history of Quakerism in the general area. So is the fact, disclosed by pictures in an unusually rich kind of gallery—a picture gallery in the First-day school room—that a large Friends Boarding School, acquired as late as 1866, was maintained in the community.

Now New York State is less fortunate than other Quaker areas in historical publications on Quaker education. There are full and readable studies of Quaker education in New England (Klain, 1928), New Jersey (Woody, 1923), Pennsylvania (Woody, 1920), Maryland and Virginia (Dunlap, 1936), North Carolina (Klain, 1925), Indiana (McDaniel, 1939), and now Great Britain (Stewart, 1953). Nothing of the kind for New York State has yet been published. When it is, the story of the Friends School at Easton will doubtless be fully presented. Meanwhile, we know almost nothing about it.

I was interested to inquire how far the present knowledge of the Indian episode was due to publication and how far to tradition by word of mouth. It has recently been exploited by Friends in local pageants, but it was evidently known orally before Violet Hodgkin's *Book of Quaker Saints* appeared, as the elderly Friends there, octogenarians and others, assured me. Whether this goes back to continuous oral tradition from the beginning, or whether it has been kept alive by reading the account in Rufus Hall's *Journal*, published in 1840, we probably cannot tell. The account in the minutes was published only recently (1940), and would not,

I think, have given previous currency to the story even locally.

Its wider currency is, of course, exclusively modern, and is certainly due to publication. Those who deprecate interest in Quaker history as "ancestor worship," look askance at antiquarianism, and fail to support such concerns as Friends Historical Association, which first published the contemporary record from the minutes, should remember this. If our Quaker past has lessons of present value, they can only be useful as research and publication make them known.

One wonders whether even those who know and cherish the ancient story recognize its wider value for today. In essence it is a demonstration of psychological principles, particularly of the capacity of freedom from fear in one group to exorcise hostility in another. We are living at a time when fear and hostility, those inseparable demons, are rampant. The Indian is replaced in the public mind by other bogeys, stereotypes of incurable malice. What is needed still amid the tensions of the modern world is the quiet demeanor and behavior of persons whom "none shall make afraid." Religion, history, and psychology alike teach that nothing is quite as disarming to others as fearlessness. And it is perfect love that casts out fear.

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Cross and Crown

Few titles of Quaker books are more expressive than William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*. Anna Brinton, the latest editor, deprecates the second noun. "To modern taste," she says, "the phrase smacks too strongly of what William Penn called 'the recompense of reward.'" She adds, "Penn's negative form of the antithesis helps toward

our tolerance of his title." That is true, and it is equally true if one considers the other form of modern taste which does not like to think in terms of the first noun. The need for sacrifice, for renunciation, is certainly, even in some religious circles, unpopular. Self-affirmation, self-expression, is much in vogue, and the restrictive features of self-denying discipline are anathema to those worldlings who would please themselves.

The strictly pious killjoys have always seemed a little morbid. It must have been they who designated as the "shuncross" bonnet the Quaker headgear that fell in the least short of being the plainest of the plain. Certainly an authentic note is given to the cross in this title when one remembers that in its original form this work of William Penn's belongs to that select list of literary classics written in prison.

Taking both nouns together, we shall have to admit their effective and suggestive antithesis helped at least in English by alliteration. William Penn more than once in the text expands this rhythm, for example, "No pain, no palm; no thorns, no throne; no gall, no glory; no cross, no crown." Other languages cannot often imitate this feature. The French translation was *Point de Croix, Point de Couronne*; the German and Dutch titles are more alliterative but instead of the two negatives they say "without the cross no crown."

The word play on "cross" and "crown" is not unique, and sundry efforts have been made to find the source of William Penn's selection. He sets out in his preface his theme thus: "Christ's Cross is Christ's Way to Christ's Crown." But he does not indicate that it is a quotation. Closest in time and person is the phrase of Thomas Loe on his deathbed spoken to William Penn himself and reported by Penn in a letter still extant:

"Dear heart, bear thy cross, stand faithful for God and bear thy testimony in thy

day and generation, and God will give thee an eternal crown of glory, that none shall ever take from thee. There is not another way. This is the way the holy men of old walked in and it shall prosper."

Were it not for the rather romantic connection of William Penn with Thomas Loe, these words, spoken a few weeks before William Penn wrote his book in the Tower of London, would not seem especially decisive. As a matter of fact, other and earlier Friends had used the two words together. Here are some samples:

So there is no obtaining of Life but through Death, nor no obtaining of the Crown but through the Cross. (James Parnell, before 1656)

No crown without the cross. (Richard Farnsworth, 1655)

The deeper the sorrow, the greater the joy; the heavier the cross, the weightier the crown. (Katherine Evans, 1662)

Nor indeed should we suppose the phrase unused outside of Friendly circles before or since. We recall that William Penn's *No Cross* was addressed originally to the friends of his pre-Quaker days who may well have known the couplet in Francis Quarles' *Esther*:

The way to bliss lies not on beds of down
And he that has no cross deserves no crown,

or, if not in English at least in Latin, the similar collocations in St. Paulinus or in the widely used *Imitatio* assigned to Thomas à Kempis. More recently C. H. Spurgeon, the preacher, echoed the idea when he said, "There are no crown-bearers in heaven who were not cross-bearers here below."

Last year a friendly account of Christian Science was published under the title *The*

Cross and the Crown. As the author, Norman Beasley, explains, a device containing a crown circling a cross was used as a vignette on the title page of the third edition of Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health* in 1881, and ever since has been used and will be used to identify and protect the official writings of her church when copyrights are able to guard them no longer.

In short, our point is this: While Friends can claim no priority or monopoly on the cross-crown combination either in words or in thought, William Penn's classic still reminds us of a feature of Quakerism that ought not to be forgotten in our generation. It can speak to our condition as it did to men like Charles Lamb and Stephen Grellet in times past.

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Robin Hood and the Quakers

No reference to the Society of Friends in recent months has attained the circulation that has been accorded a statement by a member of the Indiana Text Book Commission. According to an Associated Press dispatch, in *The New York Times* (Nov. 14, 1953) under the heading "Indiana Censor Fears Little Red Robin Hood," Mrs. Thomas J. White of Indianapolis recommended simultaneously that both the story of Robin Hood and all information about the Quaker religion be banned from the school books, because they both tend to support communism. The Communists stress Robin Hood because he robbed the rich and gave to the poor. "Quakers don't believe in fighting wars. All the men they can get to believe that they don't go to war, the better off the Communists are. It's the same as their crusade for peace—everybody lay down his arms and they'll take over."

This pronouncement was broadcast in the American radio and the press, religious and secular. It was duly reported in Europe and Asia. Behind the iron curtain, press and radio made merry over it. If Robin Hood is banned as of Communist tendency, Jesus Christ will be the next, said the Soviet commentator, because of his words about the rich being like a camel trying to get through a needle's eye. The present High Sheriff of Nottingham, successor to the legendary arch enemy of Robin Hood seven centuries ago, indignantly denied that Robin was a Communist; he was only an outlaw and subject, of course, to arrest by due process. The governor of Indiana, though a past national commander of the American Legion, kindly testified: "I have always found the God-fearing Quaker people to be patriotic people."

This is not the first time that the Quakers have been bracketed with Robin Hood. It was done exactly a hundred years ago during a Balkan crisis and before the outbreak of the Crimean War. In the somewhat desperate desire to prevent that war Joseph Sturge and two other British Friends went on a peace mission to the czar at St. Petersburg. Hugh Doncaster, who writes on this centenary in the *London Friend* (January 15), has turned up the scornful and angry references to this peace mission in the contemporary London press. The *Times* refers to it as a "piece of enthusiastic folly." The war party wanted negotiation only *after* a war. "It is all very well to send out doves from the ark when the deluge is at an end—not before it has begun." In a later reference to the delegation, the same newspaper editorializes:

"Madness of this kind has its ridiculous and mischievous side. Nothing could be more ridiculous than an attempt upon the part of three Quaker gentlemen to stop the aggressive career of a half mad Emperor by civil speeches and ethical points. . . . If the

pure insanity of these peace-praters were to become general, the probability is that ere six months were out this island would be covered with ashes, and the name of Englishman be blotted out from the records of history."

"The *Daily News*," continues Hugh Doncaster, "maintained a similar attitude. In an entertaining but scornful leading article on March 1, [1854] it recalls that part of *Ivanhoe* in which the Prior of Jorvaulx complained to Robin Hood of the threats of Allen-a-Dale.

"This deputation," says the *Daily News*, "consists of holy men who, like the Prior of Jorvaulx, have flourished under a system which they have constantly denounced. . . . Our wealthy members of the Society of Friends are indebted for their wealth and security to the fact that we keep up a good police to secure them from pillage at home, and a sufficient war establishment to frighten plunderers abroad. . . . [They] set off incontinently like their prototype the Prior to the Robin Hood of Emperors, the Czar Nicholas. And without making any personal allusions to the [alleged atrocities of] the Russian Allen-a-Dale they just hint to the Imperial Robin Hood that such violations of the precepts of the Decalogue as have taken place are scarcely consistent with the principles of the religion which they and the Emperor profess. . . ."

More striking than the likeness of reference to the same legend then and now is the common general argument against peaceful efforts. Whether Czarists or Communists, it is all the same. The peacemakers are thought to connive at enemy atrocities because they seek another course than war; they are ungrateful for the "protection" which military policy provides them; their course will end in the destruction of the nation—"everybody lay down his arms" and the enemy "will take over."

Of the Russian episode Hugh Doncaster concludes: "In the short run, the mission failed and Friends were held up to derision and scorn; but it was right." Not all such missions have failed; nor has the war party always "succeeded." Read on the one hand Fred Tolles' new biography of George Logan and on the other the story of England's vicious attack on Finland, also in 1854, with Joseph Sturge's faithful Friendly witness in that connexion (see Letter 8). If you are interested in the sheriffs of Nottingham, I commend to you not our own contemporary or the contemporary of Robin Hood but that interesting incumbent three centuries ago, "the Head Sheriff whose name was John Reckless," who was converted to Quakerism in 1649 by his prisoner George Fox, as told in Fox's *Journal*.

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The Quaker in Quaker Oats

Probably nothing has made the name Quaker more widely known than the Quaker Oats Company of Chicago and its predecessors. Beginning more than three quarters of a century ago, this milling enterprise expanded so as to capture the bulk of the American market for breakfast food and finally of the world market for its type of products. It used every high-powered means of advertising at the several stages of history, sign boards, packaged goods, coupons, free samples, and all the rest. Few businesses of any kind have so persistently pressed a label.

It all began at Ravenna, Ohio, in 1877 as the Quaker Mill Co. By fusion with other companies it became in 1888 the American Cereal Company and finally the Quaker Oats Company. Subsidiary companies of the same name were established in all civilized and some less civilized countries, literally from

Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand. The periodical which is the house organ bears the appropriate name of *Earth-Quaker*.

Probably others like myself have often wondered what connection, if any, the name had with the Society of Friends. Probably others like myself have never attempted to do anything about the wonder. I am therefore grateful to Frederick Tolles for calling my attention to a book already twenty years old, *The History of the Quaker Oats Company*, by H. J. Thornton, with its discussion of the matter, and for suggesting that I make it the topic of a letter.

According to this competent history, there was no unanimous memory on the matter from the beginning. A Mr. Crowell, who bought the business in 1881, believed the name was the idea of Henry D. Seymour.

"He had been searching the dictionary for a name to use in incorporating the new company but finding nothing that especially appealed to him he turned to the encyclopedia and became interested in reading an article on the Quakers. The purity of the lives of the people, their sterling honesty, their strength and manliness impressed him. Soon the parallel between their characteristics and what was needed in character and principle in a new business, if it were to be successful, caught his fancy and he . . . reached the conclusion that Quaker was the name to use. His associates agreeing with him, it was adopted.

"A contrary story was told by William Heston. Walking one day through the streets of Cincinnati, at the time when the new company was still unbaptized, he was, he said, suddenly confronted by a picture of William Penn, whose Quaker garb and character at once suggested an admirable name for the new creation."

Seymour and Heston were two of the

four incorporators and were original officers of the Quaker Mill Company.

Today one may take his choice between them, though by now it will be largely conjecture. For my part I incline to Heston's version. One can look in the dictionary for a list of Christian names to christen a new baby, but I don't know how, without reading it through, one could come upon a previously unsuggested symbol for a virtue. It is easier for an accidental sight of something to make the suggestion. Besides, Heston is said to have come of Quaker ancestry.

It would be interesting to speculate how anyone before 1877 would come upon a representation of a Quaker in the streets of Cincinnati. It could happen in modern times. In fact, it recently happened to me the one time I was there. Achilles Pugh was a notable Friend in Cincinnati from 1831 to 1876, an intrepid printer of the antislavery *Philanthropist* of James G. Birney, and a warm friend of the Indian as well as of the slave. A substantial business building at 400 Pike Street still houses the printing firm of A. H. Pugh Company, in which his son, grandson, and great-grandson have carried on. Upon its wall I noticed to my surprise a bronze plaque of Achilles Pugh. But the building was erected in 1905. It does not seem likely that either Pugh himself or William Penn was so prominently depicted in Achilles' lifetime. Could he have had a picture of William Penn in his shop window?

Now there is no certain likeness of William Penn extant; nor can we be sure that the Quaker in Quaker Oats is William Penn. Amelia Gummere, writing in 1901, the year the Quaker Oats Company was founded, assumed from the costume that it was "William Penn upon our boxes of Quaker Oats." There may be another confirmatory indication. I have reproduced herewith the early registered trade-mark from the *Official Ga-*

QUAKER



Essential feature.—The figure of a man clothed in Quaker garb and the word "QUAKER." Used since September, 1877.

zette of the U. S. Patent Office. The Quaker holds in his hand an open scroll. It serves no purpose there. I suggest it is derived from the painting of "Penn's Treaty with the Indians" by Benjamin West. This picture in its various forms has quite appropriately a scroll either in Penn's hand or extended right near it. What more natural than that Pugh, the Quaker printer and friend of the Indians, should have had displayed at his shop one of the many popular engravings of this scene? If William Penn is the Quaker in Quaker Oats, the biographer who spoke of William Penn as having sown some Quaker oats in his youth is badly wrong in his chronology, for Penn was no Quaker then; nor were there Quaker Oats. But otherwise he made a right connection.

The later history of the term is of some interest, slight though the connection be with Quakerism. The owners of the trademark, who estimated it in 1928 as worth \$10,000,000 in good will, had to defend it in court against infringement by rivals like "Friends' Oatmeal," which used the figure

of a Quakeress. They had also to defend themselves against the charge of monopoly. In 1915 the Society of Friends itself attempted unsuccessfully to secure Congressional action "to restrain manufacturers from applying the name of a religious denomination to products intended for interstate commerce." I believe Friends won some restriction on the use of their name in one of the states, Indiana.

In 1920, when the Quaker child-feeding in Germany had started, to the astonishment of the defeated nation, among other misguided guesses in the press about the generous American effort I remember reading one that suggested that it was all a huge, typically American advertising enterprise of the Quaker Oats Company. A million children a day were being given "free samples"! Two decades later when the peace ideals of the Quakers were not very welcome to the Nazi regime, the German subsidiary "Quäker Nahrungsmittel Gesellschaft" defended itself from suspicion by publishing in the press an official denial of any connection with the religious "Gesellschaft" of the Quakers. In such opposite ways in a single country the Quaker in the cereal has been misunderstood.

Meanwhile, sundry other cereal foods for man and beast have come under the Quaker trade-mark, and the full-length, dark figure on the package has given way to a close-up, ruddy face. Like the Cheshire cat's grin, one feature remains—the broadbrimmed hat.

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In Quest of a Quaker's Funeral

A stranger knocked on the door and asked, "Do you have an encyclopedia here?" "No," replied the young man who opened

the door, "but what did you wish to know?"

The Quaker encyclopedia is not yet written, though I am glad to say that a Friend is diligently working on one. Meanwhile some of us get asked very miscellaneous questions on all sorts of topics connected with Friends, and we have learned not to respond with the appearance of omniscience implied in the reply quoted above. For illustration let me list some questions coming to me in a single week;

Why a century and a half ago did Philadelphia Friends take the property at Fourth and Arch Streets to build a Yearly Meeting house?

Who are the Friends pictured with Abraham Lincoln in the photograph now hanging in the building where he died opposite Ford's Theatre, Washington?

How early did men and women Friends sit separately in their meeting houses, and why did they do so?

Were early Friends interested in birds, like the many modern Quaker ornithologists?

Few such questions can be answered fully and immediately as though we were having "Information Please" or a Quaker Quiz. One can sometimes answer in part, or one knows where to turn for the answer. Sometimes the answer comes unexpectedly and soon, as if by serendipity. Sometimes long afterwards. Sometimes one is led a merry chase and ends up baffled.

Take the last two questions above. I recalled for the last one that George Fox is reported in a conversation in 1656 to have spoken of "the language of the birds." For the preceding question I came upon the answer within a few hours in a book I was reading on the train. It quoted a London minute of 1678 advising men and women to sit on opposite sides of the meeting house "because a great inconveniency attends in

young men crowding upon the women under the gallery."

The longer interval between query and answer may be illustrated by a pensive remark 25 years ago by Norman Penney, who was a walking encyclopedia of Quakerism, if there ever was one. He wrote:

Will some one write a book on some mysteries of Quaker history, and tell us who the illusive "Mildred" was, and "Judy", what happened to George Fox's "Book of Miracles", and why George Fox said of James Nayler: "It was my foote"?

We have come a good deal nearer answering those questions today.

Let me report briefly one of my longer and less successful hunts. A Friend writes:

We have been trying to locate "A Quaker Funeral" by Jan Steen, referred to by E. V. Lucas in "A Wanderer in Holland." If you have knowledge of this picture . . . kindly let us know on the enclosed card.

Having access to a good art library, I thought I would track it down. Jan Steen (1626-1679) is a well-known Dutch artist of the seventeenth century, a contemporary of Egbert van Heemskerck, who painted the historic and classic picture of a Quaker meeting. Lucas writing in 1905 admitted he had not seen the picture, but added, ". . . according to Pilkington it is impossible to behold it and refrain from laughter. The subject does not strike one as being in itself mirthful." Evidently the Reverend Matthew Pilkington had not seen it either; for in *The Gentleman's and Connoisseur's Dictionary of Painters*, 1798, he says that Houbraken mentions "another composition equally ex-

cellent, representing the funeral of a Quaker; in which each face is distinguished by so strong, so droll and so humorous a cast of features that it excites mirth in every beholder," etc. Houbraken, writing in Dutch in 1719, speaks of the same painting in much the same way, but he also does not locate it or even claim to have seen it.

So I begin on a different tack. I start with Thieme-Becker *Künstler Lexikon*. In volume 31, 1937, is an elaborate list of Steen's 1,000 known paintings and of literature about each; but no Quaker funeral; nor is it named in the work of similar title for Dutch painters only. The earlier catalogue of C. Hofstede de Groot is no better; nor John Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné*, on which he built; and so I keep pursuing my way through such books in several languages until I find a reference to another picture by Steen and a note suggesting that the Quaker's funeral may be merely another term for this other painting. For the latter there is no definitive title; it is described as a scene before a farm house, or a country funeral, etc.

The next job is to try to learn about the other picture. In 1908 it is referred to as in the Rutten Collection at Liège, but it had been sold at auction or displayed in exhibitions or listed in collections in 1883, 1859, 1855, 1829, 1752, 1743, and perhaps on other occasions; so one had to look up the respective catalogues to see whether a description, or preferably a reproduction of the known painting, would suggest that it could be understood as a Quaker scene—but all in vain. It remains to wait until one can see the actual picture at Liège, if it is still there, or a photograph of it. Meantime I am informed that a completely new study of all the known paintings of Jan Steen is in preparation by a Dutch scholar, which may at last tell us whether the "Quaker Funeral" is only

another name for a recognized painting on another subject. But I suspect many more Quaker funerals may occur before the answer is known.

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The Quakers' Text

If it is appropriate to speak of one or another edition of the Bible as the Quaker Bible, one may suitably refer to individual passages as Quaker texts. Verses that have been frequently used by Friends can easily be selected, though individuals would recall quite differently what in their experience has been characteristic. Probably different periods of history have had different emphases. In my youth I often heard quoted in meeting the verses about "a peculiar people." In connection with our quiet worship, favorite texts have been "Be still and know that I am God," or "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." For our denominational name we have often been reminded, "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you. Henceforth I call you not servants . . . but I have called you friends."

Early Friends may have had quite a different selection. Indeed, individuals had their favorites, and men who, like George Fox, used in speaking and writing abundant Scripture quotations even changed their emphasis, so that at one period certain biblical phrases were often used and at another period other phrases. We could provide for George Fox a kind of chronological chart of his changing biblical vocabulary.

There is one text, however, which seems to have had a recognized role inside and outside the Society. That is John 1:9. It reads in the King James Version: "That was

the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Robert Barclay in his *Apology* (Prop. v.&vi. xxi.) says of this passage: "This place doth so clearly favour us that by some it is called the Quakers' text." The congeniality of this text to the doctrine of the inner light is self-evident.

Let me note a few points about the text. It is not so unambiguous as one could desire. (1) The phrase "every man" was perhaps the most congenial word from the Quaker standpoint. For Friends were anxious to stress the universal and immediate character of the light. George Fox's other phrase, "that of God," was also usually spoken of as "in everyone." There was divine revelation even to non-Christians and pre-Christians.

(2) The original is not clear about the construction of the phrase "coming into the world." It may be taken with "every man" and simply describe him as one who is born into the world. Or it may go with "the true Light" and assure us that the light was becoming available. "The true Light that lightens every man was coming into the world."

(3) Furthermore, this verse alone does not identify the Light. The italics of *that* in the King James Version is not the italics of emphasis. Rather it means that there is no such pronoun in the original. The Light, however, mentioned here is probably to be identified with the Light mentioned in earlier verses, which in turn is equal to the Life, and, finally, to the Word with which the chapter begins. This loose sequence of equations means therefore that the Light is not so different from Christ himself. If in modern controversy within or without the Society of Friends the inner light and Christ are often treated as rivals, this text is not so much a partisan as a reconciling text.

The Quaker doctrine of the light within has been intermittently under fire and is likely to be so. I wish some competent

person would write out the long history of such controversy. I expect he would find much of it has revolved about this "Quakers' text."

Meanwhile one naturally asks: Has there also been a classic anti-Quaker text? I do not know of any. Our adversaries have shot at us with every weapon. If I were to suggest an appropriate and sobering text for Friends to heed, it would be the passage which reads alternately, "Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness," and "If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!"

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Friends and the Healers

Curiosity about the dead often expresses itself in speculation about the love life of the unmarried. So it is in the biographies of John Greenleaf Whittier, as in those of Emily Dickinson. But next in frequency as a topic of debate are the undiagnosed illnesses of notables of the past. How much has been written and is still written about the single cryptic reference by the Apostle Paul to his "thorn in the flesh"!

In Quaker history two chronic invalids at once come to mind. In the early days there was Anne, Viscountess of Conway, who lived at Ragley. Socially and intellectually she was a great catch for Quakerism. A brilliant philosopher and mathematician, a lady of the nobility, she was afflicted with some devastating disease that made her the object of great sympathy and medical concern. I once heard her biographer, Marjorie Nicolson, lecture at length but inconclusively to a large audience of doctors at the local medical school about this noble Quaker invalid of the seventeenth century.

In modern times there was John Green-

leaf Whittier. The moment one gets behind his public life to the intimate reminiscences of visitors or to his own abundant letters one learns, perhaps with surprise that he, too, suffered some kind of intermittent disability that made even slight efforts often a burden. It ought to be possible through such numerous references and by recourse to living tradition to determine the poet's ailment or ailments, though even in two generations medical terminology has greatly altered. Our Friend Marshall Taylor is in a position to write a well informed chapter on this topic out of the sources, as he has done recently on other aspects of "John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker."

Each of these Friends had some connection with the healers of their time. Francis Mercurius van Helmont, the son of the most famous medical writer of the century in Europe and himself learned in much cognate lore, became attending physician at Ragley, where all the Lady's attendants were Quakers. Helmont, too, turned Quaker, but he did not cure his patient. Neither did Valentine Greatrakes, who came over from Ireland on purpose to try on her his supposed miraculous powers of cure by stroking. But his visit brought him into prominence in England and gave rise to sober published records of his other cures there.

As for John Greenleaf Whittier, I may cite two magazine references, both of recent date. One is in the *Christian Science Journal*, in which it is said, quite in passing, "Mrs. Eddy was a friend of Whittier's, having healed him of incipient pulmonary consumption." I have not pursued this report, though it would be interesting to do so. I am told that three years after Whittier's death it was published at Jackson, Michigan, and was later repeated by Mary Baker Eddy herself, with the additional information that the cure occurred about 1868 and was accomplished "with one visit."*

The other reference is in the *New Yorker* in a racy account of a Boston journalist, advertising artist and copyist, and promoter of circuses, patent medicines, and the like, named Roland Butler. Among others who employed him was a Dr. Lothrop, alias "Dr. Hallock, specialist in the indispositions of men. Feeling that his ads lacked appeal and that his competition was hogging the trade, the Doctor visited Butler in an effort to get a little class into his presentation. 'I want you to draw a nice picture of Dr. Hallock,' said Dr. Lothrop. 'We'll build the ad around it.' Butler did a faithful reproduction of Dr. Lothrop which was unavoidably hideous. After inspecting the picture, the Doctor complained, 'I want something venerable, an open sort of face with side whiskers. Make it saintly. I wouldn't trust this fellow with a hangnail.' Butler went to the public library and unearthed a portrait of John Greenleaf Whittier. He copied it and worked it up into an ad that suited the Doctor perfectly. 'Congratulations! You've caught the spirit of Hallock's Clinic,' he said. The ad was in prominent use for years."

That must have been more than thirty years ago, though I have not checked it. Meanwhile Quaker connection with healing has moved into other areas, more reputable and perhaps more orthodox.

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Hurricanes and Steeplehouses

The very name of hurricane always conjures up memories of early Friends, and still more the experience of one. Perhaps this is

*A neighbor and friend of mine subsequently confirmed this statement by consulting the complete concordance of M. B. Eddy's works at a local Christian Science Reading Room.

because I have to spend my evenings by candlelight as Friends always did. Perhaps it is because our forebears traveled so much more than we do in Caribbean seas and without the protections which we enjoy. I find I wrote a letter on the subject almost exactly ten years ago when I was waiting for a hurricane (No. 58). Now I write while recovering from one and expecting another. That the interval is an even number of twelve months is not surprising, for in our part of the world hurricanes are seasonal, as the old Jamaica jingle says:

June too soon,
July stand by,
August, look out you must,
September remember,
October all over.

This time the storm damaged locally an unusual number of steeples, and my first thought is how the early Friends could have seen the hand of avenging Providence in such disasters. One of these was the toppling of the steeple of the Old North Church, the most famous thing of its kind, I suppose, in America, though made famous only long after Paul Revere by the poem about him. The fame of that church's architects, Christopher Wren and Charles Bulfinch, did not protect it. In the town where I live the nearest steeple was set at an angle like the leaning Tower of Pisa or like the twisted spire at Chesterfield in Derbyshire familiar to English travelers. There can be no suggestion of divine favoritism in the present destruction, for the denominations extend from Catholic and Episcopal to Armenian and Unitarian.

We for our part have rather abandoned the finding of special intention in what the insurance companies call an "act of God." On second thought I am not sure the early Friends carried through completely their

philosophy of judgments and providences. Their opponents were quite as ready to see punishment or protection in whatever occurred, as though God, after all, were "a respecter of persons."

As for "steeplehouses," the term was not new with Friends and was, I suspect, directed not so much against a bit of architecture as it was due to the Quaker scruple against calling the building a "church." Friends followed the practice of avoiding that word except for the religious community. George Fox early in his career wrote, "And all them that have told you the steeplehouse is the Church are the liars and deceivers." It is true that the Friends had no love for the churches and their accoutrements, calling them idols, popish, and other such names. One recalls in George Fox's *Journal* the remarkable episode of 1657, beginning:

"And as I was one time walking in a close with several Friends I lifted up my head and I espied three steeplehouse spires and they struck at my life and I asked Friends what they was and they said Lichfield."

Yet, scholars tell us that only two spires were then standing, the third having been destroyed by Oliver Cromwell's army. Certainly George Fox did not carry his aversion to churches to the extent of defacing them, as was so wantonly done by that same army at Lichfield Cathedral. As the sequel shows, George Fox interpreted his dramatic actions against the "bloody city" as caused by his unconscious reaction to the martyrdom there of a thousand Christians in the time of Diocletian, and the strewing of their bodies in the streets. More probably it was the popular etymology of Lichfield from "lich," a corpse. Steeplehouse, therefore, was perhaps not so much a term of opprobrium as it was a bit of semi-superstitious avoidance, like the avoidance of Saint or Sunday or January or other Quaker aversions to pagan and papist names.

There are probably other terms used by George Fox and his associates which, because alien to us now, seem to us to be used in criticism, but which may not have been so. "Professor" is a case in point, as used of professing Christians. I had supposed Friends applied it opprobriously until I discovered that unimpeachable church members, like Richard Baxter, used it sympathetically and of their own group. This discovery should give some comfort to Friends who bear the name professor in the modern academic sense. The phrases in George Fox's *Journal* cannot even by a stretch of language be applied adversely to them. Neither steeplehouse nor professor is in itself a term of reproach, though undoubtedly some of their connotations were objectionable to the early Friends.

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Destroyers of the Creation

My fellow columnist, Sir Compton Mackenzie of the London *Spectator*, has been reminiscing about the spoil from shipwrecks on the southwest coast of England. Beginning with the famous Spanish galleon in Tobermory Bay and a ship wrecked in 1801 carrying a million Portuguese dollars, some of whose booty was to be found from time to time by those who walked on the beach, he is led to reflect on the famous coins of early days with their attractive names.

In a later article he passes over to more recent wrecks off the Lizard and nearby. Their spoil was not cash or bullion but what we might call the sea's "gifts in kind." There was the White Star liner *Suevic*, which came ashore in a fog in March 1907, when homeward bound from Sydney, with wool in her mixed cargo. "Old men, and old women too, who had been bedridden for years, rose up

and walked twenty miles and more to share in the fun."

Even in the recent war there were several wrecks off the Hebridean island of Barra. In 1942 a whole shipload of Scotch whiskey fell into the hands of the local salvagers of the "tight little island," and two years later an American Liberty Ship, abandoned by the crew but well furnished, crashed ashore. "She kept the north end of the island well supplied with blankets, sheets, cutlery, glass and crockery," writes Sir Compton. "My own haul from her was a quantity of tins of sweet corn and for the first time in my life as much tomato juice as I could drink for about three months."

Meanwhile I note in today's headline, "Worst Storm in Thirty Years Lashes Coast of Britain." The text reports wrecks off Land's End, and therefore more spoil for Davy Jones's locker if not for the Cornwall beachcombers.

Very different was George Fox's reaction to the same kind of events in his time. Travelling in Cornwall, apparently about 1660, he tells of the unsavory reputation of the shore dwellers, more concerned to secure the booty than to prevent the wrecks or to save the passengers and crew. In fact, Thomas Ellwood in editing George Fox's *Journal* includes a paper on the subject which was sent to "all the parishes, priests and magistrates, to reprove them for such greedy actions and to warn and exhort them that if they could assist to save people's lives and preserve their ships, they should use their diligence therein."

I do not find this paper or passage in the original manuscript of the *Journal*. In part, it sounds like Ellwood's editing. But the text of the paper itself is George Fox's wording all right and the statement about the Land's End: "... it was the custom of that country that at such a time both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they

could, not caring to save the people's lives; and in some places they call shipwrecks God's grace." Characteristic of George Fox, too, is the phrase concerning the Cornish wreckers, that "they are not for preserving the creation but for destroying it." He seems fully as much concerned for the harm such ill-gotten gains will do to those who receive the spoil and wastefully consume it as for the sufferings of the survivors themselves. That is still today an integral part of Quaker social testimonies.

Perhaps I should not compare George Fox's sober words in what, in the naval sense at least, was a moral broadside with the lighter vein of our British contemporary, the *Spectator*. I can hardly assume many readers are really conversant with that arch conservative among periodicals. Yet until recently its editor, Wilson Harris, was a Friend, and it was established in 1828.

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Lincoln and the Quakers

Several times at this season of the year these letters have exposed false claims of Abraham Lincoln's Quaker contacts. I address myself here to a query which I reported before: "Who are the Quakers with Lincoln shown in a picture hanging in the house where Lincoln died?" Made curious by this question, I visited when next in Washington the Lincoln Museum, formerly the Ford Theatre, and its annex right opposite at 516 Tenth Street, "The House Where Lincoln Died." There in the back room hangs on the wall a small framed photograph of a dozen men and women. The photographer's name is F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia. There is no title attached to the picture. One of the central figures is naturally taken for Abraham Lincoln, especially in

that museum and with some resemblances of face and figure, and the dress of the others could easily be regarded as the Quaker costume of the period.

After some effort I secured the following information, as well as a copy of the picture. When the house, then called the Petersen House, was made a museum some twenty years ago, miscellaneous appropriate gifts including this picture were made for its furnishing by the Pennsylvania Society of the Dames of the Loyal Legion. This is a picture of twelve abolitionists. Their names are known, and, as would be expected of the city and the interest which brought them together, several of them are Friends. The central figure with sideburns is not Abraham Lincoln but Robert Purvis, who was not only a Friend but a Negro as well. The full list, should anyone wish to identify the faces, runs as follows from left to right:

Back row, standing: Mary Grew, E. M. Davis, Haworth Wetherald, Abby Kimber, Miller McKim, Sarah Pugh.

Front row, seated: Oliver Johnson, Margaret Jones Burleigh, Benjamin C. Bacon, Robert Purvis, Lucretia Mott, James Mott.

Beside the three last named, at least four others were Friends, Edward M. Davis, son-in-law of the Motts, Abby Kimber, Sarah Pugh, and Margaret Jones Burleigh. All twelve had long connections with the anti-slavery movement, and most of them specifically with the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. For this reason it is hard to say how early the picture could have been taken, perhaps long before Abraham Lincoln's administration. Most of them lived also long after. The death of James Mott in First Month, 1868, sets a lower limit of date for the picture, and I think in the group he and his wife look more as they did in a daguerreotype of about 1842 than as in separate

photographs of 1863 and 1875, respectively. Perhaps other copies of this picture are extant, marked with a date.

Though not to be identified as I first expected, this picture has no little interest for Friends, especially Philadelphians. It is a worthy memorial to the role which some Friends can always be found to play in an unpopular cause.

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The End of a Schismatic

The recorded wills on the island of Jamaica, as preserved at the old capital of Spanish Town, begin in the year 1663. The first two are fragmentary but are evidently wills of Friends, Robert Clarke and Dr. Henry Clare, persons I do not otherwise know. They used the Quaker terms for months, and the former of them wrote of his estate that if his children died young, "I freely bestow it upon the faithful in the Lord called Quakers."

But the will that I first stumbled on and that still interests me most occurs a little later. It is of John Perrot, a name well known in Quaker history. He died in Jamaica after a short but eventful career. He was convinced during Edward Burrough's visit to Ireland in 1655-56. As early as 1657 he had started for Jerusalem with the Quaker message. He was turned back from Smyrna to Venice. In Rome he was caught by the Inquisition. While his companion, John Luffe, was apparently executed there, Perrot was treated by the Holy Office as a madman, and incarcerated in "Bedlam" for three years.

Several of his writings from this period were printed. He was given to expressing himself in verse. His manner of signing himself "the servant of God, John," "John, a

prisoner of the risen Seed," and the like, may put the modern reader off. Though his Christian name was hardly unusual, this mannerism is probably due simply to the procedure of the John of the Book of Revelation.

Upon his return to England in 1661, John Perrot advocated that Friends should still further avoid formalism in worship. He objected to their habit of removing the hat in time of prayer and of shaking hands after meeting. The former was an extension of the scruple of the hat in relation to social deference to men, but it seemed to many an unnecessary objection.

The question created a deep division and controversy in early Quakerism. Some of the most spiritual Friends were attracted to Perrot both because of his experience as a sufferer, almost miraculously released, and because of his character as a man of deep feeling and sensitiveness and humility. Though he left Old England within a year to go into voluntary banishment across the Atlantic, his party continued long to disturb the unity of Quakerism.

He traveled to Barbados and to the mainland colonies and exercised much influence. A dozen years afterward American minute books were still recording acknowledgments of members who were then recanting their addiction to his views. The Quaker leadership on both sides of the ocean were against him. Apparently he himself gave up some Quaker ways. Rather venomous accounts of his latter end are given by opponents. John Taylor writes:

He ended his days miserably. For soon after he was dead and buried in an old Popish mass-house, all that he had left, which was not much, was seized on for debt; yea the bed that was under his wife, when she lay sick upon it.

None of this is suggested in the simple will, copy of which is before me as I write. It is true that it does not use the Quaker form of date. We know that Perrot had abandoned that in letters somewhat earlier. Besides, it is clear that many sound Friends in Jamaica did not eschew the world's names for months. Perrot includes gifts to Jane Stokes, to Mary Booth of London, and to Martha Malins. We recognize two of these women as ardent partisans of his, for he, too, like James Nayler had female admirers. His "dear wife Elizabeth" is left his earthly estate,—that patient woman with whom Friends had every reason to sympathize while he was traveling east and west, and whom they tenderly cherished even when they did not approve of her husband. With her the will names their two minor children, Blessing and Thank. . . . The second name is incompletely preserved in the old document. Perhaps it was Thankful, but I do not know which sex is implied in either name. The will is dated the 30th day of August, 1665. It was proved September 7th, thus enabling us to correct and to fix within a week the day of his death. On September 8th Elizabeth Perrot was granted the administration of her husband's estate. The will provides only that his body be "intard" (interred) in the earth.

The "mass-house" referred to can be no other than the Cathedral of St. Catharine in Spanish Town, a stone's throw away from the Record Office. It was, I think, the only church building on the island at that time and is the oldest Anglican church in the British West Indies. It had been a Spanish Catholic church. Unfortunately, the register of burials does not begin until 1671, though the building contains one burial slab dated before 1665.

The will includes at the end one unconventional phrase, "And so the Lord receive all our souls into his joy and peace." Neither here nor anywhere in John Perrot's writings

do we get any hint of a wicked or even an unloving or unspiritual man. He was something of a poet, a good deal of a mystic, and probably nothing like as erratic as he appeared to the Catholic hierarchy or to the Quaker leadership. William Charles Braithwaite, whose account of his life I have drawn upon, suggests that his position on the hat was symptomatic of a deeper issue in religious life and organization. I recall Rufus Jones once remarking of this famous "hat controversy" that "there was nothing in it."

One cannot help comparing John Perrot with James Nayler. Nayler has the advantage from the orthodox standpoint that he is said to have repented. Perrot perhaps honestly felt that he had nothing to repent of. It was the opposition that was hard and unyielding, frightened perhaps by the Nayler episode only a few years before. Modern studies of Nayler tend to restore him to our more sympathetic understanding. Braithwaite, without actually doing so, supplies some of the material by which Perrot could be rehabilitated, at least in part.

We may well ask today whether each of these men was not "more sinned against than sinning." Is it fortunate or otherwise that both of those early Friends who caused most trouble were themselves deeply sensitive and modest souls? Such virtues are not enough. Is there a lesson to be learned today from the story of a man who claimed that perhaps God had in store for Friends a revelation of purer glory than the traditional Quaker beliefs and practices?

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Merging Traffic

Arnold Toynbee has said somewhere that mankind has two kinds of escapism—utopianism on the one hand and archaism on the

other. The recent merger of the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings has moved some of us from one of these extremes to the other. Thirty-odd years ago such an event seemed very remote and improbable. Today this column with its usual backward look is inclined to review various precedents and memories connected with the new *fait accompli*.

In addition to references publicly made to the individuals, joint committees, and preludes leading up to this event, like the Philadelphia General Meeting, mention may be made of a small but valuable undertaking as far back as 1912. Six young Friends of each of the two Yearly Meetings quietly organized themselves into a study group—they were six men and six women—to study for themselves objectively the facts ascertainable about the Separation of their predecessors in 1827. Firsthand accounts on each side were collected from attics or libraries, and the whole episode was re-examined in detail with an attempt to fathom the social, the personal, the emotional, and the theological aspects of the slow development culminating in the last united sessions of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

The results were published in pamphlet form, but the effects were leavening, one suspects, beyond that dozen Friends. Nine of them are still living, and several attended the 1955 sessions. They are "elderly" now, but for forty years they have been deliberately and intelligently "confused" in contrast to the traditional oversimplified partisan views of their respective Yearly Meetings.

While the union or reunion of religious bodies is much in the air today, the Philadelphia merger of 1955 is one of the first in Quakerism. One other preceded it ten years ago when in New England the two Yearly Meetings, "Gurneyite" and "Wilburite," joined into one, together with some "inde-

pendent" meetings in the area. It was in that area that the division of Conservative Friends began in 1845, just a hundred years before, though it spread later to six Yearly Meetings in other areas. In like manner the Philadelphia area was the first of seven areas to have an Orthodox-Hicksite division, and it is appropriately the first area to witness organic reunion, though at an interval of considerably more than the centennial.

The mind today goes back to earlier united sessions. I will not dwell again on the tragic events of 1827, but one thinks of other years. There was the initial gathering held at Burlington in 1681. Its simple minutes reinforced by the imagination recall those early settlers on the Delaware in all the expectancy and uncertainty of a new experience, when, as a contemporary puts it, "religion stands on tiptoe."

Mention was made this year of another session nearly two hundred years ago, when in 1758 at the urging of John Woolman the Yearly Meeting, after seventy years of uneasy conscience, definitely decided to oust slaveholding from its borders.

This year's agenda brought back to my mind those of another year, 1796, when the Yearly Meeting appointed its first committee of outreach, for the gradual civilization of the Indians (Tunesassa), planned the establishment of a boarding school (Westtown), and decided that applicants for membership in the Society were not to be excluded for reasons of race or color. Rebecca Jones wrote to an English Friend at this time:

I expect thou hast accounts of our great works which are in contemplation,—such as attempting to civilize the inhabitants of the wilderness, and to establish a Boarding school after the manner of your Ackworth; build a large meeting house [Fourth and Arch] after your ex-

ample to accommodate both sexes at the Yearly Meeting; admit black people into society fellowship, etc., etc.

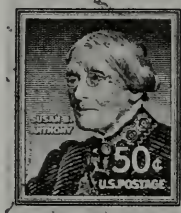
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Susan B. Anthony, Quaker

No wonder that the gathering seemed to the aging minister a landmark of forward-looking initiative that she could hardly expect to see carried out.

The classic precedent to the event here under review is still to be mentioned. It is not in our Quaker history but much earlier. More than twenty-five centuries ago the prophet Ezekiel, living in exile, combined two forecasts regarding his shattered people. One is the familiar vision of the valley of dry bones, of which he prophesied that breath would come from God and the bones would live. The other has to do with the division of the nation into two nations ever since the death of Solomon over three hundred years before. The prophet was told to take a stick and write upon it "Judah and the tribes associated with him" and another stick and write upon it "Joseph, i.e., Ephraim, and the tribes associated with him" and to join the two together that they might become one in his hand. This action is symbolic of the union which God Himself promised the prophet He would bring about between the long sundered segments of the Hebrew people, "and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all . . . so shall they be my people and I will be their God." Whether reunion is the result of new life or whether the new life is the result of reunion, the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel does not say, but it combines them both. This makes a happy omen.

March 13, 1956, will be a minor Quaker anniversary, for on that day in 1906 Susan Brownell Anthony died. It is not on that account that I mention her now, but because the United States government has just honored her by publishing a fifty-cent stamp representing her. Friends who appear on stamps have been regularly mentioned in



these Letters. The stamp also is not due to the anniversary. She was selected with Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry, Robert E. Lee, and John Marshall as the only six Americans, apart from six Presidents, to be included in the new series of American postage stamps.

This is, I think, the third appearance of "Aunt Susan" on American stamps. It may be questioned how far Friends today or in her day recognized or accepted her as a fellow member. A new life of her after fifty years was long overdue and has just appeared. Without consulting it, I may quote one narrative about her, showing her own sense of belonging to Friends, her feeling that Friends were looked upon as irreligious, and a bit of delightful Quaker naiveté. It is told by an intimate friend, the Reverend

Anna Howard Shaw, in her book, *The Story of a Pioneer* (1915, pp. 193-195):

"I recall with amusement that the highest compliment she ever paid me in public involved her in a tangle from which later only her quick wit extracted her. We were lecturing in a specially pious town which I shall call B—, and just before I went on the platform Miss Anthony remarked peacefully:

" 'These people have always claimed that I am irreligious. They will not accept the fact that I am a Quaker—or, rather, they seem to think a Quaker is an infidel. I am glad you are a Methodist, for now they cannot claim that we are not orthodox.'

"She was still enveloped in the comfort of this reflection when she introduced me to our audience, and to impress my qualifications upon my hearers she made her introduction in these words:

" 'It is a pleasure to introduce Miss Shaw, who is a Methodist minister. And she is not only orthodox of the orthodox but she is also my right bower!'

"There was a gasp from the pious audience, and then a roar of laughter from irreverent men, in which, I must confess, I lightheartedly joined. For once in her life Miss Anthony lost her presence of mind: she did not know how to meet the situation, for she had no idea what had caused the laughter. . . . When we had returned to our hotel rooms I explained the matter to her. I do not remember now where I had acquired my own sinful knowledge, but that night I faced 'Aunt Susan' from the pedestal of a sophisticated worldling.

" 'Don't you know what a right bower is?' I demanded, sternly.

" 'Of course, I do,' insisted 'Aunt Susan.' 'It's a right hand man—the kind one can't do without.'

" 'It is a card,' I told her firmly, 'a leading card in a game called euchre.'

"Aunt Susan was dazed. 'I didn't know it had anything to do with cards,' she mused, mournfully. 'What must they think of me?'

"What they thought became quite evident. The newspapers made countless jokes at our expense, and there were significant smiles on the faces in the audience that awaited us the next night. When Miss Anthony walked upon the platform she at once proceeded to clear herself of the tacit charge against her.

" 'When I came to your town,' she began, cheerfully, 'I had been warned that you were a very religious lot of people. I wanted to impress upon you the fact that Miss Shaw and I are religious, too. But I admit that when I told you she was my right bower I did not know what a right bower was. I have learned that since last night.'

"She waited until the happy chortles of her hearers had subsided, and then went on.

" 'It interests me very much, however,' she concluded, 'to realize that every one of you seemed to know all about a right bower, and that I had to come to your good orthodox town to get this information.'

"That time the joke was on the audience."

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John Woolman's Testamentary Experiences

A few weeks ago I had a brief visit at the Surrogate's Office of Burlington County, New Jersey. As the only available witness to a will made less than a dozen years ago, I accompanied to Mount Holly one of the executors and a witness to one of the codicils. The efficient secretary, as she sat behind her typewriter, pulled out from a convenient file one form after another, filled them out with dexterity, asked us to swear

(or affirm), to sign them in the proper spaces, and we were on our way back in less than an hour. As I have noticed before, persons not too familiar with the affirmation expect us to raise the right hand just as if we were swearing and to accept the concluding "So help me God." At any rate, there was no Bible in the ritual.

For many of us, visits to Mt. Holly, N. J., are usually reminiscent of John Woolman. On this sombre occasion I might well have given him little thought. The deceased, the recent funeral, the survivors could quite have filled my mind. I passed neither the meeting house nor the Woolman Memorial. The pretty little office building and the adjacent County Court House were new since Woolman's time. Then Burlington was the county seat. Its court house was destroyed by fire some years after Woolman's death, and this one was built.

Nevertheless, the brief visit strongly brought the Mt. Holly tailor into my thoughts and that because of another day less than twelve years before. For many years I was in the habit of riding frequently through Trenton on a Pullman sleeper—as one might blush to confess, "traveling Pullman not Woolman." On one occasion I decided to make a stopover for nearly a whole day. My object was to see what traces I could find of John Woolman's participation in wills. His *Journal* mentions three or four instances when, being asked to write a will, he either declined the task on account of his scruple about slave owning, or found the testator willing to free the slaves. His Account Book includes in the open accounts six entries crediting himself with small amounts for writing, or altering the wills of clients named.

The original wills and testamentary papers of New Jersey are housed at the State Capitol in Trenton. Those from Burlington County are in an air-conditioned vault in

large volumes preserved in silk, bound in red morocco. With the courteous help of the attendants and by the use of the index of the volumes of calendared wills in the *Archives of New Jersey*, I succeeded in locating twenty-five wills engrossed in Woolman's handwriting. Some of these as well as some others he signed as witness. When, like myself, he was called upon later to attest the signature for proving the will, there was a statement drawn to that effect. In other cases he was called on to draw up an inventory of the goods of the deceased and subsequently to make official affirmation vouching for it. These processes usually required a journey to Burlington, a substantial five or six miles by horse or on foot. Exhausting my span of time, though not exhausting the resources of the archives, I located in a few hours evidence of some seventy actions by Woolman in the last thirty years of his life, drawing, witnessing, proving wills, assessing assets, qualifying as executor, etc., and thus added to a *Journal* not oversupplied with dates seventy accurately dateable if minor events. Since not one of these is identical with the instances noted in the *Journal* or in the Account Books, the suspicion is confirmed that the total number of such occasions was substantially larger.

What was for me a rather unfamiliar experience was for John Woolman a fairly frequent one. But for us it is more important to note that in connection with a somewhat routine feature of life there came to him, through his sensitiveness and faithfulness, the insight first into personal duty and then into duty for others that made him, as he has been lately called, "the Father of the American Conscience."

One World Two Centuries Ago

Like other persons I have supposed that the life of our ancestors, as compared with ours, was very provincial and restricted in information. Without modern communications, what could they know of world affairs and how could they have laid upon them "the burden of the world's suffering"?

To test this somewhat unmodest sense of our superiority, a device occurred to me. I was reminded by some items in the Sunday travel section of two bicentennials being celebrated this year in quite different places, the defeat of General Braddock's army near Fort Duquesne in Western Pennsylvania and the evacuation of the Acadians from Grand-Pré. My memory of the "One-Hoss Shay" added to these the Lisbon earthquake.

Seventeen hundred and fifty-five,
That was the year when Lisbon town
Saw the earth open and gulp her down
And Braddock's army was done so
brown.

Now what did our Quaker ancestors in Pennsylvania know about these things? The answer, of course, is that they knew nothing immediately. To learn when and how they came to know, I took the trouble to hunt up and go through the two contemporary Philadelphia newspapers for the year. I found out that, although the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* appeared each Thursday in small size as well as small print, the foreign or distant news was much more conspicuous in their pages than the local news. This news had, of course, none of the competition for the

attention of readers that we are exposed to today.

Incomplete information about the engagement near the Monongahela on July 9 was reported cautiously in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for the 24th, and a week later both papers printed a circumstantial, eye-witness account, indicating also what happened to the several officers, including the death of Braddock himself and the unwounded survival of an aide then little known: "Mr. Washington had two horses shot under him and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution." Six months after the event the two papers were able to provide their readers with what is rarely done today, an account of the engagement from the other side, "The French Account of the Battle on the Monongahela."

The issue of the *Journal* containing this item (No. 683, January 8, 1756) contains also references to the two other events, namely, two letters from Portugal about the earthquake on November 1 and the following simple notice:

Boston, Dec. 29—Friday a large Snow arrived here from Annapolis-Royal in Nova Scotia with 300 French people on Board.

Next week was reported the arrival of two similar shiploads, but the human problem behind such impersonal notes was, of course, not indicated.

Such events were not, however, as they tend to be now, matters of mere distant news. Each of them affected Philadelphia Friends directly. The military debacle in the West led, as we know, in a few months to the complete withdrawal of Friends from the Pennsylvania Assembly. One can follow the resignations and the new elections in subsequent issues of the press. While in New

England the Lisbon earthquake led to a great output of speculative pamphlets on the theological problems raised by such a disaster. Hannah Pemberton of Philadelphia, with the rationalism of a good Quaker lay woman, saw nothing in the event "repugnant to the nature of things, or what we call the attributes of the Divine Being." Her husband, to whom she was writing, and his associates probably reflected much more on its dislocation and damage to their accounts with the Portuguese city, with which the Quaker merchants carried on a considerable trade.

As for the forcible deportation of the French nationals, or "neutrals," as they were called, that was the kind of event only too familiar in the modern world. When later some of the forlorn victims arrived in Philadelphia, Anthony Benezet acted in the way familiar to Friends of our time in bending all his energies to the care and relief of the real Evangelines of history. Hence, while the scale and tempo of events were not the same then as now, we are really no different from our fathers in being "bound up in the bundle of life" with humanity's problems the world around.

156

How Old Was Hannah?

Before the \$64,000 question or even the \$64 question was heard of, our forebears used to entertain themselves with simple uncommercialized conundrums and problems. One of these, as I recall, was the question, "How old was Ann?"

I was reminded of this by a query lately received: How old was Hannah Penn? One would suppose that about the second wife of the founder of Pennsylvania positive and unanimous information must be available. We know that she married William Penn at

Bristol Friends Meeting House on March 5, 1696, and that she died December 20, 1726. The former date is confirmed by the full text of the marriage certificate, the latter by the diary of Rebekah Butterfield, who lived next door in Jordans and witnessed Hannah's interment there in her husband's grave. It is attested also by the register of the local parish. But on neither occasion do I find any contemporary mention of her age. Nor do the older biographers ever mention it.

Therefore one naturally turns to the birth records of her parents' Monthly Meeting at Bristol. These were digested and copied into Quarterly Meeting summaries one hundred years ago when the original records were deposited at Somerset House, London. They show nine children born to Thomas and Hannah Callowhill, normally spaced between 1661 and 1680. There is a supplement which repeats and confirms the same data. In the digest the decades are separated by lists from other Monthly Meetings, so that one examining the book carelessly would notice only the first five children, including Hannah, born April 18, 1664. This is the date given or assumed by most modern biographers of William Penn, like the Quakers J. J. Green, J. W. Graham, William I. Hull, H. M. Jenkins, and W. W. Comfort.

If, however, one skips over in the register to the 1670's, another Hannah, born February 11, 1671, is the first of four later children of the same parents. It is evident that two children were given the same name, and the most reasonable assumption is that it was the second of the Hannahs who survived to marry William Penn. The frequent custom then was to give to later children the same name as to ones who had died. Unfortunately, the records give the deaths of only six of the children, three of them in their teens and three still younger. But since Hannah, when she married, is described as the sole heiress of Thomas

Callowhill, two more of the nine had died, presumably in infancy without being so recorded. One of these I think was the earlier Hannah.

Probably, then, when William Penn, a widower of between 51 and 52, married Hannah Callowhill, she was just turned 25 and not aged nearly 32. Second marriages often raise comment, and Hannah and William Penn had their share of it. I do not know which age would then have seemed less suitable for his second wife. The criticisms of the engagement that have come down to us are too veiled. Perhaps her undoubted wealth was taken to be William Penn's unworthy motive; perhaps the fact that she was somewhat tied to Bristol, as the only remaining child of her parents, was feared as likely to keep her from coming to Pennsylvania. These worries were more than overcome as time went on, and her abilities and character were soon highly appreciated on both sides of the Atlantic. In general, history has praised her, though an American biographer (Vulliamy) describes her as "neither very young nor very beautiful," perhaps misunderstanding the last word of a British biographer (Dobrée), "a good woman, not too young, experienced in the world, with sound business instincts . . . excellent, homely." Buell says of her, "Miss Callowhill was a somewhat mature spinster, a broad-minded, hard-fibred stalwart Englishwoman."

It is strange how unfortunately William Penn's wives have fared at the hands of posterity. Guli's gravestone for nearly a century put her death five years too early. One of her children remained unknown to record until a few years ago. And now we find that Hannah's age is usually misrepresented by at least six years. Amelia Gummere is nearer right when she says Hannah died at 56, but Arthur Pound, though he gives her birthdate as 1670, citing Albert Cook Myers as his authority, puts as the alternate date 1666

instead of 1664 and her death as 1727 at the age of 57, instead of 1726 at the age of 55. The latest account I have seen has a different error when it says she was "twenty-four years younger" than William Penn, for he was born in October, 1644.

William Penn's wives have no monopoly on such errors. There is still (see Letter 136) an unresolved discrepancy of two years between the age at death of Margaret Fox as given on the monument at Sunbreck near Swarthmore and that in the original Quaker record book. According to George Fox, her second marriage also, when she married him, raised a "jumble" in some minds.

157

The Quakerishness of Benjamin Franklin

Although Benjamin Franklin's birth was early in 1706, the whole of the present year is being used for a two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. There is, however, one feature of this great man that the multitudinous contemporary speaking and writing about him is unlikely to feature. That is his Quaker connections. This letter will not correct that lack. It can at most indicate the gap which older essays, such as those written by two Swarthmore College professors, Edith Philips and Frederick Tolles, have done at least something to fill.

First of all, there is his Nantucket Quaker descent. Many Quakers go back in their ancestry to the early Friends of Nantucket, and many non-Quakers have a Quaker grandmother. Though Benjamin Franklin is often regarded as a typical American—whether that term is used favorably or unfavorably of him—I do not know that anyone has selected the frequency of reference in America to a Quaker grandparent as warrant for regarding Benjamin as typical.

There is a whole book written by Florence Bennett Anderson on *A Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin*. What with collateral information and imagination, it fills over four hundred and fifty pages. That grandfather was Peter Folger. Though Quakerism was not established in Nantucket until thirty years later and official membership still later, Peter's Quakerlike sympathies are fully shown in his long poem of 1675, *A Looking Glass for the Times*, a poem mentioned and quoted by the grandson in his *Autobiography*. Bibliographers do not hesitate to count Folger a Quaker in spite of the possible anachronism.

That Benjamin Franklin has often been regarded as a Quaker himself is not surprising. That was a common opinion in France during his long sojourn at Passy, at a time when he and the Quakers were regarded with the highest approval in that country. Both of them—the Quakers and the Philadelphia *philosophe*—gained reputation by the natural confusion, and indeed Benjamin Franklin's simplicity of dress may have been adopted intentionally to further the role expected of him. Even more recent Europeans who should have known better have assumed that Franklin was a Quaker.

Friends today may not be so anxious to own him or even to recognize his accordance with their ideals. That is partly because of Franklin's breadth of sympathy, his supposed hostility to all religion because of his distaste for some of its forms or dogmas; but primarily, I think, because the man, with all the praise he receives as scientist, diplomat, and man of letters, has been underestimated by moral standards that Friends would approve. Nineteenth-century romanticism soon destroyed everywhere Franklin's high reputation. His utilitarianism, his sarcasm, and his deliberate exaggeration of his worldliness put us off. We take him seriously when he does not mean to be so taken, and vice versa.

When in the future a fairer estimate of his moral earnestness is added to other modern appreciations of him, his accordance with Quakerism—not merely with the intellectual, scientific, and humanitarian interests of colonial Philadelphia Quakerism but with its solid emphasis on concern for real morality—may be someday recognized. A correspondent in London who had observed him at court wrote to Moses Brown, "Even if he is not a member of that Society [Friends] he has profited much by their tutelage." I believe that observation is still correct.

Is it generally known that this diplomatic hero of the American Revolution had till the last minute bent his efforts in conference with two English Quakers, John Fothergill and David Barclay, to prevent it? When the war was nearly over, he wrote to another Friend in terms similar to our modern complaint of the contrast between scientific and moral progress, "We daily make great improvements in natural philosophy. There is one I wish to see in moral philosophy: the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. . . . Your great comfort and mine in this war is that we honestly did everything in our power to prevent it."

When the Constitutional Convention bogged down with a deadlock of disputed points, it was the venerable Franklin who proposed in almost Quaker fashion that they might secure more progress if they began their sessions with prayer for divine help.

I have lately learned that under the influence, at the age of 16, of Cotton Mather's *Essay to do Good* he planned as early as in middle life to write a book on the art of virtue. Much as his remarks on virtue in the *Autobiography* are ridiculed, they represent not badly nor insincerely the singleness of aim towards virtue and human welfare in the Quakers that he had known. He appealed to

other motives. He used the literary devices of the time. He wrote whimsically and without sentimental piety. He even protected himself from pride, the most besetting of moralists' sins, by wit. It was at the suggestion of "a Quaker friend" that he added to his list of twelve virtues humility as a thirteenth.

158

"That of God"—A Moratorium?

Other elderly Friends should check my impressions, but I believe the above phrase or, more fully, "that of God in every man," has had a striking and perhaps increasing vogue, at least in parts of the Society of Friends, in recent years. If so, I wonder if such a fashion is wholesome.

I do not object to what the phrase is intended to express. It has its merits. It was, unlike many other current Quaker expressions, actually used by George Fox. In fact, it was used very frequently by him, but not so frequently as other phrases to express the same idea. Those familiar with Quaker literature would have to check my impressions again. I think he used it frequently for twenty-five years, but later practically abandoned it.

A few contemporary occurrences in other Friends' writings have been found; it was not, however, widespread and did not continue current. In his biography of Elias Hicks, Bliss Forbush quite properly feels the need to explain it for the general reader as "a phrase used by George Fox and later Friends to suggest the universality of the Quaker message, as well as the divine element within man." The phrase is not quoted from Elias Hicks or his contemporaries. The "later Friends" probably begin with Neave

Brayshaw and other modern students of George Fox.

Edward Grubb twenty-five years ago indicated another asset when he wrote:

"This impersonal mode of speech had advantages, especially as a disclaimer of the idea that man is in any way equivalent to God or carries within him the Divine nature in its fulness and perfection—as in the difficult question which was soon raised whether the Light of God in a man renders him infallible."

If I suggest that we, like George Fox himself, after overusing the term, now initiate a partial moratorium on it, my reasons are these: (1) Its implications are partly missed by those who use it, or at least we are often not using it as George Fox did. The verb "answer" which he usually prefixed to it suggests that concern for our own conduct as finding a response in other persons, whether Friends, other Christians, or non-Christians, is more in his thought than the divine element in ourselves or than any metaphysical theory about God and man. The eliciting of response through our consistent character is a striking feature of the Quaker witness, contrasted, for example, with mere verbal propaganda. A list of alternative phrases used more frequently in George Fox's printed *Epistles* in the same context in both his early and his later years may be of interest. What it is that we are to "answer" (or "reach") in others ("in all") is called also "the witness of God" or "the good [or righteous, etc.] principle," or "the light of Christ," or more simply the witness, the principle, the light, or the truth. These phrases outnumber two or three times the more colorless modern favorite "that of God." If all alternatives in the *Epistles* are included, the occurrences come to fully 60.

(2) To express the divine potentialities of man or "perfectionism" against the neo-Calvinism of our day as against the Calvinism of

Fox's and Barclay's days, some fuller or clearer exposition would probably be necessary, and we commend our message better if we use a less neuter-sounding phrase like Light Within, or, as William Penn preferred, "Light of Christ within," or the scriptural "Holy Spirit."

(3) Its apparent implication that the divine in man is something alien and separate from all that is human is neither good psychology nor good modern Quakerism, like Robert Barclay's rather wooden idea of a *vehiculum dei*.

(4) The phrase tends to become a mere cliché. What we need is fresh and varied and meaningful restatement of truths, including this truth. It needs spelling out in attitude and in action as well. Least of all should Friends, who shy away from creeds and fixed wording allow themselves to fall into the repetition of phrases of their own sect. If a good Roman Catholic like Cardinal Newman could admit that there is nothing commoner than for persons to use the name of God and mean nothing particular by it, Friends may well be on the alert against similar danger in this case, lest it become a kind of shibboleth and get debased like worn-out currency.

159

In the State of Denmark

Sometime ago—it must have been early in 1948—one of these letters reported a tantalizing experience. I had passed through Copenhagen with only three hours to look around. I had in my baggage, en route from London to Haverford via Oslo, microfilms of letters to Margaret Fell from William Caton, in which was mentioned a very early visit to Copenhagen of an English Friend named John Hall. When in my hurried tour of the

principal sights of the city I came upon the sign *Rigsarkivet* on a building behind the Royal Library, it occurred to me that perhaps in those very archives there might be recorded this same Quaker visit, but I had to pass by without going in.

Caton's information is very slight. On November 15, 1657, he wrote from Amsterdam: "John Hall hath taken shipping for Coppinhauen in Denmarke, the place where the King keeps his court." On May 15, 1658, Caton wrote from Leiden that Hall traveled to Copenhagen and had an interview with the King and gave him some Quaker books. "I suppose," he adds, "a good sound is sounded forth by him in that place."

I know of no record of other English Quaker visitors to Denmark in the following decades. Perhaps the next contact of Danes and Friends was not in the "steeple houses" of Copenhagen but along the Delaware River. George Fox in his *Journal* for 1672 tells of staying overnight in a Swede's house thirty miles beyond Matinicum on his way through the wilderness from Long Island to Maryland, but James Lancaster, one of his companions, reported of the same occasion, "We passed through some parts of Pennsylvania as now so called, where were some Danes and Swedes which entertained us quietly."

I can now report that I have been again at Copenhagen, but for a week-end and a day, so that I was able to meet with contemporary Friends in the area and to spend an hour in the above mentioned state archives. My curiosity was soon satisfied, and my hunch was justified. In connection with John Hall's visit to the King, I had taken pains while spending the preceding week at Hillerod to look carefully among the royal portraits in the splendid ancient castle there and in particular at that of Frederick III, for he was the reigning monarch from 1648 to 1670. His appearance seemed to me hostile

and forbidding, at least according to modern standards.

Now the letters of the old Danish kings were fortunately copied in thick manuscript volumes before the originals disappeared. These volumes are in the archives. They have been indexed by years, but there is no reference to Quakers in 1658, nor indeed for any year soon after. But at the end of the preceding year is included a brief royal order which I may translate freely or paraphrase into English as follows:

"To the Burgomaster and Council in
Copenhagen
to Arrest an English Quaker"

"Frederick III gives greetings: As we have learned that one of that sort which people in England call Quakers has come here to town and has scattered much that was obnoxious (or, shocking), you have orders to take the aforesaid person with as many of the same sort as he has with him that they may be under arrest and that until other instructions are given he may be kept in safe custody here in town so that nobody, without express permission, may have access to him. By this our wishes will be fulfilled, etc."

"Hafniae, 30 Decembr. Anno 1657."

Though the name of the subversive visitor is not given in the King's rescript, one cannot doubt that it is John Hall. The date of the document enables us to fix more closely the time of the actual visit. The hostile attitude of the authorities is not unexpected and is not contradicted by Caton's report. Further information is not forthcoming from either English or Danish sources, though I suppose one might search also in the city archives, which are housed in a separate building elsewhere in the capital.

So much for *then*. The situation is quite different *now* so far as the Quaker groups there are concerned, for they are tolerated

and even respected. But if one must cite for these letters from the past a modern parallel, a notice appearing in the local papers the very week-end of my visit will conveniently serve the purpose.

In Denmark and elsewhere the Japanese sport or form of wrestling called Judu has been introduced and is quite popular. The article that I have referred to, whether instigated by Christian forces fearing infiltration of exotic religion or due to the jealousy of a rival Judu club, gave out the suggestion that this Judu association was secretly planning in Denmark, under the cover of athletic sport, a campaign of propaganda for Zen Buddhism. Evidently by public opinion, if not by law, one can still in Denmark appeal to suspicion against foreign nations in religion. I have often before heard Quakerism and Zen Buddhism put side by side, but only in a different sort of comparison.

160

Evidence of Membership, Then and Now

At a recent lecture on William Penn even the Friends who were present were surprised to hear it said that Penn's name is not found on any list of Monthly Meeting members. This is strictly true, for the simple reason that membership in the Society of Friends as we know it today was not recorded until 1737. For all early Friends membership consisted in something other than being on the Meeting's books. Births, deaths, and marriages were early recorded, for the sake of the individual, not of the Meeting; but there was no listing of members. For many years most Friends were convinced Friends, not birth-right; but there was no application for membership or admission of members. Of course, the reality of their Quakerism showed in their life and character. Circumstantial evi-

dence for us today that a person then was a Friend occurs incidentally if he applied for marriage with another Friend or if he was disowned! If he traveled abroad he might take to another Meeting a certificate in which his freedom from marriage engagements was stated, or the satisfaction of Friends with his public ministry. Minutes of local Meetings if extant report his appointment on a committee. Perhaps the commonest form of identification of membership is in the voluminous record of sufferings. To be reported as involved in arrests, fines, imprisonment, or other penalties "on Truth's account" was the surest and most honorable evidence of being accounted a Friend. The indexes to Besse's *Collection of the Sufferings of the People of God Called Quakers* are the largest census we have of Quaker membership before 1690. It contains some 13,000 names. Needless to say William Penn appears here. So does George Fox, but I do not think George Fox ever received a certificate as member or minister or was appointed on a committee or held any office in the Society which he founded. Attendance of Friends meetings, though only sporadically reported, was also prima facie evidence that a person was a Friend.

One can but contrast with such credentials of membership the widespread type of Quakers so familiar today. Their names appear duly on the carefully kept lists of our local Meeting recorders and some of them make nominal yearly payments to the treasurer. But their total contributions to all Quaker causes are much smaller than the average member gifts in other denominations, and their attendance at Friends meetings is infrequent, especially at business meetings. If you ask them, you will find them proud of their membership and unwilling to relinquish it, but unwilling also to give much outward sign of its inward reality.

The forthcoming Yearly Meetings offer a

golden opportunity for such uncostly modern membership to revert somewhat to the standards and evidences given by "the Quaker of the Olden Time." He could be described as at least "a frequenter of our meetings."

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Friends' First or Farthest South

According to a note in the issue of *Friends Journal* for July 7, 1956, "Two letters written in 1728 by Friends living in Capetown, South Africa, and now on file in the Library at Friends House, London, are thought to be the earliest known reference to Friends in South Africa." The letters are from John George Holk and from "your willing friend Casimir" and are addressed to the English Friend Benjamin Holme. I suppose the writers could have met Holme in Holland, which he visited in 1714 and 1723. The editor does well to use the words "are thought to be," for so often when one makes such a claim, an earlier item turns up. This is not to report that I have unearthed much earlier evidence, for I have not, though I searched through the extensive correspondence between the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa and the Classis in Amsterdam from 1651 to 1804 (edited by C. Spoelstra in two volumes, 1906-7) and all the other church history works I could find either in the library of the University or that of the South Africa Institute in Amsterdam. For surely, I thought, if Quakers had existed at the Cape the church authorities would have had a bad word to say of them. I have made inquiries further afield but as yet with no success.

As to the life and conversation of the said Paulus Kripner we have heard

that he was first convinced of the Truth at the Cape of Good Hope and afterward came to live in Amsterdam.*

Although no date is given, it is hard to believe this convincement was any later than the letters of 1728 previously mentioned, since by 1734 he had spent considerable time since convincement in Holland and Philadelphia. What Quaker community there was in South Africa then, or before or after that time, we do not yet know. The history of *Friends Work in Africa* lately written by Douglas and Dorothy Steere begins with a rather mystifying report of there being a Friends meeting house in Cape Town about 1800. It is supposed this was founded by American or British Quaker whalers rather than by the Dutch, but we do not know when or why.

Since not only South Africa but the passage around the Cape and even Antarctica have been much in the news in recent months I may inquire here also about early Quakers in those southern seas. The British expeditions towards the South Pole included half a century ago two distinguished men of Quaker descent. One was Dr. E. A. Wilson, the other Lieutenant (later Sir) Ernest Shackleton. In fact the two men were once on the same expedition, that of Scott on the ship *Discovery* in 1901.

Before that, I suppose the most famous English navigator of the southern seas was James Cook (1728-1779). He too had Quaker connections. In his youth he was apprentice to John Walker, Quaker ship-owner and master mariner of Whitby, with whom even on his travels he maintained correspondence. For bona fide Friends of that period we now shall have to limit our list to two scientists. One was Sydney Parkinson who in 1768 accompanied Captain Cook's long expedition in H. M. S. *Endeav-*

our, and made nearly a thousand drawings of the many new plants discovered in Australasia. He died and was buried at sea below the Cape of Good Hope in 1771. Thus he did not live to share with Cook the voyages to other, more southern lands. His drawings were highly praised, but many of them were first published in 1900-1905. His name must be included in the gallery of distinguished Quaker botanists. Jeremiah Dixon, F.R.S., another Friend, went as astronomer to observe the transits of Venus in 1761 at Cape of Good Hope and in 1769 at Sumatra. On the former occasion he was associated with Charles Mason, thus beginning the combination of names well known in America, and through his own name contributing the term Dixie.

162

Prejudice Against Colour in America

I have just read in a Friends periodical an article with the above title. As the spelling suggests, it was published in England. It is the reaction of an American Friend who had read the report of discussions in the recent London Yearly Meeting on the subject. The writer deals with two matters in particular—the general recent improvement in the status of the Negro in the United States, and the efforts or attitudes of the Society of Friends there.

He phrases the second question, "Are Friends doing all that Friends generally in England think they should be doing as a church?" Two Yearly Meetings in America, he thinks, have acted appropriately with their growing number of colored members, but he is not sure that, as they mingle with

*Philadelphia Monthly Meeting recorded the burial of Paul Kripner, aged 80, on 4 mo 4, 1776

Friends of other Yearly Meetings, this will be approved. He remarks that "no question of morality is in this country so encircled with social torpedoes as that of the right position of the coloured man in all the relations of life."

As to the improved status of Negroes in secular life he writes very hopefully. He has just witnessed the first teachers' institute in Tennessee in which both races have participated. He mentions also evidence of the decent treatment of Negroes in public transportation. "There have been few if any cases on appeal decided against the coloured people, and none at all in any court to my knowledge in this state." By his own experience he is convinced of the success of a pacific treatment of the color question.

All of this might have been written from America to England in 1957. Actually it was written seventy-five years ago. The writer was Yardley Warner whose biography by his son has been announced in *Friends Journal*, as it is just now appearing from the press. This article by him in *Friends Quarterly Examiner* for 1882 may not be mentioned in the book, but it is a poignant reminder of how little distance the race situation has progressed in three quarters of a century. There are signs of improvement again in recent years; there are Friends and other white Americans hopeful and earnest in the cause, as was Warner in his work for the freedmen in the presidencies of Lincoln and Grant. Yet the very contemporariness of his article only emphasizes the absence of much change or progress in the years since. Will the promise of today be as little realized after another seventy-five years?

163

Friends and Mayflower I

The much publicized voyage of a replica of the original *Mayflower* has undoubtedly revived in many minds the supposed connections of that ship with the Society of Friends. The attempt to match the earlier ship in construction, in equipment, and in route was beset with much difficulty and uncertainty. Those sailing in *Mayflower II* at least knew where it was and whither it was going, while instead of Plymouth the others intended for Virginia or perhaps Manhattan.

Equally suspect are the Quaker associations with that earlier voyage of 1620. I shall mention three. It is customary to picture the dress of the Pilgrim Fathers as a good deal like the Quaker garb that is traditional. But the Quaker costume itself was not standardized until much later—at least for women—while the plain or drab colors were not characteristic of either the Pilgrims or the Quakers. "The Pilgrims," we are told, "had no austerity rules regarding dress, but they've somehow been confused with Puritans or Quakers. Pilgrim women dipped their materials in saffron to get a bright orange color, or in indigo for rich blue shades. . . . The Pilgrim Fathers inclined towards Lincoln green or russet brown in their everyday garb. For somewhat dressier occasions they chose a variety of colors. Ruling Elder William Brewster, for example, took along a wardrobe which included a red cap, a violet coat and a pair of green drawers."

In the second place, the Pilgrim Fathers are often spoken of as persecutors of the Quakers. They are criticized for having sought religious freedom for themselves and then refused it to others. Here again there has been confusion with the Puritans. Unlike

the Pilgrims of Plymouth colony, the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay were not separatists from the Church; they had no intentions of founding a religious asylum. Soon after their arrival about 1630 and well before the arrival of the Quakers they showed their intolerance in the cases of Roger Williams and of Anne Hutchinson. No wonder they went to even greater extremes with the Quakers they hanged. In Plymouth Plantation the Quakers were for a short time persecuted. But, except John Alden, all the first comers were then dead; their successors were under pressure from Massachusetts to adopt severe measures. But they never enacted a death penalty for Quakers, and even milder hostility soon ceased. Though Quaker historians have long tried to correct the confusion of Pilgrim and Puritan, it still continues.

The most complicated and intriguing contact of the *Mayflower* and Friends is the theory that the barn at the hostel by the well-known ancient Friends meeting house and burial ground at Jordans was made of the hull of the ship. In 1920 when the identification was first seriously argued I happened to be attending a conference at Jordans and sleeping with others on cots in the barn. It was a pleasant thought as we gazed at the roof that we were in reverse looking down into the hold of the famous ship. To Rendel Harris, that most ingenious of detectives, we owe the extended argument in behalf of identification. He persuaded himself and perhaps certain others to become "believers." The suggestion continued to appear in newspaper articles in sundry places, and will doubtless long survive. But, like other detective stories, it may well today be dismissed as fiction. Such at least is my impression on reading the careful discussion by J. M. Horrocks in the *Mariner's Mirror* for 1922 (five instalments). Few who hear of the proposed identification are likely to

know of this answer. I will not repeat it here. The author deals with Rendel's arguments on the unidentified part owner of the vessel, on the letters HAR for Harwich inscribed on one beam, and on the crack and iron clamp of another. That these beams are from a ship need not be denied, but all the rest of the supposed circumstantial evidence is very shaky. Ultimately the case rested for Harris on local tradition, but since we have other competing local traditions—for the masts of the *Mayflower* at Abington, Berks, and for the keel timber at a Congregational meeting house at Hingham, Massachusetts—we must be content with the verdict "not proven."

164

The Quaker Approach to the Apocrypha

I am sometimes a little embarrassed by the assumption others make that to almost any subject Quakers have or ought to have their own distinctive approach. I have never been able to answer all such questions directed to me, questions like "What is the Quaker view of euthanasia?" However, the recent publication of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament in the Revised Standard Version makes appropriate the topic suggested for this letter.

The ancient books or parts of books called the Apocrypha were not part of the final canonical selection of the Hebrew Bible, but were known to Christians in Greek and Latin from early times. At the Council of Trent in 1546 the Roman Catholics accepted them as part of Holy Scripture, but English Puritans a century later said explicitly in the Westminster Confession of 1648: "The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore of

no authority in the Church of God, nor to be otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings."

As themselves a branch of Puritanism and extreme opponents of "popery", the Society of Friends would react against these books, if for no better reason than that the Papists honored and used them. The Anglican Church never rejected them so fully and has included lessons from them in its Book of Common Prayer. Most English Bibles in the earlier periods of Quakerism included these books. It is natural that Friends should have occasionally quoted them, but not in proportion to their quotations from the universally accepted Scriptures.

Another factor in Quakerism was working in an opposite direction. They attributed less authority in general to Scripture than did other Christians, and hence they were in a position to question any view, either Catholic or Protestant, that attributed to either the larger or the shorter canon of the Old Testament particular authority. They took pleasure in pointing out that any Bible which excluded, as all did, books like Enoch, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the writings of the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus, who lived before Moses, was arbitrary. They called attention also to the writings excluded from the New Testament and reprinted some of them for their own use. All of this was, however, much more in defense of their views of inspiration as not confined to the Bible, than in connection with their own practice of reading and quoting the Bible.

A survey of seventeenth-century Quaker attitudes on the subject, which is elsewhere available more at length, produces when summarized an impression of conflict, but of rather characteristic nonconformist practice, in ignoring pretty generally the contents of the disputed books while Friends had less need than others to draw a theoretical line

either including or excluding the Apocrypha.

The most aggressive support of the Apocrypha by a Friend comes from Luke Howard, F.R.S., the meteorologist, the friend of Goethe, and the editor of the *Yorkshireman*. In the 1820's in Great Britain and Scotland there was a vigorous drive by ultra anti-Catholic supporters of the Bible Societies to get the Apocrypha taken out of the printing of Bibles. It was at just about the time (1827-29) that Luke Howard translated from the Vulgate and printed four of the principal parts of the Apocrypha and recommended them for reading. His translation was scholarly and his argument appropriate.

Probably the books are unfamiliar to most of us. Many modern Friends scarcely recognize as such even the most familiar echoes of the Apocrypha, like "A Daniel come to judgment" or "Truth is mighty and will prevail." The new version in modern English may lead them to savor the books for themselves. It would be absurd for the lay public to excite itself over the fragmentary, sectarian writings from the Dead Sea Scrolls and to continue to ignore classical and influential Jewish writings of the same period because they have long been known instead of just discovered, or because they were once condemned as not being sacred Scripture in a sense that makes very little difference nowadays.

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The Call to Theologize

We seem to be living in a period of somewhat urgent insistence on the need for Quaker theology. Never before in our generation has there ever been so much expressed demand for Friends to theologize. The nearest parallels have been much earlier in our history and even those were somewhat dif-

ferent. In the earliest period the need felt was due to criticisms from outside our own ranks. The evangelical movement of a later century was propaganda by Friends themselves for a selected set of propositions.

The reasonableness of the present-day call is obvious. Theology is, or should be, merely the reporting of religious experience in intelligible language. Communication—that favorite modern term—requires that we should be able to express to others what we feel and know. Hence have arisen the theologies of the past. They are attempts to set forth in words not merely spun-out theories, but the logical interpretation of what men have found in their own spiritual lives. Admittedly words are often inadequate for some of the inner mysteries, but if we are to communicate at all we must attempt to spell out articulately the facts of experience.

To formulate our ideas tidily may be a great satisfaction to ourselves. Also to others the Bible encourages us to be ready to give a reason for the faith that is in us. This may be done either as a matter of self-defense or to enable us to share our “findings” with other seekers and to compare notes on unsolved questions. There are of course manifold dangers in the process, too numerous and too subtle to mention here.

The situation of Friends in the first generation is simple to understand, though it is not often set forth in its simplicity. It may make a useful comparison with our situation. They had grown up in a Christendom with its traditional doctrines, but they had what for their time was a novel and vivid experience. We may call it divine revelation. They used various names for it, new or old, but the important things about it were (to use the titles of some of their pamphlets) that it was “not ceased,” that is, contemporary, and that it was “immediate,” that is, without intermediary. What the first Friends

wished to communicate was this firsthand “immediacy.” In doing so they were little concerned to criticize other current doctrines, if these were not in conflict. They accepted relevant biblical terms and rejected nonbiblical ones, like “the word of God” for the Bible and “Trinity” and “persons” for God, Christ, and the Spirit. But by their new emphasis they quite recast the balance in Christian thinking. By merely avowing what was to them most real, they gave a subordinate place to things long central to others, like the Scriptures as a present means of revelation, the sacraments and the authoritative church, and even the redemptive death of Christ in a long past age. These were not primary either in their distinctive experience or in their expression of it.

We can never be too grateful to our forebears that with instinctive integrity they kept their expression so close to what they knew by experience, or, as they put it, “knew experimentally.” Without attempting a full-fledged theology, they usually hewed to this criterion. Whatever was long past, what was mediate or traditional, sank out of importance, dimmed by whatever was a present, personal reality. With freshness they called men to the Light or the Christ in men’s selves instead of to any

... dead fact stranded on the shore
Of the oblivious years.

Conscientious theologizing can sometimes be identified by what it does not claim.

We shall be their true followers, not by trying to imitate their experience, or by trying to revive it with using their phrases, still less by using the traditional phrases of Christian doctrine which were not primary in their writings, even though occasionally repeated by them. For the function of theology is not to elicit experience but to de-

scribe what the experience has been. Experience is the prior factor and to it theology is to be adjusted and not vice versa. Even among the early Friends one can distinguish the experiential element in their writings. I once went through Sewel's *History of the Quakers* to note the places where the historian spoke as an eyewitness. Similarly one can note in Barclay's *Apology* passages which have the ring of an experient rather than of a logician.

I would not claim for the experience which we today most truly have that it is or ought to be identical with that of the early Friends in its emphasis. The things of the spirit now most real for us may be in other areas—meditation, work, service for others, sense of community, moral conviction, and the like. Undoubtedly between these experiences and traditional dogmas, Christian or Quaker, partial or farfetched parallels may be found. But loyalty to method rather than to results calls us also to fresh formulation in appropriate terms, including psychological, sociological, and scientific terms perhaps more than theological ones. Theology is by no means the only possible or useful frame of reference.

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Three Earlham Halls

My travels this past summer gave me opportunity to visit three buildings called Earlham Hall, two of them for the first time and the other for the last time. The oldest and most famous is near Norwich, England. Having never visited this one of the important English cities and ancient centers of Quakerism, I decided to use a free "bank holiday" to spend the weekend there. Among other sites I made a point of visiting the seventeenth-century brick building with

the grounds at Earlham, some four miles east of the city. The former is now a school, but the grounds are a pleasant public park. From about 1786 for a century this was the home of the Gurneys, a Quaker family, including until her marriage Elizabeth Fry, and throughout his life her brother Joseph John Gurney. Both of these have American connections, since it was a visiting American Quaker, William Savery, who changed the life of Elizabeth Gurney and it was Joseph John who so largely changed the life of American Quakerism. The earliest chapter, the delightful revelations of the adolescent Gurney sisters in their diaries, is told in Augustus J. C. Hare's *The Gurneys of Earlham*. For Joseph John we have his own life and side glimpses from George Barrow, who when fishing the nearby river Yare accidentally came upon him, later visited him at "Earl's Home," and was persuaded to travel as an agent of the Bible Society in Spain. A still later picture of life in the Hall is beautifully given in Percy Lubbock's *Earlham*. It is, however, as the childhood home of Elizabeth Fry, Quaker heroine and, incidentally, the sartorial pattern of a plain Quakeress, that this Earlham will most probably be remembered.

The second Hall was built two centuries later, between 1847 and 1855, in White-water Valley, near Richmond, Indiana. The old name stone reads "Friends Boarding School: erected 1854, Ezra Baily Archt.," but at a later date the name Earlham was given both to the building and to the college which succeeded the school. It housed the whole institution until, beginning in 1887, some separate buildings were added. For half a century it has been, except for the parlors and the dining room in the basement, the girls' dormitory. When I last saw it, the wreckers had already half demolished it, while at the same moment a new hall of the same name stood revealed behind it, complet-

ed and in the process of receiving its new furniture for the opening of the term. Architecturally this building is said to be more imitative of the Norfolk hall than of its local predecessor, though it has received the old name stone. It has a modern spacious dining hall, but is mainly to serve as women's residence. So all three halls have to do with the best traditions of Quaker womanhood, past, recent, and future.

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Whittier's Quakerly Use of the Bible

John Greenleaf Whittier was a Quaker unashamed. This is a well-known fact of history. He was a Friend by conviction as well as by birth. He believed that "the world needs the Society of Friends as a testimony and a standard."

The purpose of this letter is to indicate one phase of this congenial element in his poetry. Not only in Friends' social concern for freedom—religious, political, personal, and economic—was he at home, but also in their testimony against professional clergy ("Clerical Oppressors"), outward sacraments and ritual ("The Meeting"), and creeds (*passim*). On the positive side he emphasized the universality ("Miriam") and continuity of divine revelation, in contrast to the usual emphasis upon a closed Bible revelation—what he called again and again "the letter" as contrasted with the Spirit.

Yet Whittier knew and used his Bible, as few other poets have done. In 1930 James S. Stevens published in full "816 passages in his poetry which come from the Bible directly or indirectly." Many are of course merely illustrative of modern narratives or scenes. Favorites are those passages which deal with divine revelation or intervention. These include theophanies at Bethel to Jacob, at

Sinai to Moses, or at Horeb to Elijah, or on Pentecost, or at Patmos. References to the life of Christ are frequent, especially to "the healing of his seamless dress" and to the touching of its hem. Undoubtedly these give his poetry an appearance of evangelical orthodoxy.

And faith has still its Olivet,
And love its Galilee.

What seems to me especially striking is his repeated use of such biblical subjects as types of contemporary experience. Robert Barclay describes the Scriptures as a looking glass "wherein we should see . . . the conditions and experiences of the saints of old, that finding our experience to answer to theirs we might be the more confirmed and comforted and our hope of obtaining the same end strengthened."

With his "photographic mind" Whittier had much interest in Palestinian scenes, which for metre's sake he calls Syrian. This may be partly due to his admiration for Sybil Jones, the founder there of the first American Friends' mission. He wrote poems called "Palestine" and "The Holy Land." His nostalgia is met in the former poem by the characteristic assurance that here and now the same influences may be experienced. So, at length also in "The Chapel of the Hermits," for example

"We lack but open eye and ear
To find the Orient's marvels here;—
The still small voice in autumn's hush,
Yon maple wood the burning bush."

The release at the Red Sea of the Hebrew slaves was naturally a favorite theme. Like a Negro spiritual he writes in "The Song of the Negro Boatman":

De Lord dat heap de Red Sea waves
He jus' as 'trong as den.

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Other samples, taken at random, are:

This mapled ridge shall Horeb be,
Yon green-banked lake our Galilee!
—"The Chapel of the Hermits"

My Gerizim and Ebal
Are in each human soul
—"The Vision of Echard"

For man the living temple is:
The mercy-seat and cherubim
And all the holy mysteries,
He bears with him.
—"The Hermit of the Thebaid"

Whittier frequently in defining in correspondence his Quaker position selects as its characteristic what he calls "the Divine Immanence, the Inward Light and Word," "the distinctive doctrine of Quakerism—the Light within—the immanence of the Divine Spirit in Christianity." Like his own Pennsylvania Pilgrim,

He walked by faith and not the letter's
sight,
And read his Bible by the Inward Light.

Of course this transfer of biblical motifs to our time and place is not unique to him. William Blake, born just fifty years earlier, speaks of building "Jerusalem/In England's green and pleasant land." Mrs. Browning wrote of "Every common bush afire with God"; and what Francis Thompson places "In No Strange Land" "on the water, not of Gennesaret, but Thames," Whittier, calling "every land a Palestine," moves to his Lake Genoa and the Merrimac. The lesson is one: revelation is the same in the present as in the past, in other words, both—now and then.

The Flushing Remonstrance, 1657

Perhaps for a religious periodical a disproportionate number of these letters have dealt with postage stamps. I can justify the procedure now by an extensive article (and cover) of the *International Journal of Religious Education* for last June, in which the numerous stamps showing Bible sites, Christian symbols, non-Christian religions, famous



church buildings, religious leaders, the life of Jesus, and so forth, are cited as a means for promoting religious interest.

The stamp issued December 27, 1957, has to do with Friends, but it differs from most of those heretofore mentioned, in that instead of portraying a Friend—it has no portrait of anyone—it celebrates a remonstrance sent just three hundred years ago by the citizens of Flushing, Long Island, against the Dutch Governor's proclamation forbidding them to entertain any Quakers in the town. Petrus Stuyvesant had shown himself earlier no friend of religious toleration. He tried to prevent the Lutherans from having "free liberties exercised in their houses," and forbade all Jews "to infest Manhattan," and now he reacted strongly against those who

by this remonstrance maintained that "the aforesaid heretical and abominable sect of the Quakers ought to be tolerated."

The stamp is therefore in honor not of the Quakers but of the plain citizens of Flushing who without being Quakers themselves were broad-minded enough to resent the Governor's effort to curtail their hospitality. Such instances are not unique. I discussed in one of these Letters (No. 135) an appeal for clemency towards James Naylor sent to Parliament in 1656 by eighty-seven "peaceable and well affected citizens in and about the cities of London and Westminster." The thirty men of Flushing also claimed to be "true subjects both of Church and State." Actual Quakers can hardly be found on either list, though naturally some who befriended Friends ultimately joined those on whose behalf they had spoken.

All honor to these defenders of religious liberty! May Friends be found equally faithful to defend the civil and religious liberty of other persecuted people at home as well as abroad in our day even if we do not share all the ideas of the victims.

There is also another lesson for us in this episode. Three centuries ago and ever since, a significant role of Friends has been their mere existence as an innocent, upright group, whose independence and challenge to conformity provided a much wider circle of persons with occasion to become defenders of liberty. They have provided almost a "nuisance value" of no small utility. More than any spoken protest or preaching on their own part, the Friends, like the visitors to Flushing, kindled thus in men of other faiths a renewal of liberal principles and a willingness to suffer for them. The heritage of religious toleration came from Old Holland, the visiting Quakers by mere passivity and patience shamed the Long Island settlers to reassert the costly principle. When the contribution of the Society of Friends to

social welfare comes to be added up we must not forget that, under persecution, faithfulness on our part can give the impulse to society as a whole towards the correction of narrow conformity, whether political or religious.

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"My father's gentler than thine!"

I have been chuckling over a picture with the above legend in a recent *New Yorker*. That is partly because it is, I think consciously, a dig at Quakerism, and partly because it fits, I think unconsciously, a conspicuous feature of the cold war.

In the picture two boys in old-fashioned clothes and broad-brimmed hats stand glowering at each other. The only other object shown is a spinning wheel, which helps date the scene. The quoted remark is evidently an alternate version of juvenile boasts like, "My sled is better than yours," or, "My big brother can lick your big brother." It is humorously altered to suit the Quakerlike standard of values.

Yet the whole cartoon fits admirably the contemporary altercation between two countries at the very time it is published. Correspondence has been going on, some of it "at the summit," in which one recurrent characteristic is the hostile mutual claim, "My government is more peace-loving than yours!"

We Friends can easily laugh at the original cartoon, but the mutual armed vaunting of peaceful intentions is less innocent than the juvenilia of jest. Each side in the cold war "doth protest too much." Peace is too delicate and too important a matter to be a subject of mere rival propaganda. Probably both sides are, according to their lights, earnest in the matter, but we have seen other

virtues claimed or even practiced "out of envy and strife," as Paul says, and we find it hard to share Paul's tolerance of it.

It has been a heartbreaking experience for Friends to observe how forms of disinterested service in which we have been engaged can become for others tools for sinister objectives. War relief is promoted to call attention to enemy atrocities. Refugees are exploited to perpetuate hatred or to claim *Lebensraum*. Technical assistance and civilian aid are used not so much to help the needy as to buy military allies for each side against the other. The good means no more sanctify the end than a good end justifies the means.

Perhaps I am wrong in connecting the quaint Quaker satire with the current unlvely situation. But, as often in these letters, the archaic mingles with the dreadfully contemporary. I recall a teashop that I saw near Oxford in 1952. The little cottage was called "Ye Olde Spinning Wheel," but above its thatched roof rose a large TV aerial.

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Quaker Quotes

More often than I can do so, I am asked to verify or identify quotations, whether quoted or written by Friends or written about them. Sometimes they are, I believe, merely paraphrases or misquotations. If I can turn them up in a dictionary of quotations or in the concordance to the King James Bible the answer is easy, but often it is otherwise. The early Friends quoted sometimes from other translations of the Bible and from books rather unfamiliar to us, and their own writings are voluminous. Fox and Woolman wrote epistles or essays less familiar than their *Journals*. I have heard it suggested that we should have a complete

concordance of George Fox's writings made on an electronic I.B.M., but for the little use to be given it I cannot advise it. Why not read George Fox himself? The following random samples may show some of the varieties of questions, whether answered or unanswered:

"I shall pass through this world but once. If therefore there be any kindness I can show, or any good thing I can do, let me do it now . . . for I shall not pass this way again." This is attributed to Stephen Grellet, but the dictionaries say it has not been found in his works and it has been attributed to many, many others.

"Be valiant for the truth upon the earth." This is a favorite exhortation of George Fox's Epistles in a certain period of his life. This I knew. Only belatedly did I discover that it came from Jeremiah 9:3: "They are not valiant for the truth upon the earth." I might have guessed it was biblical, for a character in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is Mr. Valiant-for-Truth. But for George Fox "truth" means Quakerism.

At another period of his life George Fox repeatedly used the phrase, "occasion of wars." If this too is quoted, and not his own coinage, I have not found the source; perhaps some summary of James 4:1-3.

"Sold his birthright for a mess of pottage." This description of Esau has been used by many others besides Friends, but it is not the wording of either Genesis 25 or Hebrews 12:16 in any English Bible I know. I stumbled upon it by accident in "The Translator to the Reader," the original introduction to the King James Bible, which long since has been omitted in the printing. And now I find the phrase in the chapter heading for Genesis 25 of two earlier Bibles, viz., Cranmer's, 1540, and Geneva, 1560.

"Receive(d) the truth in the love of it." This is a very common early Quaker description of those convinced, using "the truth"

again with the usual overtones. It is repeatedly put in just these words in the answers to the questionnaire that we call "First Publishers of Truth," and elsewhere, and Margaret Fox, in her testimony prefixed to her husband's *Journal*, adds, "I did as the Apostle saith." Second Thessalonians 2:10, "they received not the love of the truth," is a little like it but not the same. I am still looking.

"Tertullian uttered those excellent words, O Divine soul, that art a natural Christian. T. Dood, p. 31, etc." This tantalizing copy of the beginning of one of George Fox's papers interests me since it shows that he was familiar with a text that was a favorite with Rufus M. Jones and other Christians of a universal spirit. The Tertullian passage (Apol. 17), *O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae*, is well known. But what secondary reference is George Fox citing at the end?

"An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man, as . . . Quakerism of George Fox." Fortunately this passage from Ralph W. Emerson's essay "Self-Reliance" is readily identified, since Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* gives the first part of it.

"In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity." This motto has been printed on the front of every issue of our contemporary *The Friend* of London since Volume I of the New Series, 1861. A recent book by a church historian, I find, cites it as from Peter Meiderlin. But how many Friends ever heard of him? For one hundred and eighty monthly issues of *The Friend*, and on the annual title page for as long, the quotation was attributed to Augustine. But that was dropped in 1875, since it appears to come from a tract on church unity published in Latin about 1630, addressed to theologians of the Augsburg Confession of faith. The author's name was given as Rupertus Meldenius, but that is thought

to be an anagram for the real writer, Petrus Meuderlinus, or (in German) Peter Meiderlin. I suppose someone confused the *Confessio Augustana* with the Confessions of St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo. All of which shows what a merry chase may be involved in Quaker quotes.

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Robert Barclay's "Secret"

If, as our theologians urge, Quakerism must again today have a go at theology, we may well take a leaf or two out of Barclay, the famous prototype. Admittedly he is not in high favor in several circles, though for different reasons. But I have no hesitation in recommending his example in three respects.

(1) He confined himself in his *Apology* to those matters in which Quakerism had something distinctive to contribute. Such traditional doctrines as Friends held in common with other Christians he felt satisfied to leave undiscussed. Where Friends' views were less commonplace, he thought it worth while to clarify them. In so doing he rendered an enduring service.

(2) Barclay spoke, so far as was possible, from experience rather than from theory. Again and again, as one reads the *Apology*, one either is told directly or feels securely that the author is speaking from firsthand knowledge, "experimentally," as he would say. It is fun to mark in the unabridged *Apology* or even in *Barclay in Brief* passages that show this autobiographical authenticity: "What I have heard with the ears of my soul or seen with my inward eyes"; "the real and undoubted experience whereof I have been a witness"; "as one that can speak from a certain experience and not mere hearsay"; "I have felt the evil in me often chained down and the good reached to and raised";

"while I was yet but eighteen years of age," etc.

(3) One of the most familiar of these passages will serve to introduce my third point. Speaking of Friends' worship, he says:

"Not by strength of arguments or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine and convincement of my understanding thereby, came I to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this life; for when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people I felt a secret power among them which touched my heart. . . ."

The key word here, repeated again and again, is "secret," "secretly." It occurs earlier in the statement of the proposition and recurs in the demonstration: "secret touches of this holy light . . . secretly united to God . . . stirring and secret inspiration of the spirit of God in our hearts . . . secret power and virtue of life . . . secret sense of God's power . . . secret travail [*thrice*] . . . secretly smitten . . . secret strength and power." It reappears among other passages in this one on prayer:

"Inward prayer is that secret turning of the mind towards God, whereby being secretly touched and awakened by the light of Christ in the conscience and so bowed down under the sense of its iniquities, unworthiness and misery, it looks up to God and joining with the secret stirring of the seed of God, it breathes towards him, and is constantly breathing forth some secret desires and aspirations towards him."

I am not sure what dictionary meaning, if any, exactly fits Barclay's use of the word. It implies something subconscious, interior and vital, an ingredient of religion that our theologians today will do well to emphasize with Barclay, while escaping any "particular disquisition of each doctrine."

Meanwhile some of us whose interest is more historical and literary may perhaps prefer to try to unravel a more concrete

secret of Robert Barclay, the still undecoded form of shorthand in which he left the manuscript of his life. Thus inner and outer autobiography may be joined together.

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Frustration in Site Seeking

It is a good thing that we recognize the un-Quakerly character of making much of historic shrines, for circumstances often make their identification extremely difficult.

I take my illustration from fairly modern Quaker homes in a civilized part of the world, namely, John Woolman's houses in Mount Holly, New Jersey. Others will remember that between forty and fifty years ago a brick house at 99 Branch Street was thought to be the house that Woolman was building at the time that he went to England and died there, and that it was later occupied by his widow and daughter's family. To my surprise now I find myself quoted in that ancient controversy which was mainly carried on between our late Friends Amelia M. Gummere and George De Cou. I think the latter finally persuaded us all, including Janet Whitney, that the said house, with its inscription

W
I E
1783

was built for Jabez and Esther Woolston. Since, however, it is on land sold to them by Woolman's daughter and son-in-law and so recorded in 1786, land which probably once belonged to Woolman himself, it continues to be called the Woolman Memorial and is operated by the Woolman Memorial Association, its present owners, with full knowl-

edge of its only indirect association with its namesake.

This is not very satisfactory, either positively or negatively, and one might well inquire why someone in discussing the matter a half century ago did not try to prove not only that this was not the house sought for but that some other house was. There are, indeed, two houses to account for, the one he built at this time and the one he had been living in before.

With a sense of satisfaction, therefore, I came by accident upon an article printed in the *Mount Holly Herald*, September 8, 1883, which seemed to account for both houses. Under the heading "An Old Landmark Gone," it begins:

"The fire which occurred on Saturday morning, Sept. 1, 1883, destroyed one of the interesting antique relics of Mount Holly. The flames quickly consumed the lighter portions of the barn, but the old oaken timbers, hardened by age, burned slowly and stubbornly.

"More than a century ago that oaken framework stood upon the north side of Mill Street . . . and was the home of John Woolman, a minister of the Society of Friends.

"Woolman also owned the Stratton farm on the 'Monmouth Road' now belonging to Budd Atkinson, and the dwelling house prior to the present one on that farm, torn down about forty years ago, was the residence of Woolman's wife and children after his death."

This sounds circumstantial and conclusive. Both houses are identified; but the one he lived in was burned by fire in 1883, and the one he built for his family but never lived in was torn down about forty years earlier.

But now in 1958 I get an elaborate letter, citing deeds through two centuries, which seem to show that the house burned in 1883

had belonged, not to John Woolman, but to his friend and contemporary, another minister of the Meeting, John Sleeper. So the question remains: If that is so, where did Woolman live? And was the other house really torn down as stated? The reader will not wish to follow the matter in detail, but I shall put in a note the references to the primary printed matter, not however to manuscripts and pictures.* It all adds up to a big question mark. I end, therefore, as I began, showing at least that I have lost no ground: Circumstances make the identification of historic sites extremely difficult.

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Bad Pyrmont in 1958

Though Bad Pyrmont, the location of the forthcoming World Committee's meeting in September, is well known to many readers of the *FRIENDS JOURNAL*, an impression of its present condition and a reminder of its history may be appropriately offered. The history has several contacts with America.

Here I shall go back less than forty years to the days of the *Kinderspeisung*, or Anglo-American Quaker relief work in Germany. There were then no German Friends, but a considerable interest in Quakerism arose because of contacts during and after the First World War.

The most interested and sympathetic called themselves Friends of the Friends. Already in the summer of 1920 they held a

**Mt. Holly Herald* quoted, but not by name, in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 57, 1883, p. 74. Amelia M. Gummere, *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, vi, 1915, pp. 66-70; xvi, 1927, pp. 25-27. George De Cou, *Historical Sketches of Mount Holly and Vicinity*, No. 1, 1936, p. 9. Cf. Janet P. Whitney, *John Woolman, American Quaker*, 1942, p. 365 note (American Edition)

gathering, together with a few English and American visitors. As I recall, there were some twenty or thirty of us in all, a few of whom still survive. The German participants explained the source and course of their interest in Quakerism. They represented, as seekers have done at other times, a great variety of approaches. Some were literary figures, like Alfons Paquet or Wilhelm Schaefer. The latter had lately addressed to our Society the striking pamphlet *Are You They That Should Come?* Visiting Friends tried modestly to answer this and other questions, solicitous that no too appreciative or superficial attraction should sway the hungry and war-weary people to our charitable or pacifist characteristics. If there was to be a German Quakerism, it must be indigenous and spontaneous, and must follow its own lines.

In 1932, when I was next in Germany, there had been a slow and natural development. A Yearly Meeting had been formed in 1925 under the shepherding care of foreign Friends and was finding its own way. In Bad Pyrmont, where the old meeting house had been reclaimed, it was being rebuilt in a different location close by the Quaker graveyard, whose title English Friends had held since the decline of the German Meeting.

Here again in August, 1958, in this beautiful watering place, with its parks and medicinal baths and lovely countryside, the Germany Yearly Meeting held what would have been, except for six years' omission, its thirty-third session. Few English or American Friends were present. You will hear its epistle read at your own next Yearly Meeting.

What can be briefly said today of the host Yearly Meeting for the World Committee and of the property? The substantial building is in good repair. In its main room now are attractive and comfortable new seats, two hundred and twenty-three of

them. They are believed to have improved the acoustics. The graveyard and other adjacent land is, like so much of Germany, beautiful with grass, trees, and flowers. Bronze tablets for the deceased—a dozen or so—were lately installed along the graveyard walls, including markers for John Pemberton of Philadelphia (died 1795) and Richard Cary of Baltimore (died 1933).

The Yearly Meeting has now between five hundred and six hundred members and represents over thirty local Meetings in various parts of Germany. It includes alike East Germany and West Germany. [Ten years later the Yearly Meeting divided into two to accommodate the continuing difficulty.] Residents of East Germany often find it difficult to get visas for "unnecessary" travel here to the Western Zone, but a full dozen of those who applied finally received permission and were present.

The political barriers are as unwelcome to Friends as they are to most Germans. Mutual information and interpretations are therefore in order whenever East and West meet. One finds that, like other Yearly Meetings, this one also now represents two theological emphases, the Christological and the non-Christological. Yet with all their different backgrounds and with much strong personal individuality, there is every evidence of much "love and unity." Indeed, both the host Meeting and the historic Quaker site will make Pyrmont very fitting for this ecumenical gathering of Friends.

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Fox and Cromwell

England, at least in its newspapers and radio, has been celebrating the tercentenary of the death of George Fox's greatest contemporary, Oliver Cromwell. The Protector,

as he is called, has, since September 3, 1658, when he died, passed through many vicissitudes of public esteem or disesteem and will continue to do so. The present mood thinks less ill of him than was customary before Thomas Carlyle made a hero of him. The fact that he became something of a hero for Hitler did not for a time enhance his popularity in a generation that professes a universal detestation for dictatorship. His religious sincerity is today unquestioned, but for many that is not an asset or an intelligible feature in his character. I suspect that Friends in particular are still a little hard on him.

No doubt we take our cue from George Fox's *Journal*. It reports a series of interviews between the two men, so unlike and yet so like. The initial impression is one of mutual respect, but in the end they became mutually critical. Probably Cromwell suspected the danger of the inner light as he knew it only too well in the case of James Nayler. The Friends' criticism of Oliver was not ingratiating. Their main complaint was that he had not ended tithes or the other practices which led to Quaker persecution. This was true, but the fact remains that, considering the pressure he was under, he was a mitigating influence even in the Nayler affair. There was sufficient toleration under him during the brief Commonwealth period for newborn Quakerism to gain a foothold and for the ideas of toleration and of other civil liberties to become an ideal and tradition that should ultimately prevail in the English-speaking world.

It will be profitable for Friends today, at any rate, to ruminate upon some of the issues. I commend the rereading of the passages in George Fox's *Journal* or in the lives of Cromwell or of George Fox. Allowance should be made for the latter as for the former. When he says that Cromwell had hardened, he had perhaps, with reason, hard-

ened himself. George Fox's feeling that his prophecy was fulfilled of an evil end to Cromwell, exhumed after a natural death and "rolled in his grave," was part of an obsession common then and less congenial now. George Fox's own report—unfortunately we have not firsthand reports of what Cromwell thought of Fox—was shared by other Friends. We have from many of them records of visits paid or letters sent. Yet some of Cromwell's household were Friends, and Lady Claypole, his favorite daughter and the recipient of a beautiful letter of psychiatric tendency from George Fox, was, her father said, a seeker. We do not know that Cromwell ever saw James Nayler, though it is likely. It was Cromwell's friends who saved Nayler from the extreme of Parliament's fury.

As one visited the special exhibit of Cromwell portraits in the London National Portrait Gallery, they seemed to call for a new understanding from Friends of his inner character. Much of that, like much of his outward garb, was determined by his times. His is perhaps the first in that long series of visits of Friends to the heads of nations of which Professor Tolles wrote in these pages ten years ago. Even today not all Quaker delegations appreciate the practical difficulties of the statesmen they visit; nor do they give credit for the religious sincerity and sympathy of those who feel the responsibility of their position. Yet statesmen still sometimes disclose these features, as Cromwell sometimes did to George Fox.

A painter or a playwright ought to give us an imaginative reconstruction of George Fox and Oliver Cromwell confronting each other. One has been called "the greatest figure in the political history of England." The other, according to Trevelyan, "made at least the most original contribution to the history of religion of any Englishman."

The Plain Language

Like other Friends I have often had occasion to reflect on the unintended evolution that has accompanied the continuance of the Quaker pronouns. Inside our Society, as in society in general, language tends to evolve by laws, unconscious and inexorable. This with other changes makes much of the Friends' early testimony out of date. The first Friends had a real point in their costly insistence on saying "thou" to everyone. But "time makes ancient good uncouth." They claimed that their practice was grammatical English and corresponded to the practice of other languages, including "the pure language of the Spirit" in the Scriptures. They liked its leveling character, or, as we should call it today, its democracy. They confirmed their sinister feeling that "you" to an individual was sheer flattery by noting how in practice saying "thou" to any notable made him angry.

But today how plain is the "plain language"? The writer of novels that essays to use it mostly goes wrong. The telegraph operator is likely to bungle it. Friends themselves have been far from logical, grammatical, consistent, or democratic as they have continued to use it. Let me illustrate as briefly as possible these points from four quite different bits in my recent reading.

(1) Here is a 1956 inaugural dissertation—something like a Ph.D. thesis—at the University of Erlangen by Hans Ulherr. It deals with "the use of the pronoun of address of the second person singular in the English speech of North America," and wrestles manfully in two chapters with the Quaker usage. Unfortunately, one of his principal sources of illustration is *Letters*

from an American Farmer, 1782, by Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur (also known as John Hector St. John). Even without the fallibility of such a source, his evidence produces an extremely awkward picture of grammatical rhyme or reason. It is well-known that in time accusative "thee" replaced nominative "thou," in accordance with a dialect variant in parts of Britain, just as everywhere accusative "you" for the plural replaced nominative "ye." That played havoc with the specific verb forms in *-est*.

(2) My second historical sample is the letters of John Greenleaf Whittier which I have read in connection with the sesquicentennial of his birth. He used Friends language not only to Friends but often, though intermittently, to non-Friends. By his time "thee" had generally replaced "thou" as subject, but the proper verb was evidently uncertain. Sometimes it was the same as the third personal singular, as it is with most Friends today, "thee knows" (like "he knows"), "thee is" (like "he is"). Sometimes it is the verb of the plural (a partial concession to the world's language?), as when Whittier writes "thee have" or "thee are." He sometimes says "thee hast," "thee art," and the like, and sometimes "thou have," "thou are," etc.

It must be already clear that we cannot refer to ourselves, as Richard Farnsworth did in his day, as "Quakers who witness and practice the pure, proper, and single plain language as the holy men and people of God of old time did."

My next illustrations of the problems of plain language come from foreign countries. When George Fox and his friends composed, out of some thirty languages ancient and modern, that remarkable *tour de force* of both learning and typography, *A Battle-dore for Teachers and Professors to Learn Plural and Singular, you to many and thou to one*, 1660, they believed that all lan-

guages could be quoted as consistently, presenting a uniform simplicity. But even England's closest neighbors were already illustrating a different procedure. In France as in England *vous* plural was becoming used in honorific address alongside plebeian *tu*, while in Germany, except for the intimate and original *du* (singular), at first *Ihr* (second person plural) and then *Sie* (third person plural) came to be employed (with capitals when written) in complimentary speech to individuals. This sounds much like the very usage against which English Friends first protested. Friends wished to level everyone down to "thou." They might have attempted leveling everyone up to "you."

(3) This is precisely what is proposed today in another quarter, behind the iron curtain. I quote from a recent London *Friend*, summarizing an article in the *Manchester Guardian* for December 10, 1957:

"Eastern Germany, it is now announced, is officially bidden to give up thou (*du*) which as in France (*tu*) and other countries is still a live usage for intimates, children and servants; and to use uniformly the plural *Sie*. Though a reform in the reverse direction from that of early Friends, it has the same declared trend—towards equality. 'Du,' says a leading East German, was a sign of proletarian 'class solidarity in face of class exploitation. Now there is no longer class exploitation' in Eastern Germany."

I am not sure that the above observations on the original use of *du* are correct, but I do know that many Friends realize that our use of "thee" and "thy," though it originated in the intention to treat all men as equals, has turned out in practice to establish a new distinction. This was well if unintentionally expressed by the old-fashioned Friend, who when meeting a stranger unidentified as to Quaker membership, remarked, "Do I call thee you? Or do I call you thee?" A practice once intended to efface

distinction has only created a new one. As a writer expressed it not long ago, "While all other users of the English language adopted pronouns recognizing no distinction between men, Quakers created a new distinction of special familiarity by continuing to use the archaic form."*

(4) The words just quoted were the result of the experience of an American Friend becoming acquainted with "Japan, where language convention and social practice make it difficult to treat all men as equals." Language convention such as the authors of the *Battle-dore* never knew exist, I think, in many Far Eastern languages. My fourth bit of reading has been in a professional magazine of the Bible Societies called *The Bible Translator*. In recent issues there has been a debate among linguistic experts about what to do with translating the Bible into languages like Thai, Assamese, and Balinese. The translators are all for importing democracy with Christianity into these areas, and they are loath to allow the Bible to speak the languages of the people, which by their variety of pronouns reflect two or even several social strata. In Thai, for example, "the same individual may be addressed with a different pronoun by each of the following: children, wife, intimate friends, strangers, employer. 'In Bali even for 'house' there is no socially neutral word. One has to know first the social status of its owner."

The "honorific pronouns," as they are called, constitute for Christian missionaries a difficult problem. The experience of early Friends was not with the art of translation but with a stage in English when temporarily social caste was marked by two forms of the pronoun of individual address. That was not the case in England either earlier or later. It is doubtful, as one of the modern translators

*Bruce L. Pearson, "Letter from Japan," *Friends Journal* 1956, p. 71

says, whether it is possible to democratize a language when the society has not democratized itself. Language follows society; society does not follow language. Indeed, it might lead to annoyance, or worse, to represent Bible characters as violating all local social conventions. In English at least some democratization has been concurrent with the trend to the universal use of "you." But the Quaker effort to achieve equality by the universal use of "thou"—if indeed that is what the Quakers really did wish for—did not succeed.

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Lincoln and the Quakers

President Eisenhower has asked us all to celebrate February 12 and the week that includes it in special tribute to Abraham Lincoln, born, like Charles Darwin, on that day, in 1809. We have done this now and then in the past, but a sesquicentennial birthday is not an ordinary event, and perhaps something may be said still of Abraham Lincoln and the Quakers.

Even before he knew that John Bright was a Friend, Abraham Lincoln was a great admirer of him. Earlier letters have mentioned his American Quaker friends. One of them was Jesse W. Fell, who induced him to write for electioneering use his brief autobiography. In this Lincoln himself claims Quaker descent. Hitherto biographers and Lincoln genealogists have not been able convincingly to confirm this, and the claim has been categorically denied. I have known for some time that clues to other ancestors had been found with marriage in *meeting* recorded—an almost sure evidence of membership. In 1678 or 1692 or 1713, before formal Quaker membership was initiated. I await

publication by the discoverer before reporting details.

Another appropriate type of matter here would be Lincoln's stories about Quakers. A raconteur of his ability and contacts must have had several, though his humor was often at his own expense. I find few such stories in the printed collections of A. K. McClure and of Emanuel Herz. Here is one from the latter, which Lincoln once said was the best story he ever read in the papers about himself.

Two Quakers were traveling on the railroad and were heard discussing the probable outcome of the Civil War.

"I think that Jefferson will succeed," said one.

"Why does thee think so?" asked the other.

"Because Jefferson is a praying man," said the first

"And so is Abraham a praying man," said the second.

"Yes," said the other, "but the Lord will think Abraham is only joking."*

Better known among modern Friends are his expressions of agreement with the Quaker peace position or his understanding of it. Speaking in Pennsylvania on Washington's birthday in 1861, he said, "I hope no one [of the Society of Friends] who originally settled here or who lived here since or who lives here now have been or is a more devoted lover of peace, harmony and concord than my humble self." A year later, replying to a letter he had received from Friends in New England, he wrote:

"Engaged as I am in a great war, I fear it will be difficult for the world to understand how fully I appreciate the principles of

*A cartoon of this sort is reported from Robert Todd, *Friends Intelligencer*, 8 mo 14, 1948

peace inculcated in this letter and everywhere by the Society of Friends. Grateful to the good people you represent, for the prayers in behalf of our common country, I look forward hopefully to an early end of the war and return to peace."

There are also several accounts of Lincoln's intervention on behalf of conscientious objectors. The best known is probably the case of Cyrus Pringle and his companions. There are others:

A Quaker was drafted and sent with his regiment to Washington. But he steadfastly refused to fight. Punishments did not move him. He was taken before the colonel. "What does this mean?" demanded the officer. "Don't you know that you will be shot?"

"That is nothing," said the Quaker. "Thee didn't think I was afraid, did thee?"

The colonel went to the President. Lincoln listened and looked relieved. "Why, that is plain enough," he answered. "There is only one thing to do. Trump up some excuse and send him home. You can't kill a boy like that, you know. The country needs all her brave men wherever they are. Send him home."

Another drafted Quaker, refusing to hire a substitute or to report to the military camp at Lafayette, Indiana, was visited by an officer who decided to sell some of the Friend's property and secure \$300 with which to pay a substitute. The officer selected the items on the farm to be sold and wrote out bills of sale and posted them. The Quaker made no remonstrance but rather treated him kindly and kept him to dinner.

"A few days before the time had arrived for the sale," writes the Quaker, "I was at Lafayette. The officer came to me and said, 'The sale is postponed. I don't know when it will be. You can go on using your horses.'"

"I heard nothing more about it for several years. After the war closed, I learned that Governor Morton, who was in Washing-

ton about that time spoke to President Lincoln about it, and he ordered the sale to be stopped."

If the thirty-fourth President of the United States is looking this February for a suitable way to honor the sixteenth of his predecessors, I suggest that he join with the Capitol and the Pentagon in discontinuing peacetime conscription.

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Honorary Degrees

The Editor of our esteemed contemporary, the London *Friend*, twice a year looks over the list of honours (*sic*) bestowed upon British subjects by their monarch, and then he reports to his readers what Quakers, if any, have been included as Kt. (Knight), or its female equivalent, D.B.E. (Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire), C.B. (Companion of the Bath), etc. The awards are made at the New Year and at the Queen's birthday, the latter conveniently timed near the midyear.

The closest American equivalent is perhaps the honorary degree. It, also, has varied alphabetical mystic symbols, but is conferred mostly in June and not in one convenient roll but by sundry colleges and universities. I used to try to list those received by Friends on this side of the Atlantic and report them to London to match the British list, but they are not easy to collect. How it will be this June I do not know.

The acceptance of such distinctions by Friends ought not to be taken for granted. Perhaps the earliest instance in this country is mentioned in a letter of 1838, which I lately came upon, written by Mary Davis of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. She writes:

"No doubt thou hast heard that the honorable title of LL.D. has been conferred

upon J. J. Gurney at Providence—I went to say upon our English Friend—but truly, dear E, I do not believe that a real Friend, a truly humble minded gospel minister will ever seek or receive such flattering titles. How much there is said against it in Scripture.”

Now the writer was of strongly Wilburite tendency and ought not to be taken as impartial or as typical. I had never heard of this degree before. It is not mentioned in the account of Joseph John Gurney in the *Dictionary of National Biography* or in the *Memoirs* of his life printed in two thick volumes. It is, however, confirmed in the Historical Catalogue of Brown University (formerly College of Rhode Island). Did the biographers deliberately omit it? It looks that way, for the private collection of *Extracts from the Letters, Journals, etc.*, not published but “printed for the family only” includes, page 429, in a letter Gurney wrote from Vassalboro, 9 mo. 14, 1838, his words, “I find I am dubbed LL.D. by the fellows of Brown University, Providence!”

This College must be regarded, I suppose, as a partly Quaker institution. At least it was so liberal, in the typical Rhode Island tradition, that to avoid sectarianism it required by charter that the Quakers, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians should all be represented, beside the Baptists, on its Board of Trustees.

The first Quaker college to be empowered to grant degrees was Haverford in 1856. John Greenleaf Whittier received from it an honorary M.A. in 1860, as he did from Harvard the same year, followed by an LL.D. in 1886. Another Quaker recipient of a Harvard honorary M.A. was John Bellows, the English printer and lexicographer, in 1901.

No more than the roster for this year is it my intention to record all the honorary degrees to Friends in the past, men like Rufus M. Jones and Herbert Hoover having

collected them by the dozen; the latter, at last count, had eight-one. The custom seems to be accepted as entirely Quaker. It can even be done in the plain language, as by one Friend to another. I had the pleasure a few years ago of hearing John Nason say at Swarthmore College Commencement to Jane P. Rushmore, “I confer upon *thee* . . . the degree of Doctor of Letters.”

Probably it is Quaker modesty more than Quaker scruple that remains. I was present when two Friends, recently made Dame of the British Empire and a Doctor of Divinity, were comparing notes. It was hard to say which was more pleased *and* embarrassed. Like early Friends, we are still opposed to “flattering titles,” but, as an English Friend said of a recipient, “He is too old to feel flattered but not too old to be encouraged.”

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Donne and Fox on Women's Souls

After this, I met with a sort of people that held women have no souls, (adding in a light manner) no more than a goose. But I reproved them, and told them that was not right; for Mary said, “My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.”—George Fox

One of the merits of the modern study of George Fox's *Journal*, especially of its interesting early pages, is our recognition that the problems of which he speaks, and sometimes his answers, fit exactly those known to us from other writers of his time. Jacob Boehme before him and John Milton later spoke of paradise regained by an ascent reversing a fall, and through the flaming sword of the first expulsion. So John Saltmarsh preceded George Fox in regarding university training as insufficient to fit men

to be ministers of Christ, as Milton again followed,¹ Phrases like Fox's "ocean of light" and "ocean of darkness" were in the Hermetic writings in English translation, and there were other echoes in Fox of such Hermetica.²

Fox was not alone in encountering people who said, "All things come by nature." Nor was the view that women have no souls an unfamiliar one in the period. Samuel Pepys is said to have shared it. Fox's characteristic reply, whether half in humor or not, may not be exactly matched, but the conversation reflects an interest of the time. In much the same way, the various problems with which in the Gospels Jesus was plied, by their very fitness to our knowledge of his contemporaries, give a sense of reality to the historical portrait.

John Donne makes a good foil to George Fox in the dialogue quoted. In his more playful days one of Donne's *Problemes* (No. 8) was written on "Why hath the common Opinion afforded Women Soules?" Like Fox's interlocutors, he notes that we deny souls to animals which are equal to women in all but speech, mentioning not geese, but oxen, goats, foxes, and serpents. Then he suggests several unworthy reasons for leveling women up to men and above the beasts.

In his more serious sermons Donne returns to the subject more than once.³ The negative view had been presented in a Commentary attributed to St. Ambrose and by later Latin works. The basis for doubt was perhaps the fact that Genesis says God made man in his own image and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, but made no similar reference to women. Donne had written *To the Countess of Huntingdon*,

Nor finde we that God breath'd a
soule in her.

Ben Jonson, on the other hand, refers in his *Masque of Beautie*, performed in 1608, to

Those that dwell in error foule
And hold that women have no soule.⁴

Similarly John Bunyan inferred, evidently from I Corinthians 11:7, that women "are not the image and glory of God, as the men are."

It is in his Easter-Day sermon at St. Paul's in 1630 that Donne goes most fully into the matter. His text is the message of the angels to the women at the tomb. He asserts that no author of gravity or piety "could admit that doubt whether women were created in the Image of God, that is, in possession of a reasonable and an immortal soul." With characteristic political interest he instances the British Queen Elizabeth, since "the faculties and abilities of the soul appear best in affairs of state."

Though Donne and Fox agreed, their successors have not followed their position with equal vigor. The Society of Friends carried the implication much further than other churches and than society in general. This was found out by Lucretia Mott a century ago. Recognition of women's equality still lags in many quarters. Happily, women Friends have been able to promote

¹ A. N. Brayshaw, *The Quakers*, 1938, p. 242.

² *Friends Quarterly*, 9 (1955), pp. 4-7; cf. *ibid.* 1 (1947), pp. 134-143

³ *The Sermons of John Donne*, edited by Simpson and Potter, vol. 1 (1953), p. 200; vol. 9 (1958), p. 190 ff., and introduction, *ibid.* p. 20f

⁴ With a reference to the literature. See *Ben Jonson*, edited by Herford and Simpson, X (1950), p. 464

Man to God's image: Eve, to man's was
made,

the recognition of their ability outside of Quakerism, as, for example, in the famous learned societies.

The tercentenary of Nantucket this year reminds us that Maria Mitchell, the Quaker astronomer from that island, was the first woman to be a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She was elected later a member of the older American Philosophical Society, the second woman to be so honored. The first elected of the nine present women members of the latter society is also a Quaker astronomer. Still older than these two venerable societies of Boston and Philadelphia is the Royal Society at London; but no woman was admitted a Fellow until 1945, when our Friend Kathleen Lonsdale became one. Demonstration of ability is a more satisfactory way to claim equality than is argument, even than biblical arguments such as those used by Donne and Fox. May our sisters in the faith continue their convincing excellence!

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Peter and Nikita

As the public press has noted, the recent visit of Premier Khrushchev to the West had a kind of precedent in 1698, when Czar Peter I of Muscovia visited Holland and England. The latter traveled incognito, but each was ruler of all the Russias, and each was the first of his kind to travel extensively abroad. It may be added that each had a substantial build-up of inspiring fear and terror from the reputation of his position and from his predecessors.

The recent visitor has not been an object of curiosity or concern to Friends especially. We may contrast the relation of our forebears to Peter the Great, as he was called. When Friends learned of his presence in

London, they made special efforts to see him, and by good fortune Gilbert Molleson, Robert Barclay's brother-in-law, and Thomas Story got into conversation with him in the house where he was living. The conversation turned upon their religion, their failure to remove their hats, and their uselessness as citizens because they would not bear arms.

The Friends offered him copies of Barclay's *Apology* in Latin, which he could not read and which he suspected as written by a Jesuit. They later wrote him a letter (February 23, 1698) signed by George Whitehead, William Penn, and three other London Friends. By this time Peter had moved to Deptford, where, in accordance with his major hobby, he was interested to observe the shipbuilding. The Quaker delegation to call on him there was rebuffed, but Peter at least twice attended Friends meetings, once in Gracechurch Street, London, and once probably at Deptford. For April 3 Peter's own Journal has the brief note: "Visited the Quakers' Church."

Learning that Peter understood only German beside Russian, Friends decided to present him some Quaker books in that language, specially bound. But a typical hitch occurred, for as the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings show, the books had been "bound much finer than Friends expected." Therefore it was "ordered that they be not delivered as they are but anew bound in Turkey Leather plain." This was done before the next week's Meeting for Sufferings, and William Penn, who could speak German, was added to the delegation to present them.

Peter left England on April 25, but Penn twice waited upon him before that. We know about these visits from a letter which Penn subsequently wrote him, the original draft of which, sent to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1841, was finally received in 1939! Written May 2, 1698 to "the Zarr of Muscovy" in the usual rhetorical style of

William Penn, this letter refers to Peter's "unexampled travel," commends the Latin title *Optimus* as preferable to *Maximus*, and also commends to him the principles of Quakerism.

Fourteen years later at Friedrichstadt we next hear of his contacts with Friends and his friendly attendance at the local Friends Meeting.

Peter had a strange mixture of idealism with his cruelty, and it is not surprising that some observers thought Friends felt an affinity for him. Will the same idea occur as the peace ideals of later Czars and even of the present ruler of Russia are contemplated?

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Where the Martyrs Died

The years 1959 to 1961 will mark the centenary of the execution by hanging of four Quakers on Boston Common.* I have wondered for some time what recognition of the event would be shown locally or otherwise. There are difficulties in celebrating martyrdoms. It reflects unfavorably on the other party and their descendants while it honors the victims. Furthermore, one cannot be sure that the lesson of the past has been sufficiently learned. The Gospel of Matthew cries woe upon those who build the tombs of the prophets and adorn the graves of righteous men, claiming that if they had lived in the days of their ancestors they would not have joined them in the shedding of blood.

A recent event has brought these thoughts to mind. An issue of *Life* magazine in July contained pictures of demonstrations held in various parts of the world, protesting the execution of Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter, imprisoned leaders of Hungary's short-lived revolution. They begin with one of an illumi-

nated float on the River Limmat at Zurich. Now it just happens that I have recently been reminded that precisely in that river, about 1525, occurred under the initiative of Zurich's famous reformer Ulrich Zwingli the executions by drowning of seven Anabaptists.

Coming a few weeks later as a tourist to Zurich, I hunted out the very place where they were supposed to have been drowned, opposite the Schipfe and between two of the bridges that are still identifiable. No doubt the city looks very different today. In its Landesmuseum a painting by the fifteenth-century local artist, Hans Leu the Elder—a painting that also deals with a martyrdom of earlier legend—gave me an almost contemporary detailed picture of the city. But nowhere did I find any memorial erected to the forerunners in a long line of Anabaptists or Mennonite martyrs. Evidently even the world conference of Mennonites held in Zurich the same year as our own world conference in Oxford did not mark the event in bronze or marble, though fully aware of it.

Nor have the people of Zurich followed the example at the other end of Switzerland, where the people of Geneva who honor John Calvin, nevertheless, have erected with a kind of apology at the place of execution a plaque to Michael Servetus, whom Calvin had burned at the stake. It is no wonder that modern Zurich, in denouncing Russia's recent executions, conveniently forgets its earlier ones.

Indeed the Russians themselves are strangely partial in their own way. In the immaculate expanse of the Red Square at Moscow, as I am told, a stone slab in a small and deliberately unkempt area marks the place of many martyrdoms under the czars,

* The two Quakers first hanged in Boston were hanged October 27, 1659

but there is no hint or memory of the blood shed in the square by the present rulers of Russia.

Perhaps there is usually something invalid in marking the martyrs' resting place. A Quaker sympathizer in Boston, Edward Wanton, erected a crude inscription over the Quaker graves three centuries ago, but the authorities of course removed it, and even the Quakers in England were not very comfortable about it. What can be done today with the cooperation of the descendants of both parties?

The best memorial is doubtless the recognition of the principles for which men died and the practice of them in our life today. As John Greenleaf Whittier has written, comparing the Quaker martyrs with the Puritan persecutors,

With its gentler misson of peace and good will

The thought of the Quaker is living still,
And the freedom of soul he prophesied
Is gospel and law where the martyrs died.

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Mementos of John Woolman

Two items connected with the Mount Holly Quaker may be dealt with in one letter since both of them are of somewhat recent recovery. One is the old schoolhouse in his home town. It was built in 1759, and its bicentennial was marked on October 26, 1959, by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of New Jersey. The organization had purchased the property some years ago, and now has restored it and tastefully and appropriately furnished it. It is located in Mt. Holly, N. J., on Brainerd Street, near the present Friends meeting house. It is a small one-room build-

ing, twenty by twenty-four feet, with bricks laid in the early manner known as Flemish bond. Inside is a wide fireplace, and there is record of a group of men who in 1765 subscribed to buy a stove for it. Because of the name of the street, it was thought at one time that John Brainerd, missionary to the Indians, who built a church nearby, had taught in this school.

More likely John Woolman taught there. In his account books between 1762 and 1770 he has charges for teaching the children of several neighbors, including some shareholders in the schoolhouse or subscribers to the stove. They were mostly Friends and Woolman's friends. There are also entries of charges for firewood for "our school." Historians have long known that he was a teacher and even wrote a spelling book. While the evidence that this is what Woolman calls "our school" is circumstantial, it is pretty convincing, and so I may make some amends for the negative tone of a recent letter in which I disclosed the frustration of trying to identify any of Woolman's houses in the town. This house was at least extant in the latter part of his short life and was known and probably used by him. It is interesting in itself, even if without the Woolman connection, as being perhaps the oldest schoolhouse in the state, and it was worthy of restoration and preservation.

There can be no doubt about the next item. This is a small piece of paper written in Woolman's hand and signed by him. The paper had been folded and sealed and was torn around the seal when opened. It has not, I believe, been printed before. It reads as follows:

"Chesterfield 29 da 11 mo 1763
"To the Mo Meeting to be held at Chesterfield the 1 da 12 mo 1763

"Our Quarterly Meeting yesterday being chiefly made up of members of your month-

ly Meeting, I find the Humbling power of Truth Engaging me to Inform you, That in the debate that then was, I am sorrowfully sensible That I did not keep low Enough in my mind so as to have my Speech & Conduct thoroughly seasoned with the Meekness of Wisdom—and this I do in regard to His Cause who mercifully looked upon me in that distress of mind which I was under soon after the meeting endeth

John Woolman"

This note needs no commentary, and little can be added. It was found in 1945 among the loose papers of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in New Jersey. This and Burlington Monthly Meeting were the principal components of Burlington Quarterly Meeting which was held alternately at the two places. John Woolman was a member of Burlington Monthly Meeting and, according to the minute book, was often one of its representatives to the Quarterly Meeting. The minutes of the latter, which I have looked up, state that on the 28th of 11th month, 1763, John Woolman was one of the representatives who was present. There is, of course, no mention of any "debate," nor any reference to slavery, if that was its subject, unless it can be implied in the minute: "Reports from our several Monthly Meetings were read . . . considerable care is taken to put our discipline in practice." The minutes of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting have also been examined, but those for 1st of 12th month make no mention of a letter from Woolman. The *Journal* has no record of this period. But it was just like Woolman to be so sensitive about his conduct, and, unlike most of us, to be so courageously apologetic about it afterwards.

His *Journal* does report a somewhat similar experience at Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1760. During a debate on lotteries Woolman had replied in the heat

of zeal to what an ancient Friend said, but soon recognized that his words had not been "enough seasoned with charity." After "some close exercise and hearty repentance" he made due confession before the session concluded.

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First Friends in Florida

At least once a year in these pages there is reference to the many persons in Florida who join in a Southeastern Conference of Friends. Their dozen local Meetings are not the first in the State. Many years ago White-water Monthly Meeting, Indiana, recognized at least two descendant Meetings in Florida. John and William Bartram, Quakers, father and son, were pioneer botanists to penetrate up the St. John's River in the 1760's.

The present letter is to call attention to a much earlier episode, dated 1696. It is recorded in a scarce, though oft reprinted volume by Jonathan Dickinson, entitled *God's Protecting Providence*. Between 1699 and 1945, apart from translations into German (two) and Dutch, at least seventeen editions are known. The last, most fully edited and annotated is by E. W. and C. M. Andrews.

The account tells of a group of twenty-five persons, mariners, passengers, and slaves, who sailed from Jamaica in the barkentine *Reformation*, four weeks after were wrecked on the Florida coast near Jupiter Inlet, and then for three months made their way with the utmost difficulty along the coast by land or small boat to Charleston, now in South Carolina. Four passengers were the family of the narrator, and were Friends. So were the fifth passenger, Robert Barrow, an itinerant English minister, and the ship commander, Joseph Kirle. Six of the party died or were

lost on the journey. Barrow, an old man and ill when he started, was nursed for two months at Charleston by the former famous Mary Fisher, "she that spoke to the Great Turk," but died in Philadelphia upon arrival after a fortnight's voyage thither.

Perhaps other Friends were wrecked in Florida in those days, for the passage between Florida and the Bahamas, with strong currents and shoals, was the regular but dangerous northbound route. This body of water was called the Gulf of Florida. In 1672 George Fox was buffeted long at sea in this Gulf, and on April 2 saw "the Florida shore where the man-eaters live."

The later party, whose vicissitudes and escapes among the cannibal Indians are described in a tale of horror and suspense, provides the title of this letter. With the help of a map and the notes of the latest edition, this journey can be readily followed along by such well-known places as Fort Pierce, Cape Canaveral, St. Augustine, St. John's River, Savannah River, and St. Helena Sound. Florida has lately dedicated 10,000 acres as a Jonathan Dickinson State Park at Hobe Sound near the scene of the shipwreck.

One wonders how many of the hundreds of Friends who nowadays inhabit or visit Florida, as they speed along the coast road U. S. 1 or A1A, know or think of this ancient Quaker classic record. If familiar with it, they would appreciate even more by contrast the comfort and welcome now afforded them.

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The End of Another Schismatic

A few years ago I wrote a letter on the latter days of John Perrot under the title "The End of a Schismatic." It was based

upon such information as I was able to turn up in the island of Jamaica, where he died. Another heretic in early Quakerism was Charles Bayly. The two are bracketed together by George Fox and dismissed with the phrase "came to naught." Not only had they both traveled in Europe and suffered there at the hands of the Roman Catholics, but both had more than one experience in America, Bayly having been in Maryland as early as 1658.

They appear to have been viewed askance by the main body of Friends in England, and for the same reason. Their fault, in terms of a very early letter of Margaret Fell to another deviationist, seems to have been that they "looked for a discovery beyond the Quakers." Well, Charles Bayly did make some discoveries, but very different from the kind anticipated and in a climate in America very unlike that of Jamaica.

The Quaker histories have had hitherto little to tell us of his latter end. The publication lately of the early *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company* enables us now to finish the story with an unexpected sequel.

Upon his return from the Continent, Bayly continued his Quaker activities, rebuking priests, warning King Charles II, and engaging in "seditious practices" like any good Friend. For nearly six years, with a short parole to go to France, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he is described as "an old Quaker with a long beard."

In 1670 he was released on condition that he "betake himself to the navigation of Hudson's Bay and the places lately discovered and to be discovered." Just at this time the Hudson's Bay Company had received its charter. Sir John Robinson (1625-1680) was one of the charter adventurers of the new company. As students of the life of William Penn will remember, Sir John was also at this time (1660-1678) Lieutenant of the

Tower of London, where in 1958 a newly acquired portrait of him was placed in the Armory. It is a natural conjecture that it was Robinson who arranged the release of Bayly, to the benefit of both parties. At any rate, from this time on Bayly's name occurs repeatedly in the minutes of the Company's meetings in London. There is no real evidence that he continued or discontinued his Quakerism. Unlike John Perrot in Jamaica, he had no Quakers in the frozen north to quarrel with or to report on him.

The bulk of the next decade he spent in the Hudson Bay country. He was, in fact, the Company's first governor. He was in London for a few months one winter, and in 1679 he was recalled, but he died, within a month of his return, on January 6, 1680. His funeral, evidently an elaborate one, was at St. Paul's, Covent Garden. It was paid for by the Company, which also repaid his widow, Hannah Bayly, certain expenses and back salary.

To judge from the Company's records, though he had not resisted the temptation to tolerate some private trade, he promoted their interest with the Indian fur traders and energetically carried out explorations in various parts of the territory. From the worldly point of view and that of modern American interest the last chapter of his life was both useful and romantic.

P.S. See now the article on the career of Charles Bayly by Kenneth Carroll, *J.F.H.S.* Vol 52, 1968 pp. 19-38.

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From Gallows to Stakes

The exact tercentenary of the execution of Mary Dyer falls on June 1, 1960. The event has been mentioned in earlier letters

and it was fittingly anticipated by the Massachusetts authorities only a few months ago, when a statue of her was unveiled in front of a wing of the State House in Boston. Any special emphasis upon the event would be thought by some Bostonians to be a reflection on their predecessors, Puritan or Quaker.

There are, of course, some questions or fallacies about the event. The statue, like its counterpart of Anne Hutchinson, is only an imaginative likeness. One even meets persons who confuse the Quaker victims with those of the Salem witchcraft delusion over thirty years later. I have also heard it implied that in both instances they were burned at the stake. I believe that was the custom of Old England in executing heretics as well as witches; but it was not the custom in New England.

A more widespread illusion may be the usual assumption that the four Quaker martyrs were hanged on Boston Common. There is at least some question of place, though it was not with a question mark that I wrote lately under the title "Where the Martyrs Died" (Letter 180).

Just fifty years ago one Michael J. Canavan read a paper before the Bostonian Society, asking "Where Were the Quakers Hanged in Boston?" It was later printed in the *Proceedings*. He argues strongly for a site on old Boston Neck, a mile from the center of town and from the present (and ancient) Common, though perhaps on common land. Probably from time to time there were hangings on the Common, and when the "Gallows Elm" there was blown down a century ago, a souvenir of its wood was given by the city mayor to the Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier. The assumption was that the Quakers were hanged there, perhaps from that tree. But Canavan thinks the tree was not even there in 1660, and he gives old maps and other evidence that the

regular gallows stood near the outskirts of the town outside a gate and fortifications across the Neck, somewhere near, I suppose, the present Dover Street at Washington.

The references by Quaker writers are consistent with this location, e.g., Thomas Story in 1699. To this I can only add the evidence from the rare Quaker tract of 1675, *New-England's Present Sufferings, &c.*, by E. W. (Edward Wanton or Edward Wharton?) mentioned in my earlier letter, which gives the site of the graves of Stephenson and Robinson as by the gallows and near the highway and out of town. In spite of all this evidence, the common (or Common) tradition persists as recently as in references in *Look* or *The Friend* to the statue of Mary Dyer as facing the Common where she was hanged.

As anticlimax to these historical problems I may mention in conclusion that last July it was reported in the press that the Narragansett Racing Park in Rhode Island had arranged to revive "the Mary Dyer Stakes, a mile and a sixteenth race for \$25,000. The stake has been run at Gansett off-and-on, offered only in years when the strength of the distaff division warranted. . . . When Gansett announced its renewal of the Mary Dyer, 30 of the best thoroughbred members of the sex were made eligible with the list including the tops of the division for a revival befitting the memory of the Bay State Quaker," etc.

I have not ascertained the winner of that race. The connection of Quakers with horse racing was already noted and has since then had widespread portrayal in the film of *Friendly Persuasion*.

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January 1660/1

If one observes anniversaries at all, one likes to do so accurately. But human nature is so dilatory that purveyors of commercial greeting cards find it worth while to supply a variety for use *after* forgotten birthdays. When events are celebrated too early, the cause is often misunderstanding. Thus for all of 1960 Friends on both sides of the Atlantic have been referring to the Declaration of 1660 to Charles II. But before 1752 the period from January 1 to March 25 was reckoned with the preceding months rather than with the succeeding ones. Hence events like the Declaration, which today would be dated as January, 1661, were then dated as January (by Friends, Eleventh Month), 1660, or sometimes January 1660/1. Error in reference to the occasion of the Quaker Declaration is easy. It may comfort Friends to know that an outstanding British historian in his latest book made precisely this mistake.

As every collector of current stamps knows, the restoration of Charles II and of the British monarchy was in mid-1660. That tercentenary fell last year, but the anniversary of the first January of his reign is only now upon us. Further reference to its events are therefore still in order, and indeed may be appropriate for many months to come. When the late Benito Mussolini, forgetting that between B.C. and A.D. there was no year zero, miscalculated the bimillennium of the births of Roman poets a year too early, he suggested that they be celebrated also the next year. Friends might be well advised to do the same.

The circumstances of that eventful January can be recalled in some detail. The King

had been on the throne half a year. His accession after a period of civil strife was viewed with relief by the young Quaker movement, as well as by most other groups in England. Friends noted his promise at Breda of freedom of conscience. That he had come to power without sword or bloodshed was to them evidence that God had willed his return. George Fox at once warned him, "King Charles, thou came not into this nation by sword and not by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord." Fifteen years later Robert Barclay, in addressing his *Apology* to him, still refers to these circumstances as "sufficiently declaring that it is the Lord's doing." Yet from the beginning of his reign Friends had suffered persecution with or without the King's consent.

With the help of the dated pamphlets of the contemporary bookseller George Thomason, we may list some events in January:

6th. An armed insurrection by thirty-five members of the Fifth Monarchy sect—a kind of precursors of the Jehovah's Witnesses—in London, which threw that city and indeed all England into panic.

9th. "A Renunciation and Declaration of the Ministers of Congregational Churches in London against the late horrid insurrection."

10th. "A proclamation prohibiting all unlawful and seditious conventicles under pretence of religious worship," resulting in the imprisonment of hundreds of Friends.

17th. "A proclamation prohibiting the seizure of any persons or searching houses without warrant, except in time of actual insurrections," relieving some of the excessive disorder.

19th. Execution of the Fifth Monarchy leaders, who, however, before their death exonerated the Quakers.

21st. Presentation to the King of "A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all plotters and fighters in the world," drawn up

by George Fox and Hubberthorne and signed by ten other Friends. (A similar declaration had been confiscated while in the press. This one was circulated and reprinted.)

22nd. "Proclamation against all meetings of Quakers, Anabaptists," etc. (Edinburgh)

25th. An order by the Lord Mayor of London stating that the Quakers had had no part in the plot and ordering their release if they promised to obey the law.

28th. "The humble apology of some commonly called Anabaptists with their protestation against the late wicked insurrection."

30th. Another Baptist "humble representation" of their innocence.

It would be interesting to look up each of the ten additional Quaker signers, or to compare what their declaration said with the contents of the documents printed by their fellow dissenters—the Independents (or Congregationalists) and the Anabaptists (or Baptists)—or to examine the extant copies of the declaration of Friends to look for a survivor of the edition "taken in the press." I must limit myself to four statements of perspective:

(1) This classic collective manifesto against fighting was elicited from Friends not in protest to a government asking for military service, but to defend themselves from suspicion of involvement in a plot against the government. It sounds a little like the boy who said when being punished, "I didn't do it and I'll never do it again."

(2) Their guilt was assumed in the public mind by association of Quakers with more belligerent minority groups, in this case the Fifth Monarchy Men. Friends' refusal to fight "for the kingdom of Christ" is in clear contrast to the actual conspirators. The phrase in the postscript, "we are numbered with plotters in the late proclamation," is another reference to contemporary circum-

stances. This predicament has been repeated as Friends have been successively suspected as pro-Catholic, or in America as pro-Tory, pro-German, or pro-Communist.

(3) This "dated" defensive statement in 1661 is hardly a complete representation of their earlier or later individual concern. It is good as far as it goes, but it fails to represent the various actual, more positive sides of Quaker peace witness. It can be too easily construed as mere personal abstention, so-called vocational pacifism, whereas, as Huberthorne indicated, "we deny it [fighting] first in ourselves and then in others."

(4) We may search our hearts to see whether we have allowed this testimony to grow as it should have done in three centuries or even in our own lifetime. Have we kept abreast "the Truth," as Friends used to call Quakerism? Can we be satisfied with the feebleness of our efforts for peace even last year, in 1960? Are there not too few Friends willing to find for our testimony more radical expression, which, whatever else it may do, will strengthen our own determination not to acquiesce in the trend to war? Between the Fifth Monarchy rising and the cold war of a nuclear age there is a vast difference. Should not our peace testimony become correspondingly more aggressive and more inclusive and more costly? What will we do this anniversary year about civil defense, about biological warfare, about the hidden control by the Pentagon of our minds and property, about taxes that go to war preparation, about the suppression of the truth concerning the risks of nuclear war or even of testing?

"Then and Now"

Just twenty years ago I began writing these letters. It has surprised me that material of appropriate relation of content, time, or place continues to turn up, now and then—indeed, more material than can be used. This letter, for example, might well have dealt with correspondence of Friends to newly elected U.S. Presidents, using as a text a letter printed in the *Memoir of Elizabeth Newport*, which she addressed 3rd mo. 1st, 1861 (note the date), to "Abraham Lincoln, Esteemed Friend." Or perhaps I ought to mark not a centennial but the tercentenary of the hanging at Boston, on March 14, 1661, of William Leddra, the fourth and last of the martyrs there. I think posterity has given him less attention than he deserves compared with his predecessors, merely because Robinson and Stevenson were the first to go and Mary Dyer was a woman.

Often in these twenty years I have wondered what the early Friends could have used if, like me, they had wished to combine with current experiences some relevant historical parallel. I have two answers. (1) They could and did draw upon the Bible. George Fox discovered that the Scriptures agreed with his direct "openings." Robert Barclay called them a "mirror." A more "learned Friend" could sometimes dig up from church history appropriate examples. A congenial case of the latter about Bishop Acacius of Amida (derived ultimately, I think, from Socrates' *Church History*, vii, 20) I cite from a letter of Richard Richardson, dated in 1686.

Friends were then actively engaged in trying to raise large sums of money to

redeem their members from slavery who had been caught by Moslem pirates on the high seas and were held as slaves in the Barbary states. Indeed, I have often thought of this former Quaker activity in connection with the current and earlier North African programs of the American Friends Service Committee—with Hitler refugees at Casablanca or with Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco. Apparently in 1686 some Friends wanted Quaker money used only to help Quaker victims. Richardson had heard already “an objection among people, though unjust,” that Friends were “charitable only to our own,—very false.” Writing to members of the committee appointed to draft an appeal, he observes:

This limitation makes our charity fall far short of that of the primitive Christians, who of their general contributions assigned a part for the redemption of captives, and I remember one bishop, I think his name was Acatius, did send very largely to redeem such as were taken captive, I think in war (but I may search further for that), and those heathen. And reading last night, I met accidentally with a place in Doctor Cumber [Thomas Comber], how that the Church in Carthage sent £800 for redemption of captives in Numidia near about where Argiers is and Sully [i.e., Algiers, and Sallee in Morocco]. Now may not those African Christians condemn us, if we restrain charity from our brethren, they contributing so largely to heathen. Further note: I have read in ecclesiastical writers that the same Acatius by that means brought very great advantage to the Christian faith, and great favour to Christians from the heathen, I think in Persia.

This much I can crowd in this little paper, more than I could do in a meeting.

In plain English, early Christian precedent suggested that Quaker charity should include generously non-Christian victims of violence in North Africa in 1686, and, we may add, suggests the same for 1961. Is this kind of concern reflected in your Meeting's budget or in your personal giving?

(2) Within a generation or less, Friends were old enough as a society to generalize from their past history. Many of us today know from experience that an institution within less than fifty years provides useful grounds for comparison of past and present. Thus George Fox in later life concludes a retrospect of “The Appearance of the Lord's Everlasting Truth . . . in this our Day and Age in England”—long printed as the last piece, the last sentence, and the last words, in the standard edition of his *Journal*—as follows:

But the Lord Jesus Christ, that sent them forth,
was their exceeding great supporter and upholder
by his eternal power and Spirit *both then and now.*

G.F.

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Bending History to Suit the Present

“Religions commit suicide when they find their inspirations in their dogmas. The inspiration of religion lies in the history of religion. By this I mean that it is to be found in the primary expressions of the intuitions of the finest types of religious lives. The sources of religious belief are always grow-

ing, though some supreme expressions may be in the past. Records of these sources are not formulae. They elicit in us intuitive response which pierces beyond dogma."

I begin with this quotation from the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead partly because I am writing on the hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1861, and partly because this passage fits my understanding of the mixed relation of religion to its historical past.

These letters frequently bring out the parallel relation, not so much to cite precedent by way of authority as to indicate how in Quakerism "history repeats itself," or, as Dean Inge would say, history imitates itself. Yet there is a temptation to cite the past as authoritative for the present, even in short-lived Quakerism. I try to keep aware of this danger and to realize the legitimacy of both similarity and change. But I am also aware that the desire to show similarity between past and present offers a subtle temptation to myself and others to misrepresent the past as more like one's present beliefs and practices than is historically true. Rather than imitating the past or frankly admitting one's divergence from it, one is tempted to bend the presentation of the past to seem to agree with what we hold today. Some apparent examples of this wishful interpretation of history occur, I believe, in the February issue of a contemporary Friends periodical, *Quaker Life*, as follows:

An author who prefers "the Light of Christ" to other ways of expressing George Fox's belief, though he admits some of the variations, never mentions one of the most frequent (and I expect less welcome to him as to me), "that of God in . . .," and adds: ". . . it should be made clear that the term 'inner light' never appears in the writings of George Fox." True enough, but the characteristic Quaker synonyms, "the inward light" or "light within," do occur in George

Fox's writings, the latter very frequently, and are hardly to be distinguished from "inner light."

This writer and another both refer to "the voluntarily supported pastoral system among Friends as consistent with voluntary support of Public Friends in the early days" and suggest that "Fox fulminated against a 'hiring ministry' . . . which was not called of God and which received from the state compulsory support. . . ." The voluntary support of Public Friends referred to is, I suppose, the "Kendal Fund," of which we have record for a very brief period and which helped traveling ministers only and those in prison, and not those settled in a locality and able to engage in a secular livelihood. For George Fox, "hiringlings" were not only those supported partly by the state, but nonconformist paid preachers as well, whose income was contributed voluntarily by their local congregations. One recalls how George Fox recoiled against the invitations to become such a pastor himself in Rhode Island.

In another contribution the attitude of prior generations of Friends on participation in war is reported. General Nathaniel [sic] Green [sic] and the "Free Quakers" of the American Revolution were certainly non-pacifist ex-Quakers, but much more questionably are cited George Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay. "Wear it [thy sword] as long as thou canst," an unconfirmed remark of Fox to Penn, hardly contradicts the attitude against military service that Fox had adopted for himself and that Penn as a Quaker accepted. Then from Penn's *Essay Towards the . . . Peace of Europe* the single word "compel" is cited, an ambiguous word parallel to "oblige" in another passage. Though writing anonymously and to non-Friends—note his "St. Paul, St. Peter and St. John"—and about an international government, William Penn leaves unspecified the

kind of sanctions to be used by nations "united as one strength." The Quaker abstinence from military methods is clearly stated in his *Rise and Progress* written the same year.

So Robert Barclay, we are told, "could not say . . . that war undertaken on a just occasion . . . is altogether unlawful. . . ." But Barclay in the passage of the *Apology* referred to is talking not about Friends but about people in a sub-Christian condition. The sentence reads, without any omission, but italics mine: "While they are in that condition we shall not say that war undertaken on a just occasion is altogether unlawful to them." He adds his standard for Friends a little later: ". . . it is not lawful to defend themselves by arms."

These men, unlike some modern Friends, regarded the Quaker standard as politically viable. Barclay sent his *Apology* almost at once to all the negotiators for peace at Nymegen with a special printed Epistle, recommending the radical inner obedience which peace required. William Penn with his fellow Quakers in Pennsylvania had already launched the seventy-year experiment of a state based on justice and unilaterally unarmed.

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Liberty Bell—Quaker Relic

Since 1944 these letters have from time to time mentioned and illustrated postage stamps with Quaker connection. The current ten-cent U.S. airmail stamp, green and black, may be added to this list. It shows above three words of our national anthem the familiar Liberty Bell, crack and all, which can be claimed as an early Quaker symbol. To support this claim I may refer to the opening pages of W. W. Comfort's *William*

Penn and Our Liberties, which in turn draws upon J. J. Stoudt's *The Liberty Bells of Pennsylvania*.



This famous bell belonged not to the city or to the nation but to the Province and State House when Pennsylvania had a Quaker government and was honoring a Quaker founder. The bell was ordered from England in 1751 on behalf of the Assembly. Isaac Norris, II, a Friend and leader of the Quaker Party, was Speaker of the Assembly and one of the superintendents of the State House. As such he was the man who ordered the bell.

Isaac Norris also specified the text to be inscribed upon it: "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the Inhabitants Thereof. Lev. xxv, vs. x." If we examine the Bible context, we see that it concerns the so-called year of jubilee. It begins: "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year. . . ." Since 1701 was the date of William Penn's final charter, the bell was apparently intended to celebrate "the freedom of spirit and liberty of conscience which William Penn had bequeathed through a series of charters and privileges to his citizens in Pennsylvania." It is true that twenty-five years later than 1751 in early July, at the building in which the bell was at last installed, the Declaration of Independ-

ence was written or signed or proclaimed, but this association was only a later chance. So in 1926 for the Sesquicentennial Exposition was issued a Liberty Bell stamp (2 cents rose carmine).

In spite of the inscription, the title "Liberty Bell" does not seem to have been used until 1839, during the antislavery campaign. This campaign was doubtless more congenial to Quaker principles than the war of independence from England, though it, too, came to mean war—the Civil War.

Today, when American foreign postage is used to beam cold-war propaganda abroad, one suspects the Liberty Bell has again become a symbol quite removed from the ideals of William Penn and Isaac Norris. But its original meaning, before these vicissitudes, was of Quaker ideals. It had not then either the familiar name or the fortuitous connection with July 4.

189

A June Wedding at Newport

This title sounds like a note of society news, and so it is if one may use society of the Society of Friends and of a time long before that phrase was adopted. George Fox in his *Journal*, relating his attendance at New England Yearly Meeting, writes:

"The 30th of 3d month [May], 1672 we came to the General Meeting on Rhode Island, which continued ten days, and yet by the continued coming in of people in sloops from divers other colonies and jurisdictions it continued longer. And for several days after we had very large meetings.

"And I was at a marriage, for example sake. And it was such a one as never was in New England, and many of the world was there and three Justices of the Peace. And

the people and Friends said they never saw such a solemn assembly, and so weighty and such order, so it was beyond words, and the Truth was set over all. It was at a Friend's house that formerly had been governor. And it was an example to all the rest of the jurisdictions; some out of many places was there."

There are different versions from George Fox and others about this Yearly Meeting, but none about the marriage, except Ellwood's paraphrase. George Fox was staying at the house of Governor Nicholas Easton on Farewell Street, Newport. His hostess, the governor's wife, was I suppose the same Ann Clayton who as a servant at Swarthmoor Hall had been "convinced" by Fox on his first visit there twenty years before.

But the General Meeting and the marriage mentioned were probably at the home on Marlborough Street of the former deputy governor William Coddington. The marriage evidently occurred after the Yearly Meeting, which ended on the 17th and preceded George Fox's departure to Providence on the 30th.

George Fox's interest in the marriage is obvious. As with his own marriage three years before, he was a great believer in the proper performance of the Quaker wedding with its attendant procedures and serious solemnity. It was an impressive exhibit or example in the interests of "Truth."

Legally the Quaker ceremony was still suspect. It had been vindicated in England as early as 1661 at the assizes at Nottingham, but America had other jurisdictions. Lately in Maryland a Friends marriage puzzled the magistrates, who referred the matter to the Assembly and Council, who in turn asked a Catholic friar. His unexpected answer, to the vindication of Friends, was quoted elsewhere, I think by George Fox, that "if that was not a lawful marriage there was not one in the world." The representative attendance

at Newport was therefore a satisfaction to George Fox.

But he never seemed to think of naming the principals involved, if he remembered them; and what is more surprising, none of his editors has seemed curious about their identity. As often, the marriage as a function overshadows the groom and even the bride. This is not the only case in history when they have both seemed of secondary importance. This case roused my curiosity.

I knew that Quaker registers of marriages as of births and deaths for Rhode Island are extant. Like some other records in America, they were instituted at George Fox's visit, but they contain entries going back many years earlier. It was a simple and natural matter to consult them. Of over five hundred marriages listed between 1643 and 1850, I found that only two belong to the year 1672, and one precisely in the later half of June. I have no doubt that this is George Fox's "example." All we lack now is the marriage certificate with his familiar signature, "gff"!

The date is June 22, 1672. The groom is Joseph Briar or Bryar of Newport. The bride is Mary, the daughter of Daniel and Wait Gould, also of Newport. The birth and death records give other information. Joseph Bryar died in 1704, aged 59, and Mary Bryar in 1690, aged 37. They were therefore at marriage about 27 and 19 years old respectively. Her birth date is exactly given as March 2, 1653. Daniel Gould, the bride's father, was a prominent local Friend, a veteran of the Massachusetts persecution and one of the longest to survive. He had married Wait, the daughter of John Coggeshall, in 1651. He wrote in 1700 an account of his martyred associates. According to the registers, Nicholas Davis, another of the early Boston sufferers, was drowned in Newport harbor two days after the wedding; but George Fox does not mention this either.

Of Joseph Bryar I have some further notice. William Edmundson, the Irish Friend, got to Rhode Island in 1672 after George Fox left, and so after the wedding, but in time for another function, the debate with Roger Williams. Three years later after five months in Barbados, "having drawings," he said, "for New England I took passage for Rhode Island in a yacht, of which Joseph Bryar, a Friend, was master . . . and came well to Rhode Island in about three weeks." Joseph Bryar was married again in 1692, to another Mary, Mary Palmer of Westchester, New York.

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George Fox Was Here!

Here in northern Germany I find myself again on the trail of George Fox. It was in August, 1677, that he visited a series of cities where Friends were known to exist—Emden, Oldenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Friedrichstadt on the Eider. All of them except the last are unrecognizably large, but that one, apart from any Quaker connection, is of great interest and attractiveness in its own right. I had read about Quakerism in Friedrichstadt and even written about it, but now at last I could see it with my own eyes, drink in its local color, and consult local sources of historical information.

Friedrichstadt was founded by Dutch religious dissenters called Remonstrants in 1621 much as the contemporary Pilgrim Fathers migrated to New England, and with the same combination of reasons, to escape persecution and increase the hope of commercial gain. They became Mennonites, Quakers, Lutherans, Catholics, and Jews, or were joined by them. The city was famous for its policy of tolerance and of religious coexistence.

Friedrichstadt was located between two rivers and laid out in checkerboard streets. So was the later Philadelphia. One wonders if William Penn was thinking of this harbor city near the North Sea when he gave instructions to his deputy. The American city's plat and its rivers were much larger. Friedrichstadt was all surrounded by water and crossed in Dutch fashion by a canal. It retains its original plan and is a quaint, delightful, and unspoiled town. With its stepped gables, it is a bit of old Holland. Though much of it was burned in 1850 when it was bombarded by the Danes, many houses that I saw must have been there in George Fox's day.

Of his visit one can read the account in his *Journal*. This was based on an earlier and fuller diary recently printed and available. An error in political history was detected in the first printed edition by Dutch Friends, who called it to the attention of Friends in London. This was omitted in later editions. The trip between Hamburg and Friedrichstadt took two days then by open wagon, not two hours as today by train. George Fox and his party rose before three each morning and came to their lodging weary and late at night, and often with their clothes soaked through with rain.

How fascinating it is to dovetail his narrative and other English sources on Quakerism there with local printed history and archives! German historians have usually been as ignorant of British sources as Quaker historians have been of local sources. From the archives may be quoted documents of various kinds, showing that when efforts were made to oust Friends from the city, Friends stubbornly remained, the orders were deferred, and the magistrates interceded on their behalf. They explained to the higher authorities that some of the Quakers had been among the earlier founders and natives of the city. In 1673 eight Quakers are named

as having been called before the council. The names include the one person named by George Fox, his host, William Pauls.

Naturally when on the spot I hoped to try to locate their meeting house. According to the police protocols, it was built and furnished about 1678, but without permission. It is probably here that Peter the Great was once later an attentive worshiper, as related by Thomas Story. It is said to have remained in the possession of Friends until 1853 and must have been one of the very few Quaker meeting houses on the Continent. I think it was built with money partly borrowed from England. In 1728 the same protocols relate that "the meeting transferred to the London Society 2000 Thaler." The initials (but not the names) of four Friends attest this record.

Two items shown me by a knowledgeable bookseller in the town, which were his personal possessions, gave identical suggestion of the location. One is an ancient map on which the Quaker Meeting is plainly indicated. The other is an old folio manuscript volume of estimated valuation of properties in case of fire, with an entry of about 1700: "Second Quarter. North side of Westerhafenstrasse. Quaker Meeting House, Thaler 1200." There are today only eight or ten houses in this short block, but I found no clue to the one now occupying the site of the Quaker property.

George Fox, as usual on his visit, encouraged the establishment of Monthly Meetings. In 1683 Friedrichstadt and other German Meetings were formed into a Yearly Meeting separate from the parent Yearly Meeting in Amsterdam. No Friends in Friedrichstadt are referred to after 1771.

The romantic history of this remote Quaker colony in Schleswig-Holstein is not without suggestion and parallel elsewhere today. Now as then a handful of Friends in an out-of-the-way place can become a real

community, can bear witness to Quaker principles, and if assisted by larger groups elsewhere to build a meeting house of their own, can establish for more than a generation a useful outpost to which Friends traveling in the ministry happily make their way.

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Rights and Privileges

No one who reads the history of the early Quakers can fail to notice a curious and vigorous contrast in their attitudes under persecution. One is the stubborn and rather pernickety refusal to accept mere clemency and kindness. More than once George Fox tells of refusing to accept a pardon offered to him. On other occasions the authorities intentionally made it easy for him to walk out of prison; but he did not accommodate them by doing so. His behavior resembled, perhaps imitated, that of Paul and Silas who, wrongly imprisoned at Philippi, refused to budge out of prison until they were publicly escorted out by the city's chief magistrates.

William Penn from his first conviction was very sensitive to refuse if possible any special concessions. In spite of his social rank he wanted to suffer mistreatment with the Quakers. He felt that when others—Quakers or Catholics—were persecuted, he should share their disabilities. He knew that when others' liberties are infringed, no man is safe.

This refusal of privilege was combined with an equally zealous insistence on rights. Both George Fox and William Penn again and again pushed to the limit their claims to the technical protection of the law. The trial at the Old Bailey of William Penn with William Mead is only the most famous of many episodes when "due process" was

claimed by Friends as though they were the greatest sticklers. Yet it resulted from an immediate and overt defiance of the new Conventicle Act. With brief hesitation and a few dissidents, the Society of Friends used as far as possible the rights guaranteed by English law. They created in the Meeting for Sufferings one of the most elaborate organizations for civil liberties that the world had yet seen.

Perhaps we are used to thinking of the phrase "rights and privileges" as a pair of synonyms after the manner of lawyers' jargon. At least in the sense of the examples given, ancient Friends made a great distinction between them, though both alike were treated to an almost identical good end.

I wonder whether today we recognize the coherence of each, and even press it to the extent of its full value. We are increasingly aware of the moral legitimacy and effectiveness of civil disobedience. A good way to oppose a bad law is for conscientious men to disobey it. The suffering of the innocent is a powerful technique for influence, as with the hemlock of Socrates and the cross of Christ.

The fellowship of suffering is much more than a mutual comfort. It has an educational influence on the victims and the public. It opens men's eyes, as mine were opened unexpectedly a number of years ago when in applying for membership in a club I was stopped by the phrase I was expected to sign in routine fashion: "I am a member of the Caucasian race." Research lawyers tell us that the Fifth Amendment was adopted in part to protect the innocent, instead of loading suspicion on others, as it is used today. Ought not, therefore, more innocent people, with nothing to hide, join in invoking it when opportunity offers?

Not only in our taxation and conscription laws, but also in less formal matters, religion confers special privilege denied to

the equally conscientious but technically nonreligious. Quakers probably enjoy in many circumstances a quite unjustified and unwanted relative freedom from harassment. How can we today, protected by the irrelevance of our white color, by our "innocence by association" with religion, and by our general timid legal conformity, renounce like our forefathers privilege that others should share?

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Lincoln's Quaker Ancestors

Association between Abraham Lincoln and Friends has been discussed five times before in these letters at mid-February. Three years ago I hinted that direct descent from Friends had been ascertained but was not then published. Publication has now occurred.¹

The claim of such descent was made by Abraham Lincoln himself at least three times in writing. He says consistently that the family had "a vague tradition that his great grandfather went from Pennsylvania to Virginia and that he was a quaker" (1848), that "his paternal grandfather's ancestors who were quakers went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania" (1859), and that "his father and grandfather were born in Rockingham County, Virginia, whither their ancestors had come from Berks County, Pennsylvania. His lineage has been traced no further back than this. The family were originally quakers, though in later times they have fallen away from the peculiar habits of that people" (1860).

In spite of these assertions and the vast amount of genealogical research that has been devoted to Lincoln's background, heretofore attempts to establish this Quaker ancestry have not succeeded. At most one

could say it was not proved; and many experts in Lincoln lore have flatly denied its truth. Earlier efforts to confirm it have often followed false trails or depended on mere conjecture. With such precedents before us, we must venture with fingers crossed. It is to the credit of David S. Keiser of Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, to whom I acknowledge my indebtedness, that he has patiently pursued some overlooked lines of descent and has established at least one line of ancestry that was demonstrably Quaker.

Descent or ancestry can be traced in either direction, as the gospels of Matthew and Luke show us, with their recurrent "begat" or "son of" respectively. For Abraham Lincoln we may use the second order and simplify the generally agreed facts as follows:

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) was the son of

Thomas Lincoln (1776-1851), who married (1806) Nancy Hanks (1784-1818), and was the son of Abraham Lincoln (1744-1786), the son of

John Lincoln (1716-1788), the son of Mordecai Lincoln (Jr., 1686-1736), who married Hannah Salter, etc.

Without going further back, we are faced by several blanks. The full names of the father of Nancy Hanks, of the mother of Thomas Lincoln, and of the wife of John Lincoln have long been unknown. With these and other gaps in our knowledge, flat denial of any Quaker ancestry for the President was a little premature.

The significant fact now is that the last point seems to be settled. The view, earlier

¹ David S. Keiser, "Quaker Ancestors for Lincoln," in *Lincoln Herald*, Harrogate, Tennessee, vol. 63, 1961, pages 134-137

hinted, has been unchallenged for nearly forty years, that John Lincoln married July 5, 1743, Mrs. Rebecca Flower Morris, a widow, and the daughter of Enoch Flower (or Flowers) and Rebecca Barnard (or Barnett).²

Mrs. John Lincoln's ancestry apparently was:

Enoch Flower, who married (1713)
Rebecca Barnard, was the son of William Flower, who married (1692)
Elizabeth Morris (Moris).

Rebecca Barnard was the daughter of Richard Barnard (d. 1698), who married (1678) Frances Lambe (d. 1720).

Now all three of the last-mentioned marriages occurred under the auspices of Friends Meetings. David Keiser has found them entered in the contemporary records, those of 1713 and 1692 under Concord (Chichester) Monthly Meeting, Chester (now Delaware) County, Pennsylvania; that for 1678 under Chippenham Meeting, Wiltshire, England. In that period of Quaker history there were no membership lists, but with the prohibition against marrying out of Meeting there is strong presumption that persons married in Meeting were both of them Friends, and their children would be accounted Friends as well, by "education," or, as we would say, "by birthright." It is true that Concord Monthly Meeting did in an exceptional case allow "its form, its meeting, and its Meeting House to be used by non-members."³ But the couples that "passed meeting" in April and May, 1713, as did the parents of Mrs. John Lincoln, were, it also happens, identified in the minutes as "both belonging to this meeting."

If President Lincoln's paternal great-grandfather was not a Quaker, he at least married into a family that was Quaker on both sides. This circumstance would explain

the traditions that were inherited by the great-grandson. If they were "vague" or perhaps inexact about county or date, they rightly connected his father's forbears with the Society of Friends and with Pennsylvania. Abraham Lincoln did not exploit the connection, and modern Friends will do well not to exploit it either. Perhaps they can now try to extend our knowledge of this group of his ancestors.

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Yearly Meeting Epistles

The earliest epistles received by London Yearly Meeting might seem to qualify as an appropriate subject for this column. They, too, are "letters from the past." They exist still at London, neatly copied by hand in large folio volumes. I have been looking lately at the first two volumes, covering the years 1683 to 1738. The geographical range is extraordinary, almost as wide as in Yearly Meetings today. Included are out-of-the-way places like South Africa; South Carolina; Barbados; and Bermuda, where Quakerism long ago became extinct. Reports of the Friends World Committee give us nowadays a similar perspective.

Much of the contents is religious exhortation and pious reflection. Here one looks between the lines for the subtler trends in Quakerism. There is also an occasional bit of factual news. I am afraid as historians we

²Waldo Lincoln, *History of the Lincoln Family*, 1923, p. 99, and W. E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 1925, p. 26 and less explicitly earlier writers.

³Watson W. Dewess, in *225th Anniversary of Concord Monthly Meeting*, 1911, pp. 61-62



Above: Tercentenary of the Capture of Jamaica by Admiral Penn in 1655. Right: Statue of Peter the Great, St. Petersburg, 1905.

have neglected this material. Many topics in early Quaker history are given contemporary though brief mention, confirming or supplementing other information. I shall include some examples in relation to earlier letters in this series.

The great earthquake at Port Royal, Jamaica, June 7, 1692, was as severe a tragedy as any local Friends Meeting ever suffered. It occurred on Monthly Meeting day, but what I had read elsewhere left me uncertain where that meeting was held and so whether it was those who attended Monthly Meeting who perished or those who did not. The letter about it to London in these volumes, reporting the disaster and listing all the thirty-five Quaker victims, makes it clear that it was those who happened *not* to be at Monthly Meeting that were swallowed up with the town, while the Meeting and its attenders met safely across the bay. That was, of course, as it should be, and London Yearly Meeting's reply did not hesitate to draw the moral for the survivors.

More than once lately I have mentioned the visit in 1712 of Peter the Great to Friedrichstadt when the city was suffering severely because of the quartering of foreign soldiers in homes and even in the Friends meeting house. The Czar at once cleared the meeting house of this offense and with some of his officers actually attended meeting in it. This episode was known to us from Thomas Story's *Journal*, published in 1747,

but here more than one of the contemporary epistles confirm much earlier the main details.

Our present focus is now often on Africa. The first Friends meetings on that continent seem to have been among the English captives made by pirates on the Barbary Coast, and of an equally unhappy small group at the Cape of Good Hope. With the former at "Macqueness" or "Sally," London Friends had correspondence. Thus far our earliest data about the latter come from two letters from them to Benjamin Holme copied among these formal epistles.

One of the most gruesome thrillers of the class of best-sellers, called today "Indian Captivities", is Jonathan Dickinson's *God's Protecting Providence*, the story of the author's shipwreck with Robert Barrow, the venerable public Friend from England, on the coast of Florida, and wretched journey of the survivors to St. Augustine, Charleston, and Philadelphia, where Barrow died. This classic, after dozens of editions since 1699, has lately been issued as a paperback. But here in a brief and independent narrative the story appears copied among the epistles in one of the folio volumes, with a longer and more edifying account of Barrow's last days in Philadelphia.

I have long known that William Penn was suspected of being a Roman Catholic in disguise, and that disturbing reports to this effect came to the attention of Friends in Yorkshire or in Pennsylvania. But here I learn from a letter of 1689 written by Friends in Rhode Island that they had heard he had been "executed for being proved a Papist or Jesuit," though they add rather naively that they had been "fully satisfied by all his works in writing that he is nor was no such person." Fortunately, William Penn had thirty more years of life to live down the reputation.

It is tempting to cite many of the charac-

teristic problems reported from sundry places long ago to the central Quaker body in England. Browsing in these records makes one wonder whether two hundred and more years in the future our present epistolary correspondence will have interest and precedent for a later Society of Friends.

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At the Old Bailey Again

One of the best-known and most impressive episodes in Quaker history is the trial at the Old Bailey in London in 1670 of William Penn and William Mead. No wonder the Civil Liberties Committee reported to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting the success of its dramatic representation "Trial of William Penn" as "an effective way of putting civil liberties' principles" and added, "We are now casting about for a worthy successor to the Penn Trial."

The desired successor need not be some ancient episode dramatically reproduced. It might better be a real contemporary event enacted for the first time by courageous modern Friends in actual life, an episode set in the crucial days through which we are living. For today again the rights of all men are threatened whenever those of a few are ignored, and whenever public issues are not allowed impartial hearing.

Perhaps a kind of successor actually occurred in February, 1962, while the committee report was still in press. It occurred again at the same Old Bailey in London, at the Central Criminal Court. Ample firsthand material for the script of a play will be found in *Peace News* for February 23. There were six defendants, five men (none of them Friends, but three with Friendly associations), and a woman. They are members of the Committee of 100, which was organizing

a demonstration inside an air base at Wethersfield in Essex, England, a base used by U.S. Air Force squadrons. The charge again, as in 1670, was conspiracy, but in terms of the Official Secrets Acts of 1911 it claimed that the accused had "a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state." The defendants were found guilty by the jury and under the new acts heavily sentenced. The case will be appealed.

Meanwhile the trial raises some significant and perhaps, for a government, ultimately embarrassing questions. The reports of the trial suggest that the Judge and Attorney General were as partisan as were their predecessors in 1670; but such partisanship was to be expected. When a government accuses opposition to nuclear armament as being "prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state," the defendants naturally suggest that it is the government's policy which is really prejudicial. Evidently the court was unwilling to open this question, forbidding scientific experts brought by the defense from America to be asked any questions. Even the ethics of obedience to government orders was raised by the defense, as it was raised at the Nürnberg and Eichmann trials. But such questions or parallels were also not allowed by the court, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop Roberts was prevented from presenting "the Christian tradition which has established that defense of even a just cause is only justified when the violence permitted is proportionate to the end in view, and reasonably calculated to attain that end."

Someday, if not in this case, these considerations must be pressed home so that the court of public opinion, if not a technical court of law, will become a stage for appeal to the conscience of mankind in this matter of massive extermination.

Asbjorn Kloster

Norway Yearly Meeting, which meets this year on June 1, probably represents the oldest continuous group of Friends on the European continent, just as New England Yearly Meeting, which meets later in June, is the oldest in America. A few of the present members of Norway Yearly Meeting, like Sigrid Lund of Oslo and Ole Olden of Stavanger, are known personally to some readers of these pages through their contacts in the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

The romantic story of the beginning of Norway Yearly Meeting after the Napoleonic War is known, I hope, to many Friends. It tells how some Norwegian prisoners of war in Great Britain were visited by English Friends and convinced, and then when they returned to their homes, formed small Friends Meetings and suffered for their faith. In 1825 a group of fifty odd came to America to avoid persecution on a little sloop named *Restaurationen*, the vanguard of later shiploads and finally of the large Norwegian-American immigration. These beginnings are the subject of a cycle of novels being produced by Norway's well-known novelist Alfred Hauge. The first has just appeared and is named for the forerunner, Cleg Peerson.

The occasion for the present letter has to do with neither the earliest nor the latest phases of Norwegian Quakerism but with an individual member of the middle period, Asbjorn Kloster, 1823-1876. While still in his teens he came to the attention of English Quaker visitors to Norway, and was brought to England to learn the language and perfect himself as a teacher. He resided for some months at Great Ayton in Yorkshire in the

Agricultural School which Friends had lately founded. What he mainly absorbed from this visit was the deep concern of Friends in that locality for total abstinence from liquor. On his return home he interpreted this movement in speaking and writing, editing a periodical, and translating into Danish English workingmen's pamphlets. His funeral, attended by thousands of abstainers or former alcoholics, was one of the largest ever held in Stavanger.

About fifty years ago his grateful friends contributed to the erection of his statue in the city square (though I believe lately removed, as had been the old Friends meeting house). In December, 1959, on the centennial of his founding the first D.N.T., or Total Abstinence Society (*Det Norskes Totalafholdsselskab*), a portrait stamp was issued in his honor. According to the custom of this column, it is reproduced herewith, even if a little late. One can almost recognize the

1859 D.N.T. 1959



NORGE 45



influence of British Quaker garb in his coat. For good measure is added a cut of the good ship *Restoration*, as pictured on the United States two-cent stamp for its centennial in 1925.

A student of Quaker social concern is reminded by this obscure member of a small group that, in spite of notable exceptions, the problem of alcoholism has in larger areas of the Society failed to command the widespread, continuous, committed response (and example) that it deserved, along with other good causes.

Across the Neva's Cold Morass

Gravestones provide a major link with the past. Unfortunately Friends' graves often suffered, apart from other vicissitudes, from a religious objection even to the simplest marker, so that many early stones were destroyed and later ones were forbidden until about a century ago.

I have referred before to visiting the graveyards where William Penn and George Fox were buried. More recent visits were a normal part of attending the First Day meetings at Jordans and Bunhill respectively, and showed no special change in them. The fresh correction of date to the stone of Gulielma Penn is weathering naturally. A local Friend is studying the written records of location in comparison with the present stones. The little house and public garden at Bunhill are still surrounded by war ruins. I understand some rebuilding in the bombed area and a changed access to the Quaker property are contemplated. The former separate stone for George Fox leans against the back of the house—painted green! There is also an iron inscription: "This wall and seven inches of the ground on the north side are the property of the Society of Friends. 1793."

Both of the original graves were later disturbed. I read Prince Butterfield's account of the opening of William Penn's grave to receive on top the coffin of his second wife, and I read as well the record of Rebecca Butterfield, his mother, of the funeral of Gulielma, which confirms the corrected date on the stone. I read also a letter by Benjamin Read in 1841 about the accidental breaking open of the coffin of George Fox, which he witnessed, and I talked to the daughter of

Charles Elcock, who was also present on that occasion.

For want of firsthand new material I may refer to the report I heard and read of the visit of two English Friends to a Quaker graveyard in Russia. The invitation of Czar Alexander I to Daniel Wheeler is well known. It led him and his family to spend some years in land reclamation near St. Petersburg—"across the Neva's cold morass," as John Greenleaf Whittier puts it. Here, in 1832, Daniel Wheeler's wife Jane died and was buried, and his daughter Jane, five years later. Nicholas I, who had succeeded Alexander, presented a plot of land for these graves as the permanent property of the Society of Friends. A map of the land, an early picture of it with its surrounding fence on a low wall, and a copy of the imperial rescript of gift are available. Two Americans have attempted to visit the site in modern times: Gilbert MacMaster successfully in 1930 and C. Marshall Taylor without success in 1956. In the interval, the siege of Leningrad had made the area "no man's land." In September, 1961, Fred Tritton and Richenda Scott actually found the spot. Though it showed the signs of desolation that existed in 1956, they were able to trace it by following the printed report of 1930. Local names and conditions have changed. The plot is within the bounds of a collective farm and has now several recent crude Russian graves. It is by a grove of trees and high unmown grass. The visitors, however, found intact the two gravestones of red Finnish granite and the larger slab of the same material beside them with its inscription, part in Russian and part in English, identifying the Czar's gift and the two Quaker women buried there.

Surely this is one of the most unexpected Quaker memorials in the modern world. London Meeting for Sufferings naturally has decided to try to re-establish title to the plot

of land and to provide for its rehabilitation and care. Quaker philatelists will hardly expect the current Russian government to hon-

Nicholas I



Alexander I

or either Daniel Wheeler or his imperial patrons. However, in 1913, four years before the Romanoff dynasty fell, a tercentenary series of stamps was issued featuring several of the family, including Nicholas I (15 k. red brown) and Alexander I (20 k. olive green).

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Praemunire

If your blood does not run cold when you see or hear this law-Latin word, that is because you are not a Seventeenth-Century Quaker. For in the reign of Charles II it was the term for the threat of punishment that was most ominous to a Friend. It is short for a statute of the fourteenth century, "See that so and so is forewarned (*praemoneri facias*)," by which those who did not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy exposed themselves to the charge of contempt of the Crown and to the penalties of imprisonment at the King's pleasure, the confiscation of their property, and the deprivation of all civil rights. It was an even more convenient and severe tool of persecution than the acts devised especially against Quakers. Margaret Fell was praemunired in 1664 and again in 1670. George Fox's last long and successful legal battle was on this account and included imprisonment in Worcester and London in 1673 to 1675. It is said that Richard Carver, the seaman who

befriended Charles II as he escaped to France in 1651, later became a Friend and appealed to the restored King on behalf of a list he presented of over a hundred Friends praemunired, for whom the only hope was action by the King. With the Toleration Act of 1689 and the extended permission of affirmation, the threat for Friends was removed, and indeed thereafter few if any persons of any creed suffered the pains and penalties of the Statute.

For that reason I was surprised to see the word again in the British newspapers some months ago. The occasion was the election of a new Lord Bishop of London, at which one member of the Great Chapter, Canon L. John Collins, Precentor of St. Paul's, refused to vote for the candidate nominated by the Prime Minister for the Queen. This contumacious conduct was too reminiscent of the days when it was feared that the Pope's authority would be strengthened and the King's despised in the election of ecclesiastical officials.

The offender in this case, as his offices show, was no Quaker; but the reasons for his courageous action will be of interest to Friends, even though his offense has not resulted in punishment. In the first place, the royal nomination, though presented in a sealed envelope, had been announced to the press and was no secret. Canon Collins objected to the insincerity of a group engaging, as the custom is, in prayer for guidance in an election when the rejection of the announced royal nominee was illegal and void. "To pray for the guidance of the Holy Spirit on such an occasion is little short of blasphemy," he said. "The whole process is a farce, a relic of bygone days, which can only add to the difficulties of those who endeavor to commend the Church of England to the present day world."

He further objected that this particular candidate, the then Bishop of Peterborough,

Dr. H. W. Stopford, had said that it would be better to have a nuclear war than to permit a Communist domination over Britain. He urged his fellows that they abstain from voting at all, or at least refuse to vote for a cleric whose philosophy is that commonly described as "Better dead than red."

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Emancipation

Among the many centennial memories of the Civil War years none will appeal so much to Friends as that of the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. The National Council of Churches, in calling for the celebration of this date, refers to it as the sequel of "the first abolition society founded by Quakers in Pennsylvania in 1775." The Council was kind to mention Friends, but one scarcely knows where to date the beginning or the end of Quaker influence. The movement in America goes back earlier: to the first protests against the slave trade, to the Quakers' emancipation of their own Society from slaveholding. In fact, manumission by slave owners represents their concern much earlier and more accurately than does government emancipation of slaves.

The whole story also illustrates the "transatlantic" nature of Quakerism. As the antislavery movement in England had colonial Quaker precedents, so the ultimate emancipation in America followed twenty-five or thirty years after legislation for the final abolition of slavery in the British Empire, a campaign in which British Friends played a large part. Hence on both sides of the ocean, and with reciprocal influence, emancipation was the outcome of prolonged and cumulative Quaker effort.

Some have thought that the famous Proclamation had more immediate Quaker cause.

The story of Abraham Lincoln's mind preceding the event does not confirm this. As shown by historians, including the late Henry W. Wilbur, former secretary of Friends General Conference (*Lincoln's Attitude Towards Slavery*, 1914; *Friends with Lincoln at the White House*, 1912), and, more recently, Benjamin Quarles (*Lincoln and the Negro*, 1962), the emancipator was far from committed to emancipation in the weeks and months that preceded the Proclamation. That seems strange, since a dozen years before he had proposed emancipation (gradual and compensated, as in the British Empire) for the District of Columbia.

There were many considerations—military and political, rather than moral—that might move Abraham Lincoln toward the wider policy, and of course there were others than Friends urging him to it. But he had reason for hesitation and delay. In June, 1862, less than a month before he confided to his cabinet his intention, a delegation of Progressive Friends from Longwood, Pennsylvania, had asked him to free the slaves. Though he was relieved that they did not come as office-seekers, he sent them away without any promise on slavery. Their written petition turned up lately among the Robert Todd Lincoln papers. Only after the military situation had improved with the Battle of Antietam did he on September 22 publish his intention.

It may be only a coincidence that three days before, on September 19, Isaac and Sarah Harvey, plain-living Friends of southern Ohio, having travelled to Washington under a religious concern to visit the President, had the good fortune to obtain a private interview (Compare Letter 120) with him. Unfortunately the fullest account was not published until 1870, and then with rather imaginative details and fictitious names in a piece in *Harper's Magazine* called "A Day among the Quakers" by Nellie

Blessing-Eyster. Just what was said on either side is not recorded, but some form of emancipation was undoubtedly the subject.

A hundred days elapsed before the promised date. Whether Lincoln would carry out the plan may have been in doubt. But late on New Year's Day the Proclamation was signed. For many antislavery folk it seemed a day of unqualified victory. John Greenleaf Whittier, with an extraordinary galaxy of literary celebrities, was at a morning celebration in the Music Hall in Boston. Later he wrote:

O dark sad millions, patiently and dumb
Waiting for God, your hour at last has
come,

And freedom's song
Breaks the long silence of your night of
wrong!

There were some features of the Proclamation that were not satisfying to all lovers of freedom. It liberated slaves only in the border areas involved in the rebellion. It was partly an act of war, and in Abraham Lincoln's mind the war was to save the Union, not to abolish slavery. Military partisans, like the *Philadelphia Press*, looked upon the slaves as "a million able-bodied men, a guerilla power such as the world had never seen." All three Philadelphia Quaker weeklies regretted the military implications. As we know even better today, there were other and later factors lacking to make the Proclamation completely and finally "a new birth of freedom," as Abraham Lincoln called it a few months afterward at Gettysburg. The event, however, was a memorable one; Abraham Lincoln said it was "the central act of my administration and the greatest act of the Nineteenth Century."

Like some more contemporary events, its values—with mixed motives and unlearned lessons—are hard to appraise. It was in a



sense "the right deed for the wrong reason." One would not be surprised if it did more to move Abraham Lincoln himself over to moral considerations than it did to move anyone else. At the present writing the U.S. Post Office Department is still debating whether it deserves the issue of a commemorative stamp. I content myself, therefore, with offering as philatelic symbols some stamps (here enlarged) of the earlier British centennials of emancipation issued by the Sierra Leone and Jamaica. Perhaps these owe more to Friends, anyhow, and were more to their liking.

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An Act of Conscience

There are ancient papers and manuscript records of great interest in all the major repositories of old Quaker archives in America, including Providence, New York, Baltimore, and Guilford. Among the records in Philadelphia, however, is an item that has long intrigued me especially: a folio blank-book entitled "First-Days Meetings supplied by Friends in the Ministry in and about London, 1682." As early as 1670 the ministers of Friends in London compared notes each week as to where they intended to attend meeting the following First Day, and for nearly a century they kept a record of these decisions. The lists from 1699 to 1793 are at the library of Friends House in London. Evidently this volume, covering all of 1683 and a few weeks before and after, was the first continuous record so kept. So, at

least, I infer from a dated notation, "G.F. seeing this book approved of it and ordered it kept as a record."

For each First Day the scribe drew a grid with squares for each of ten or twelve local meetings, both morning and afternoon. Then he filled in one or more names of Friends as they divided themselves up for the day. George Fox, Robert Barclay, and many other familiar names occur among those of over forty ministers mentioned; but not William Penn, who was then in Pennsylvania. The entries are in the handwriting of Mark Swanner, assistant secretary at the Friends' office, as we should call him. But someone else, perhaps George Whitehead, added afterward occasional reports of what occurred at each meeting—whether it met in the meeting house or was locked out and held in the street; whether it was disturbed by constables and soldiers; or whether Friends were arrested and imprisoned, or discharged.

This book is especially interesting for several reasons. The year 1683 was the height of persecution in London, in part because of a recent plot against the government. It was also a particularly cold winter. Persecutions of Friends were pretty regularly reported each week in the London newspapers. There are also various Quaker accounts in the massive manuscript collection of Friends' sufferings (also digested later in print) and in the *Journal* of individual Friends, such as George Fox or George Whitehead. Thus one can sometimes compare three or four different records of what occurred on a given First Day in a given meeting house.

It may be news to many modern Friends that the ministers, or "public Friends," regularly apportioned themselves to the various local meetings. Evidently they felt it desirable that some but not too many of them should be on hand at each meeting for worship. Perhaps they felt also that no min-

ister should attend the same meeting regularly.

There are many references to violence and to severe penalties. Those who spoke or prayed were most liable to arrest. Informers were particularly active at this time. But there are also references to sympathetic or lenient officials, who evidently did not relish their jobs or the vicious and illegal practices of the informers. For example, a group of thirteen Friends arrested on 10 mo. 9, at the Savoy Meeting, and appearing next day at the sessions and refusing to take the oath, were told by the chairman, "I must confess, though you have not sworn allegiance, yet you have practiced allegiance by your honest life and quiet conversation [i.e., conduct] among your neighbors . . . and therefore this honorable Bench in hopes you will continue your allegiance and obedience to the King and his government . . . do not intend to put that upon you which they know you cannot perform—which is to swear." "And so," continues the record, he "discharged them, and all were well satisfied, the informers, etc., disappointed, and Friends encouraged."

How this book came to Philadelphia or when, we do not know. It was at least a year too late to have come with Penn on the *Welcome*. It joined the Philadelphia archives shortly before 1877. It was said to have been found a number of years before in tearing down an old building on Front Street. But it has long been evident to knowledgeable Friends that it belonged to London, not to Philadelphia, Yearly Meeting. Record books belong to their own meetings and ought not to be held by private individuals or even by other meetings.

I write now because I am happy to report that the custodians, animated by the kind of conscience that the volume itself reports of the early Friends, have at last sent this treasure back by personal carrier to London Friends, who in turn have trebly acknowl-

edged its receipt and are sending back to Philadelphia the manuscript copy of it which they had made for them in 1903. Other Americans will share the satisfaction of the present writer. We do not want to have in our hands or on our consciences other people's property.

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Quakers Anonymous

The editor has suggested that if I intend to reach the even two hundred of these letters I should tell how they began. Well, I had long observed the likeness between past events and the present, especially in Quaker history. It gradually occurred to me that there was both interest and instruction in this phenomenon. I thought I might from time to time (or now and then) write out illustrations.

In late February, 1941, after three weeks in London's wartime blitz and blackout, I was detained some days from leaving England by weather conditions. So I had time to write Letter No. 1, and I sent it off to the *Friends Intelligencer*, whose editor published it on March 29, 1941, quoting from my enclosing letter. This has all been lately recorded in the book of inverted title, *Then & Now*. For the twenty-two years since then ideas, time, and space for further letters have been found at the average rate, I calculate, of about nine a year.

The incognito character of the letters was intentional. Their authorship was not what we since have come to call "classified" or "top-drawer secret," but I wished them not to be published or read unless they seemed of value in themselves. It would be embarrassing to have my name occur so often in pages where room is limited and coveted.

The editors ultimately released the secret, giving regard to the readers' curiosity more than to the writer's modesty.

There is nothing unprecedented among Friends in the practice of anonymity. Some of George Fox's earliest pamphlets were published without signature. When signed they often had only "G.F." or "F.G." (for George Fox also inverted signatures). Indeed, even in manuscript letters, with one possible exception, I never have found him writing more than initials, and these without benefit of capitals (like e. e. cummings) or periods. William Penn signed his early books with initials "W.P.J." (J for Junior), and when the printer of one of them was arrested William Penn voluntarily surrendered himself to the authorities as its writer, and spent eight months as prisoner in the Tower of London. He wrote many anonymous books and used besides at least half a dozen different *noms de plume*. Joseph Smith's huge alphabetical *Catalogue of Friends Books* scatters frequently throughout its pages the term "[Anon.]" and has besides separate sections under "Anonymous" in Volume 1 and under "Nameless" and "Quakers" in Volume 2.

Many of these have remained anonymous, but it is always a pleasure to identify from unpublished manuscripts the real author. Thus I have been able on the authority of George Fox to assign to George Bishop *The West Answering to the North*, 1657, the longest Quaker book published up to that date, and to David Cooper of South Jersey from his own diary the authorship of three noteworthy pieces between 1772 and 1784. All of these had been attributed by conjecture to other authors.

Another form of Quaker anonymity occurs not of authors but of persons mentioned without name. These too rouse my curiosity. For example, who is the Friend

whom George Fox reports back in London in 1661 after three years of wide and successful missionary service "out in the East Indies"? Who were the thirty Quaker families reported in 1796 in a settlement very near the Eastern border of Maine? That cannot be another case of the frequent error of Quakers for Shakers, as in the case of a famous British visitor's reference to Quakers in Lebanon, Ohio, for Shakers were communistic and celibate, while these families averaged "upwards of eight children each."

Lately, when the ransom of a thousand Cuban prisoners was in our thoughts, I came upon a reference from Jamaica, in the Calendar of State Papers for 1670 about a Quaker vessel recovered from a Spanish man-of-war, but without the captain, "one Watson," and "two quaking preaching women," who "were carried into the Havana," though chased by an English ship "within shot of the Moro Castle." Who were these unnamed Quakeresses? And did they ever get away to quake and preach another day?

There is another form of Quaker anonymity which will hardly be criticized. That is in the field of service. The Gospel warns: "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them." Of one of the most generous of modern Friends it was well said that "he loved to do good by stealth." Though the service work of Friends has received much publicity collectively, there has been little individual laudation. As was said of Friends at the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947, "It is the silent help from the nameless to the nameless which is their contribution to the promotion of brotherhood among nations."

Finally let me refer to another suggestion about Quakers Anonymous. I quote from a letter received this week from a Friend and fellow *Emeritus*:

"We continue to stay on here and have

agreed to teach next year—our fourth. It's hard to quit, isn't it? Perhaps some organization like Alcoholics Anonymous is needed to help retired professors break the habit."

I am not sure this is the habit Quakers most need to break. Statistically the Society of Friends does seem especially deaf to the words of James 3:1: "Be not many of you teachers." Each reader will think of other habits. The queries mention lateness to meeting and sleeping in meeting. These can become habits. There is also habitual speaking in meeting and habitual *not* speaking in meeting. There is the habit of putting the importunate ahead of the important, etc., etc. If we can somehow conspire together like our alcoholic namesakes to help one another out of ruts I am all for Quakers Anonymous. I have always admired the elderly Quakeress who said that she tried even in dusting the parlor to think of new ways of proceeding. Routine can be a help, but it can also be a master.

Yours ever and anon, dear readers, Now and Then and Anon.

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Popes Alexander VII and John XXIII

The papal encyclical *Pacem in Terris* has received widespread acclaim from Friends as well as from Protestants generally and even from behind the Iron Curtain. I do not know how many Quaker committees, Meetings, and members—from London Meeting for Sufferings down—have written directly to Pope John XXIII in the same vein of appreciation as is to be found in this and other Quaker journals.

There could be no greater contrast than that between this response and the attitude of Friends three centuries ago. George Fox

entertained no such feelings toward his contemporary on the papal throne. Fabio Chigi, or Alexander VII (1655-1667), was no worse than other popes. In some ways he was rather better. It is not likely that early Friends really knew his character or even his name. He became notable for his patronage of science and the arts, but that would not have recommended him to Friends. By his position he was for them the embodiment of all the evil which Protestants assigned to the whole institution.

By 1656 George Fox had printed *A Warning from the Lord to the Pope and to All His Train of Idolatries*, etc. Two larger pieces he published two years later, which were also printed in Latin. In 1659 he and Edward Burrough were each writing with unwonted belligerence to the English army that instead of persecuting Quakers they should have engaged in a campaign against all the Pope's dominions and not stopped until "they had set up their standard atop of Rome," had demanded the Pope himself, and had avenged the innocent blood shed in the Inquisition.

In later extensive works, like *The Arraignment of Popery* (a learned book mainly by Ellis Hookes, the co-author), George Fox presented his criticisms. He assumed that the Pope was individually to blame, as perhaps we prematurely assume that a liberal incumbent presages Catholic moderation and tolerance everywhere. George Fox also, like current Friends, addressed letters to the Pope. I count six in the years 1660 and 1661. Two of them at least were translated into Latin.

This outburst was due to the recent scattering of Friends to missionary work in Southern Europe and their consequent experiences with papists in power. Two women were held for three and a half years by the Inquisition in Malta. Two men were imprisoned in Rome, one of them until death by

starvation or hanging. I have a photostat (as yet undeciphered)* of the report in Latin and Italian of the trial of two other Friends at the Inquisition in Venice. The Pope was only one of the archenemies that George Fox addressed at this time. Others so favored were the Cham of Tartary, the Great Turk, the King of France, the Great Mogul, the Emperor of Muscovia, Prester John, etc., and of course the authorities in England and New England. Most of these letters were printed in Latin. Some, including the most vigorous one to the Pope, were reprinted in English in the big volume of George Fox's collected doctrinal writings and are thus relatively available. Of some I know of no copies extant, unless they are in the famous Vatican Library. George Fox gives us precedent for addressing popes with "Friend" and "thee." Otherwise I refrain from quoting, since today it is not George Fox but Pope John who publicly deprecates war, persecution, inequity, violence, and cruelty. He argues from justice, rights, natural law, and reason more than Friends usually do. But he finds these principles within man. They lead to the results Friends would approve, and he emphasizes duties corresponding to human rights.

Today in New England Friends are often complimented by the descendants there of the Puritans on the ground that the former are a great improvement over their predecessors. I think, however, it is the persecuting party that has changed. So perhaps with Papists and Quakers. But with all the current Quaker fan mail to the Pope, let us hope there has been some improvement on our side as well.

*See now *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* vol. 52, 1968, pp. 39-45.

1863 Bright—Churchill 1963

In an earlier letter I spoke of being in England in 1941. Our purpose was to try to persuade the British Government to allow the American Friends Service Committee to send food through the blockade to children in countries occupied by Germany. This was stoutly refused by those with whom we had to deal, especially the Ministry for Economic Warfare, including its Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. Dingle Foot. He is still, or again, a Member of Parliament and his two older brothers are active in the government. The following letter of his, clipped from the *London Times*, is of interest here because it mentions the Quaker statesman, John Bright, in connection with the recent award of honorary American Citizenship to Dingle Foot's former chief, Winston Churchill:

"Sir,—The proclamation signed yesterday by the President of the United States recites that:—

Whereas Sir Winston Churchill, a son of America though a subject of Britain, has been throughout his life a firm and steadfast friend of the American people and the American nation. "It may be worth recalling that this is not the first time that a proclamation has been signed by the President referring to the friendship towards the United States of one of her Majesty's subjects. In 1863 an Englishman named Alfred Rubery engaged in a plot to seize a vessel in San Francisco for the purpose of going out as a pirate or privateer on behalf of Jefferson Davis. He was convicted in the Circuit Court for the District of Cal-

ifornia of engaging in, and giving aid and comfort to the "existing rebellion" against the Government of the United States, and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of \$10,000. On behalf of Rubery's parents Bright wrote to Lincoln, who issued a proclamation in the following terms:—

And whereas the said Alfred Rubery is of the immature age of twenty years, and of highly respectable parentage;

And whereas, the said Alfred Rubery is a subject of Great Britain, and his pardon is desired by John Bright, of England;

Now therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, these and divers other considerations me thereunto moving, and especially as a public mark of the esteem held by the United States of America for the high character and steady friendship of the said John Bright, do hereby grant a pardon to the said Alfred Rubery, the same to begin and take effect on the twentieth day of January 1864, on condition that he leave the country within thirty days from and after that date.

"Comparing the two proclamations we may observe (1) that the American people seldom fail to recognize their friends, and (2) that White House draftsmen have a superb command of the English tongue.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

Dingle Foot."

"House of Commons, April 10.

Mr. Foot might have observed further (3) that the events compared are just a hundred

years apart, (4) that John Bright in 1885 defeated Sir Winston's father for the parliamentary seat for Central Birmingham, and (5) that Rubery, a present suburb of that city, bears the same name as the local family of the "pirate."

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Langford of Antigua

Suggestions for these letters have been received frequently of late and ought to be acknowledged at least collectively. They cannot always be used, as will be seen when I mention some of them. 1. George Fox's seal, "G.F. and the flaming sword," one of three mentioned in his will, but not the one preserved. 2. The Quaker who invented a bathing machine; but the proposer has forgotten his name. 3. "The heroic Quaker, Christian Post, who hazarded his life to overcome" the alienation of Delaware and Shawanese Indians mentioned in a note in Charles Thompson's book on the subject, but who was in fact a Moravian. 4. Quakers in St. Helena, for which there appears to be an early law that none should remain on the island, and another entry, "William Saddler is discovered to be a Quaker, for which and other bad behavior he is ordered to leave the island."

I shall adopt here a suggestion about another British island sent me by a Friend who wondered if it would interest me or the readers. For myself I can say that it certainly does. A visitor recently to Antigua in the West Indies copied and sent the inscription on a plaque in the Cathedral there at St. John's:

Jonas Langford, Esq., merchant of
Popeshead and Cassada Gardens Plan-

tation, the first Quaker settler here,
who died at an advanced age in 1712.

I suppose I first heard of Antigua when I was a boy collecting stamps. My next acquaintance was in the limerick:

There once was a man from Antigua
Whose wife said, "My dear, what a pig
you are!"

Said he, "O my queen,
Is it eating you mean?
Or do you refer to my figure?"

Much later I learned that the current pronunciation of the (Spanish) name is more like "Anteega," and that there had been a Quaker settlement there in the seventeenth century. Later I spent a few days on the island looking for records or graves of the members there or evidence of their meeting house and other property. I suppose I never regarded the Cathedral as a place where one is likely to find Friends noticed. In other times and places Friends would have scorned the building as "an old mass house."

Jonas Langford is indeed a well-known name in local records. He is the first and last mentioned in the classical record of "Sufferings" of Friends in Antigua up to 1695 (published in 1706) and is, I think, its author. In the three-volume history of the island written by Vere Langford Oliver (I suppose a descendant) the index indicated a hundred references to him or to later namesakes. He came to the island in 1660 and prospered. He entertained traveling ministers who visited Antigua. Thomas Story was one of these and wrote Jonas's will, by which he made a bequest to a granddaughter living in New York.

During his half-century on the island Jonas experienced various vicissitudes. Some of the governors were strongly anti-Quaker; others were friendly; and one, Samuel Winthrop, of the family of the New England

governors, was himself a Friend. One difficult occasion was in 1664 when the French fleet captured the island and required an oath that the inhabitants would not fight against the king of France. The non-Friends took the oath, but the four chief Friends, including Langford and Winthrop, would take no oath. They were finally allowed to promise the substance of it without oath. That was easy for them as pacifists, for it was a promise not to fight. But they insisted that they be understood in their promise: "We can freely promise not to fight against the King of France nor for him, nor indeed against the King of England nor for him, for we can act no more for one than the other in the matter of war; only, as the King of England is our natural Prince, we must own allegiance unto him." The new French governor recognized their honesty and sensibly accepted their promise.

In 1705, upon threat of another French invasion, the little group of Friends had a further testing of conscience and in characteristic Quaker fashion could not all draw the line at the same place. The tolerant British authorities were willing that Friends be exempted from direct service in the militia, but required alternative service, like building roads and digging ponds. The official attitude of the Meeting was favorable to this allowance, and they wrote to London to this effect, where the Meeting for Sufferings also approved, referring to "our ancient and worthy Friend Jonas Langford," who had signed the letter as clerk. But a group of the younger Friends of the island disagreed and sent out a separate Epistle to London objecting to the civilian work assigned them "as doing a lawful thing upon an unlawful account and bottom" and only "to balance those things which for conscience' sake we cannot do." This is not the first time nor the last that faithful older Friends of one generation have found the next generation taking a

more radical stand on one of our testimonies.

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Friends with Kennedy in the White House

Half a century ago appeared a booklet by Henry W. Wilbur entitled *Friends with Lincoln in the White House*. It was an account of the visit under concern of two Ohio Quakers to the President in 1862, a few days before the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation.

It suggests a title for recording more promptly a visit to the President by a small delegation of Friends a hundred years later, May 1, 1962. I am sure that all six of those Friends present will never forget that occasion and that they have been particularly mindful of it in the past mournful weeks. The occasion was the Friends Witness for World Order, a peaceful and constructive demonstration in Washington, D. C., shared by over a thousand Friends from all over the United States. Somewhat surprisingly, President Kennedy agreed to meet with a small group of representatives and to hear their concern in person. This they presented orally on the basis of a written memorandum, and they followed up one aspect of their conversation by a second memorandum on our experience in offering food to unfriendly nations in need. Little publicity was given to the visit at the time because of the confidential nature of the conversation, which lasted longer than planned and was marked by a fine give and take on several matters of international policy.

The Friends sat at the sides of a table in the White House study, and Mr. Kennedy in a rocking chair at the end. They were impressed by his cordial, frank, and sincere

welcome and by his ready response to their concerns. He nodded immediate understanding, if not full approval, as they spoke on one topic after another then urgent—the purchase of U.N. bonds, food for starving Chinese, discontinuance of testing nuclear weapons, disarmament, and other steps for lessening tension of the cold war.

None of the Friends was personally known to him, and indeed they were not clear how much he knew about the Society of Friends, apart from his recent rival, Richard Nixon. But he had done some “homework,” for at the start he referred to protests Friends had lately sent to the Secretary of Defense and to him, against naming a new Polaris submarine for William Penn. He recognized that this would be inappropriate, and, smiling wryly, he assured the visitors that it would not be done.

No topic was raised that he had not evidently considered, and he mentioned matters that only later came to general knowledge. He said that he had been reading a book about the first days of the First World War (three years before he was born), and he recognized that all the arguments for peace through military strength that he was using had been used by the leaders then, yet war had come. He also indicated in connection with the inspection of nuclear bomb tests that he believed a scientific breakthrough would make monitoring feasible. It was about two weeks after the interview that I read the first notice of Barbara Tuchman's *The Guns of August* and heard a noted physicist announce a new technique he had found for distinguishing on a seismograph bomb explosions from earthquakes.

Here was a man who was ready to consider two sides of a question. I have been haunted ever since by a cryptic remark he made at the end. When it was suggested that one could not do two opposite things at the same time, he replied without hesitation,

“That is the way all life is, systole and diastole.” He emphasized what he was trying to do to alleviate conflict and to further understanding—cultural exchange with Russia, joint work on the problem of mental retardation, and proposals for the peaceful uses of outer space.

I think the main impression given by the interview, apart from his charm of manner and alertness of mind, was its disclosure of a man frustrated and “trapped.” Widely regarded as in the most powerful position in the world, the President showed awareness of the limitations of his freedom. He believed he could move little farther without public support. As Woodrow Wilson discovered, he knew that at the other end of the Avenue was Congress, and that it would have to be persuaded to go along even with such minor matters as financial support of the United Nations. He was at the time freshly aware of the difficulty of satisfying either Konrad Adenauer or Charles DeGaulle. When disarmament was mentioned he said bluntly, “The Pentagon opposes every proposal for disarmament.” Except for the “malevolence” of China and its retention for eleven years of two American prisoners, and the frustrations in other negotiations, such as Laos, the Congo, and Berlin, the emphasis on obstacles nearer home was evident. “All virtue does not reside on our side.”

This interview, though reported briefly in the *Friends Journal*, was quoted more for what was said to the President than by him. Protocol required that restriction then. It has seemed appropriate now to lift that restriction and to give the chief impressions that were made at the time. Visits to heads of governments are an old Quaker custom. They have been sobering experiences to the visitors, even when not followed later by the tragic fate of the man in power.

John Woolman at Sheffield

One of the most attractive words in our language is serendipity. I wish I had invented it, but that was done two centuries ago by Horace Walpole. It means "the faculty for making happy and unexpected discoveries by accident." Perhaps the most famous incident occurred not in Serendip (Ceylon) but in Israel, when Saul the Benjamite, looking for his father's lost asses, found instead the kingship of his people. To claim this faculty is not immodest. On the contrary, it implies sometimes a somewhat disorderly mind and an excess of variety of interests. It happens to me often simply because, while looking for some misplaced paper or article, I have to sort over a lot of accumulated material, and in the process I turn up other misplaced or forgotten items that I was not looking for at the time.

For example, I was looking without success (and not for the first time) for an early record of the first Publishers of Truth in Warwickshire. There once was such a report but it had disappeared shortly before 1900. But I did come upon a group of about a hundred miscellaneous letters (1657-1871) which the recent cataloguing of manuscripts at the Bevan-Naish Quaker Library had overlooked—letters from the past. One of them which I shall quote presently, dated at Sheffield, England, 9, 8 mo., 1772, was from one Tabitha Hoyland to Sally Tuke, care of "William Tuke, Castlegate, York."

Now most readers will know that John Woolman was in England at that time. He did not live to polish the rather detailed itinerary that he wrote. For some years I have been trying to expand his own record. The last chapters of Janet Whitney's biog-

raphy give a charming if poignant account of the last weeks of his life, which might well be read again. But I was delighted to come by accident upon a firsthand account written the week after one of his visits. The writer was Tabitha Hoyland (c. 1750-1809), who later married Benjamin Middleton of Wellingboro and became a weighty Friend. The recipient was Sarah Tuke (1756-1790). At the time she was sixteen years old. She later married Robert Grubb of Ireland and became one of three well-known Sarah Grubbs, all of them ministers of Clonmel. William Fairbank of Sheffield was "a schoolmaster and surveyor," in which he had something in common with John Woolman. Sarah Morris of Philadelphia was also travelling in the ministry about England, accompanied by a rather lively niece. Whether they did get to York Quarterly Meeting I do not know,* but John Woolman did, and came down with the smallpox and was nursed by Esther Tuke, his hostess, and by her stepdaughter Sally, to whom the letter is addressed. It will be noticed that the letter spells his name, "Woolmer." It is the original letter, postmarked Sheffield. The broken seal unfortunately makes two places obscure.

John Woolman's own journal says simply: "2nd day, 8th month, 1st of the week, was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town." The letter referring to the same visit, though misdated, I think, one day, runs as follows: "My dear Sally, . . . Our very valuable Friends John Woolmer and Sarah Morris were at this meeting yesterday was a week, which was exceedingly crowded, part through curiosity to see John's particular dress, and part I hope from a better motive, whom I apprehend went away well satisfied with what they heard from the man whose uncouth appearance will be likely to prej-

* I have subsequently found out that they did. The diary of the niece is extant and says so.

udice many. But he is certainly a very deep minister that searches things quite to the bottom, greatly exercised in a life of self-denial and humility. Therefore must the will of the creature be more subdued and the better fitted to receive the mystery of the kingdom, which I believe through much obedience are largely opened. And I can't but think Providence hath some wise end in what seems difficult to reconcile with man's wisdom. Perhaps it may be intended as a means to wean many from the things which outwardly adorn the body, and likewise other luxuries and delicacys, too much prevailing amongst those in exalted stations as to this world's enjoyments, besides the testimony he apprehends it a duty to bear against the iniquitous trading in Negroes that so deeply affected his mind as to make his tears both as meat and drink for many days. I was favored with being present at an opportunity at W. Fairbanks' where he opened his reasons for several things and gave very [comfortable?] advice to the youth of whom there were several present. May it be properly impressed upon each mind.

"Sarah Morris is a great minister and a surprising woman of her years. I think she is about seventy, endowed with a strong natural capacity, her doctrine sound, delivery quite unaffected, and speaks with great propriety. I expect they will hardly reach York before Quarterly Meeting, and then 'tis much if you get the women Friends, as I hear Rachel Wilson is expected to meet them there, but John Woolmer being remarkable for consulting the free[dom of?] his own. I have more to tell thee than my paper will allow, therefore must be short. . . . T. H."

I have quoted the letter extensively, thinking that modern readers will be interested to know how John Woolman appeared to young Friends of his own day.

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A "Grave" Mistake

If "the faculty of making happy and unexpected discoveries by accident" is called *serendipity* (as was mentioned in letter No. 205), what shall we call the faculty of repeatedly failing to notice something that would be equally interesting if we observed it? I would call it *stupidity*, and I seem to be endowed with that faculty as well. The preceding letter gave an illustration of the former; this letter will give a case of the latter. How often have I looked at a picture or an object and entirely missed some specially interesting feature! There are words or names that have been familiar to me for years before, accidentally, I recognized their very obvious origin. I pride myself on catching minor errors, like a proof-reader. Undoubtedly I often overlook others.

I have visited the Friends' burial ground at Bunhill Fields in London nearly every time I have been in England. It must be fifty-five years ago that I took an amateur photo of George Fox's gravestone there. I have mentioned such visits in at least three earlier letters in this series, and in the third I had occasion to mention the errors of date of death inscribed on the gravestones of Guli Penn and Margaret Fox. But I never noticed until 1963 what appears to be an equally striking error in one of George Fox's gravestones.

George Fox died on January 13 in what was then called 1690/1, and was buried at Bunhill Fields. I have reason to remember the date, for when I suggested in 1941 a two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration at Pendle Hill, I forgot the exact day of the month. When I discovered my error, I sent a

telegram of correction, saying simply, "George Fox died on January thirteenth." This message was construed by the telephone operator as of such delicacy that she was unwilling to repeat it to Anna Brinton without first being reassured that Anna was fortified by the presence of other members of the family to receive a message of death.

There have been, I think, four grave-stones for George Fox. I believe the first was a typical headstone erected over his grave at the time of his burial. It is said to have given "the initials of the name, the age, and the birthplace of the interred."

Sixty-six years later, when the ground was enlarged and a wall removed near the grave, a strong objection to gravestones had arisen among Friends, and they "would not allow the headstone to be put up again. . . . They only suffered a small stone about six inches square to be built in the wall opposite the head of the grave, with the initials G.F. cut in it."

Even this was also removed; but one of these two stones, being put with the grave-diggers' tools at Bunhill Fields burial ground, was still often visited by Friends until, about 1783, Robert Howard, disliking the superstitious veneration with which it was treated, caused it to be broken in pieces.

About 1850 Friends relaxed the strict objection to all gravestones and allowed Monthly Meetings to permit the erection of simple ones. About 1876 a plain but substantial stone was placed where the grave of George Fox was thought to be. It bore the inscription:

George Fox
Born
7th mo. 1624
Died 13th of 11th mo. 1690
Aged 66 years.

About the same time some other parts of the graveyard were sold. Other Friends' remains were moved to this vicinity (but with no stones), and buildings were erected nearby. This stone was, I think, moved and finally taken away to the back shed of the only building left after the air raid damage of 1940-41, where it was painted green. There it may still be seen.

The open area was in 1952 made into a public garden with a tennis court and turned over to the care of the borough authorities. But a fine new boulder of "green Westmorland slate" was placed in the front with an inscription, ending "The remains of many thousands of Friends lie buried here, including George Fox, the Founder of the Society of Friends, who died 13 January 1691."

My present concern in this long story is with the next-to-the-last stone. It alone gave a date for George Fox's birth: 7th month 1624. Now the only evidence we have about George Fox's birth is, I believe, his own *Journal*, as Ellwood edited it. "I was born in the month called July in the year 1624, at Drayton-in-the-Clay in Leicestershire." Unfortunately, the parish baptismal register at Fenny Drayton does not include George, though it mentions other children of Christopher and Mary Fox. And the Quaker death records give his age (66) in years only, not in months.

I think we are in the presence here of the frequent confusion, like the confusion about the month of Elias Hicks's birth (Letter 91), that bedevils all fixing of dates prior to January 1, 1752. For from that day on—incidentally, the day on which Betsy Ross was born—all calendars in British territories were changed. Previously the year had begun on March 25th and the numbering of the months by Friends had begun with March. Afterward the year began with the 1st of January, which thus became "first month."

When less than a century ago Friends

Again Thee for Thou

decided to erect a stone for George Fox, they were of course anxious to give the old dates in Quaker style, but they forgot that July, which for them was the seventh month, had been in George Fox's time the fifth month, while for his death they correctly kept the Quaker month-number of his time. This inconsistency was there for anyone to see for three-quarters of a century while the stone was in place and for over a decade since its retirement.

In all these years, as I say, I never noticed the erroneous mixture. I have two consolations. First, so far as I could find out, no other person that I talked with had noticed it either, though many knowledgeable Friends must have seen the inscription. Second, even in modern times "grave" mistakes occur. It was only within a year or two that members of the Elkinton family, attending the interment of one of their number, noticed two older gravestones in the family lot, both of which misspelled the name as "Elkington" and one of which had a mistake in the birth or death date. How this came about is still a mystery to the family and to those in charge of the burial ground. The mystery has not been solved, but the stones have been changed. In the case of the now disused stone of George Fox, perhaps a change is not necessary, but I think the cause of its error is adequately explained above. I find that an anonymous writer in the *Friend* (London), 5th mo. 1, 1878 confirms my view. He wrote, "The stone recently placed near the grave of George Fox was incorrect as regards the date of his birth." I agree also with the rest of his sentence, "so there is less reason to regret its present state of obscurity."

Many other Friends must have wondered as often as I have how our predecessors at some unknown period slipped into the habit of using thee for thou as subject of the verb as well as object. It can hardly have been deliberate, for in defending at great personal sacrifice the use of thou-thy-thee against ye-your-you, they had argued on grounds of grammar as well as from scruples against flattery. I suspect the substitution came as naturally as other changes in language outside Quakerism (where again in the plural the accusative you replaced the nominative ye) and that it may have rested on an oral dialect practiced in some part of England. Further, the verb forms required after thou—hast, art, knowest, etc.—are just the "strong" kind that a developing language tends to slough off, whereas with thee Friends could use the simpler forms—has, is, knows, etc., which are used with the third person singular. John Greenleaf Whittier and some other Friends used the same verb form as the third person plural, Thee have, thee are, etc.

To answer the further question of when the change took place and how Friends felt when they became aware of it, I had the fortune within a short period to come across three records in three different Quaker libraries. Perhaps my readers will know others, but these at least were new to me.

1. James Jenkins (1753-1831) is the author of a racy manuscript, the "Records and Recollections" of the years 1761 to 1821, preserved at Friends Library, London. Born in England, he spent his youth in Ireland but came to London in about 1778, and in 1819

he moved to Folkestone. He writes (pp. 1047, 1057):

When I came from Ireland in 1778 I found Friends of London in the practice of using the word thee, where thou would have been more proper in conversation; this was thought to be effeminate, and a breach of our rule respecting "plainness of speech." But some who wished to reform fell into errors on the other hand. The salutation of how art *thou* became common and the thou was pronounced emphatically loud. The late Jeremiah Knight told me that he heard one of those *thouites* say to a Friend, "This is mine, but that is thou's unbrella." And since I have resided at Folkestone I heard a London Friend thus address his grandson (a little boy): "Now didn't thou tell me before thou left Dover, that if I would let thou come with me to Folkestone thou wouldst be a very good boy?"

2. William Savery (1750-1804), a minister from Philadelphia, while travelling in 1797 in Scotland with two Irish Friends, George Miller and William Farrer, says (and I quote the MS., vol. III, pp. 716f., at Haverford, not the printed journal):

My good friends and companions whom I much love, having taken notice of myself and other Americans using thee frequently when thou ought agreeable to grammatical propriety to be used, expressed their sentiments in a brotherly manner on that subject which had hitherto claimed but little of my attention. Our G. M. and W. F., being well acquainted with propriety of lan-

guage, were of the mind that such a use of thee as many nowadays made was a departure from our testimony and had crept upon Friends from a desire of pleasing others by a soft and accommodating language and therefore inconsistent with the practice of ancient Friends. I had never been accustomed to consider [it] in any other point of view than a grammatical error, not proceeding in hundreds of my simple country people nor in myself with a desire to evade our testimony, but only from an ignorance.

3. There is in the Library at Woodbrooke a printed sheet, dated 1814, entitled, "A Plea for Practical Propriety in the use of Sound Speech that cannot be condemned, Addressed to the Society of Friends, by William Candler." I know little about the author. He died at Norwich in 1820. But he deals here at length with "the erroneous practice of substituting in common conversation the pronoun THEE for THOU, which so far as I know, is peculiar to our society." He knows that it is not a modern corruption. Several Friends at very distant periods of time had remonstrated against it. He knows that there are divers other defects existing within our borders. But his present business is to urge the removal of this inconsistency. He mentions the scruple of early Friends against you for thou, and, like them, he argues from the English of the Bible. It was, he says, common practice and not only among the ignorant or less scrupulous members.

P.S. In a fourth Quaker repository, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I., is a letter from Moses Brown of that city to Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia, dated 2nd of 10

mo. 1780, in which the same reason for the substitution is given as by William Savery. Commending Benezet's *Essay Towards the most easy Introduction to the knowledge of English Grammar*, he says: "I think it will be useful and especially for the correction of that impropriety of speech which has much obtained even in your city and in other places amongst many who would know better if there was not a willingness to be more pleasing and soft by using the word thee improperly instead of thou."

208

A Quaker Honest to God

"Is it honest to God or man?" This question is quoted not from the Bishop of Woolwich in his 1963 book, now widely known on both sides of the Atlantic, but from a Philadelphia Friend two centuries before. His name, Anthony Benezet (1714-1784), is not unknown, and his manifold interests and services to the social ideals of Quakerism were noteworthy.

The context of the question is not quite the same as in the Bishop's writing, for it deals with a concern which Benezet shared with John Woolman, his friend and fellow worker—the uneven distribution of wealth. Writing a few weeks before his own death to the wealthy John Pemberton in England, Benezet contrasts the aged and poor, suffering from cold and undernourishment in the city, and "a Friend reputed to have left sixty or seventy thousand pounds to a number of children and grandchildren, already so elevated by the fortunes they were possessed of as to be ready to take wings and fly above truth in conformity to the world, its friendships, fashions, etc. . . .

Why is not at least three quarters of this wealth, and three quarters of the wealth of other rich Quakers, laid out in procuring a place of refuge and comfort, and moderate provision, for such weak and aged people that they may in the decline of life be put in the most suitable situation to think and prepare for their latter end and enjoy a moderate state of comfort?

Is it honest to God or man? Is it doing justice as stewards of the wealth committed to our care? Is it loving our neighbors as ourselves? If mankind are indeed brethren, can it be agreeable to the good Father of the family, that one should engross so much, and employ it to feed the corruptions of his offspring; whilst others are under such manifest disadvantages for want of help?

These words of Benezet sound a little old fashioned to those of us who, like the Bishop of Woolwich, live in a welfare state with heavy inheritance taxes. Nearer to the central theme of the Bishop's *Honest to God* is another passage of Benezet from one of his notebooks. Contrasting the Sermon on the Mount with the current theological disquisitions on abstruse and doubtful points, "those particular opinions which have of late caused so much unprofitable debate amongst us," he writes:

I know some think great advantage will arise, from people's having what are called right ideas of God; and that those opinions are productive of much tenderness and charity in the minds of such who adopt them; but has this indeed been the case? Have the meekness and gentleness of Christ been more apparent in those who have been zealous advocates for this

opinion, than in other people? Ideas, however exalted they may appear, except impressed on the mind by truth, are still but bare ideas, and can have no influence in subduing that love of the world, that carnality of mind, that obduracy of heart, and principally that poisonous idolatry of self, so apt, under one subtle form or another, to insinuate itself even into the hearts of such as have already made some good advances in religion.

Neither Bishop Robinson nor Anthony Benezet was the first to advocate being "honest to God and honest about God." In the Old Testament, Job (13:7) taunts his "friends" with the question, "Will you speak dishonestly for God?"

209

An Alternate Birthplace for Quakerism

Uncertainty about a birthplace is not unusual. It was said in antiquity that seven cities (and not always the same seven) vied with each other in the claim to have been the birthplace of Homer. I have heard debate as to which spring or little lake in the Adirondacks is the source of the Hudson River, and I expect the same thing is true of every big river.

Cotton Mather once declared dogmatically, "I can tell the World that the first Quakers that ever were in the World were certain Fanaticks here in our town of Salem" (Massachusetts). Friends themselves, especially since the 1952 World Conference, have fixed on 1652 as the date, and have made pilgrimages to the Northwest of England as the place of their beginnings. Elsewhere* I have shown that nearly every year of a dozen in the midcentury was noted by some early

Friends as the year it all began. For example, of two well-known Scottish Friends and friends, one, George Keith, in 1 mo. 1670, says it "began in the nation of England some twenty-six years ago" (*The Benefit . . . of Silent Meetings*). Robert Barclay, the other, prefacing his *Apology* in 1675, speaks of "now these twenty five years since we were known to be a distinct and separate people." Keith at another time describes "the rise of Quakerism in England about the year 1646." All these references point well before 1652.

Obviously there must be some correlation of time and place. Whichever is decided determines the other. No one realized this better than George Fox, who wrote:

And the Truth sprang up first in Leicestershire in 1644, and in Warwickshire in 1645, and in Nottinghamshire in '46, in Derbyshire in '47, and in the adjacent counties in '48, '49, '50, and in Yorkshire in 1651, and in Lancashire and Westmorland in 1652 and in Cumberland and Bishopric and Northumberland in 1653, etc.

From these words, written in 1676, it will be observed that George Fox himself gives several years' priority over the northern counties to that part of England which we should call the Midlands. With his own *Journal* we can fill in much of that earlier story, and we have confirmatory hints elsewhere. The local answers to a questionnaire first sent out in 1676 are very full for the northern counties, but for the central ones they either were not sent in or were lost. Was the beginning of Quakerism more inchoate in them because it was earlier and more difficult to recover?

Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena*, published

**Friends Quarterly* 1953, pp. 112-117

in 1646, mentions George Fox, (letter 76) but without name, and, of course, without the word "Quaker": "a shoemaker from Coventry (Warwickshire) or thereabouts." It mentions also Elizabeth Hooton, George Fox's first convert and the first woman preacher among Friends. According to her son Oliver, she had joined with the Baptists and left them to join another group. With many others she followed George Fox's teaching when he came to the community. The first record of George Fox's miracles places them at her house in Skegby or in Mansfield or Mansfield Woodhouse near by in Nottinghamshire.

George Fox's own arrests and imprisonments begin with Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby (in counties named for them). Convince-ments, miracles, sufferings—these are certainly the marks of the beginnings of Quakerism.

Perhaps the northern counties offer evidence of more numerous and important converts. There also George Fox met both prepared groups and public resistance. The "1652 country" may well provide modern pilgrims with more attractive landscapes and surer landmarks, but if one wished to make a pilgrimage to the earlier scenes it could be done. Drayton-in-the-Clay in Leicestershire, where George Fox was born, has a monument in his honor. In the same county and in Nottinghamshire is the Vale of Belvoir, where he had two of his early "openings." Besides a romantic-sounding name (though it is pronounced today like *beaver* and probably comes from *belvedere*) it still has much natural beauty. One can still approach Nottingham from the South and look from Wilford Hill across to [St.] Mary's steeplehouse, as George Fox did in 1649. One can enter the same church and see the list of names of the incumbent "priests" for over three centuries. The modern Quaker visitor finds the new and striking Friends meeting

house across town more congenial. Mansfield is a short bus ride away. There meetings were held early at the house of Timothy Garland at the Green Dragon. (I am sorry to say that this inn has just been torn down to make room for a supermarket.) Across the market place on Quaker Lane are the meeting house that has served local Friends since about 1800 and a copy of George Fox's *Journal* that has been in their possession a full century longer. Further afield is the hamlet of East Retford, where James Parnell, the boy martyr, was born.

I refrain from cataloguing all the Quaker interests, especially numerous if the whole general area is included. Nor do I wish to make any partisan claims. No wonder that four years before 1952, when Friends in Nottingham celebrated *their* tercentenary, their pamphlet, with natural local pride, remarked that their town "may claim to be the birthplace of the movement."

210

Five Postscripts

I once heard of a book or manuscript whose author omitted all punctuation in the text but appended a wholesale assortment of commas, periods, etc., at the end for the reader to insert as needed. This letter is a similar appendage of postscripts to earlier letters, except that I have indicated the number of the letter to which each belongs.

Letter 189. By the dates in the list of Quaker marriages at Newport, Rhode Island, I thought I identified one between Joseph Briar and Mary Gould as the marriage there which George Fox's *Journal* said he attended in late June, 1672. And I added facetiously: "All we lack now is the marriage certificate with his familiar signature, 'gff!'"

But now I discover that two modern

books about the Buffum sisters report a tradition in that family of an actual certificate, signed by George Fox, of the marriage of Mary Gould's parents, Daniel Gould and Wait Coggeshall. One descendant wrote in *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* (Boston, 1914, p. 1 f.): "Tradition affirmed that George Fox was present at this wedding, and I was once shown an ancient scroll and told that it was the wedding certificate of this Gould-Coggeshall alliance and that a tiny scrawl on its surface was George Fox's autograph."

Another descendant wrote in *Two Quaker Sisters* (New York, 1937, p. xxi): "Both Daniel Gould and his wife Jane (*sic*) Coggeshall were Quakers and George Fox was present at their wedding and signed the marriage certificate as one of the witnesses. The marriage certificate is to this day a treasured possession in the Buffum family." I have set the family to work looking for this, and I hope they find one, even though I still believe the Quaker records that it was Wait Coggeshall that Daniel Gould married, and that this was in 1651 when George Fox was not present at any weddings in Rhode Island.

Letter 198. When this letter was published on January 1, 1963, the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, the US Post Office Department was debating whether to issue a commemorative stamp. Just before the year was out, it did so. The design, a simple chain with a broken link, would have been familiar to Quaker antislavery agitators the century before. In fact, my letter reproduced a stamp from Sierra Leone showing such a chain, with every link broken, hanging from the hands of a slave. If a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, however, one broken link is enough.

Letter 201. A reader of this letter noticed its reference to a photostat I had received but not deciphered of the report in

Latin and Italian of the trial of two Friends at the Inquisition in Venice. Being himself Italian born and a teacher of high school Latin, he kindly has translated this report. In elaborate protocol, under date of 1658, inquiry is made about two Quakers who had been in Venice distributing Quaker pamphlets. The question was who had seen them or had now any of their literature. No single pamphlet is described, nor were the English Quaker visitors produced. They had talked to English and Jewish persons and already had left for Ancona and Rome. Their names are not given. I think they were John Stubbs and Samuel Fisher.

The trial seems to have been a good deal of a dud both for the ancient Papal inquisitors and for the modern Quaker inquirer. But it fits into history as we know it and into the trek to the East in 1658 of a dozen known Quaker pioneers, both men and women.*

Letter 203. This, dealing mainly with Friends on the Island of Antigua, mentioned also the slight evidence for Friends' existence on a far distant island, St. Helena. Lately a correspondent reports seeing in a Dutch cemetery in Negombo, Ceylon, another remote island (celebrated in a missionary hymn as the isle where "every prospect pleases, and only man is vile"), tombstones mentioning several deceased persons described with "de Quaker" after their names. The last date of death is 1858 for "Cornelius Dyonicius de Quaker, late district surveyor of Negombo." They belong after the Dutch occupation. Whether they went to Ceylon as Friends or were converted to Quakerism after getting there I am trying to find out.

Meanwhile my informant, Bradford Smith, former director of the Friends Center at New Delhi, has died.

*See now *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* vol. 52, 1968 pp. 39-45

Letter 207. Evidently I completely overlooked here the most extensive and widely circulated discussion of Friends' misuse of "thee" for the nominative "thou." It belongs about the same time as the other discussions. It was an anonymous pamphlet written by a Benjamin Perkins. Besides the first edition (London, 1806), there were reprints in Philadelphia in 1806 and 1811 and as late as 1835. An interesting article by E. K. Maxfield in *American Speech* in 1926, called "Quaker 'Thee' and its History," first called the booklet to my attention, but only lately did I learn its author's name and the title: "A Letter to a Friend in London, on certain Improprieties of Expression, used by some of the Society of Friends."

Incidentally, I notice that Hugh Bourbour's book on *Quakers in Puritan England* inclines to the view that this "thee" goes back to a dialect usage in Northern England.

211

Who Paid for Woolman's Coffin?

John Woolman mentions in his Journal relatively few persons by name. This silence continues into the fragmentary account of his voyage to England in May, 1772. Only one of the two manuscripts of it which he left includes the names of passengers other than his fellow minister, Samuel Emlen. These are "James Reynolds, John Till Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Bispham." They are mentioned thus in the somewhat humiliating context of recording that all had been seasick except himself. After the arrival in England in early June none are again mentioned, nor, indeed, are any English Friends except those who in previous years had visited America.

But John Bispham is mentioned by the Friends (the Tukes or Priestmans) who cared

for John Woolman at York, where he attended Quarterly Meeting and fell ill. After his death there of the smallpox on October 7 they reported that John Woolman "in the beginning of his illness expressed a desire to see his neighbor and shipmate, John Bispham, and an opportunity offering of sending him word, to his and our satisfaction he came about two days before his decease, and stayed till after the funeral." Elsewhere they report that "John Woolman desired . . . in case of his decease . . . to send to America a copy of his [dying] expressions by John Bispham if he returns this fall," and that John Woolman, wishing that York Friends should not bear the expenses of the funeral, suggested that his clothes be given to defray those expenses. He wished the coffin made of ash, not oak, because oak "is more useful than ash for some other purposes." But, with the carpenter "seeming to prefer money" to the clothes (John Woolman's conspicuous undyed clothes), "John Bispham gave [money] to the value and has ordered the clothes to be sent to America, with the rest of what belonged to him. His shoes were given to the grave digger."

Now who was this John Bispham? There were many Bisphams living in South Jersey at this period, all descendants of the Benjamin Bispham whose parents had come from Lancashire—Bickerstaffe in Hardshaw Monthly Meeting and Yealand in Lancaster Monthly Meeting. And there were two or three Johns among them. John Woolman's "neighbor and shipmate" has usually been identified with John Bispham (1734-1791), who came to the Delaware Valley at the age of two months with his parents and finally settled in Mount Holly, where he married a Margaret Reynolds in 1755. They had ten or eleven children. Only one perpetuated the name Bispham. He was John, born in 1759 and too young to have been Woolman's shipmate. The older John's name is several

times bracketed in local history with John Woolman. In fact, in 1770, when John Woolman had the pleurisy, John Bispham (with his wife and other Mount Holly neighbors) had been asked to John Woolman's sick-room. It has been assumed that another shipmate, James Reynolds, was a brother of Bispham's wife.

All this is not impossible, but another identification seems now to me more probable. I have no evidence that this John did not go to England in 1772, though I am looking for the kind of alibi by which I already have proved modern biographers wrong in claiming that John Pemberton and Thomas Ross also were in England at John Woolman's funeral when they were really in America. Meanwhile there is pretty good evidence that another John Bispham was in England that summer. This comes from the Quaker records of transfer of residence.

A brother of John Bispham of Mount Holly was Joseph Bispham (1729-1753). He married Elizabeth Hinchman in 1751 and had one child, John (1752-1812), sometimes called "Junior." (Joseph soon died, and his widow remarried.) In 1769, when this John was sixteen, his membership was transferred from Burlington Monthly Meeting to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, as he had gone to live in Philadelphia as apprentice to one Richard Parker. But in First Month, 1772, Richard Parker also died. On Third Month 27, 1772, forty members of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting (the same Meeting which prepared certificates to English Meetings for Samuel Emlen in first month and for John Till Adams and for Sarah Logan in fourth month) signed a certificate for John Bispham addressed to "the two weeks meeting of Friends at Bristol, Hardshaw Monthly Meeting, or to Friends at any other Monthly Meeting of Friends in Great Britain." He was "intending to embark on a voyage to Great Britain on account of business and a visit to

his relations which he undertakes with the consent of his mother. . . . On account of his youth we think it necessary to recommend him to your particular care and notice." On Eleventh Month 2 "the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Lancaster in Great Britain" issued a certificate for John Bispham which was read and received in Burlington Monthly Meeting according to its minutes of Third Month 1, 1773.

Perhaps it is not an important difference, but the younger John makes the deathbed of John Woolman a little more lonely. John Bispham had gone into Lancashire to see his father's relatives and was within call from York. That the twenty-year-old fatherless lad responded to the message from one who had been his neighbor before he served as an apprentice in Philadelphia and who had crossed the Atlantic with him only the last spring we should expect, and that he would be moved by the scenes before and after John Woolman's death. There was little he could do in the two days before it, but after it he could at least fulfill John Woolman's wish that York Friends be at no expense for the funeral.

Of the American Quaker ministers who had been, like John Woolman, at London Yearly Meeting in June, none was at hand. Robert Willis of East Jersey had gone at once to Ireland to visit the meetings there. William Hunt of North Carolina, a cousin of John Woolman, had gone to Holland and returned to Newcastle, where he too had died of smallpox only three weeks before. Sarah Morris of Philadelphia, traveling with her niece, had just attended York Quarterly Meeting, but she had renewed her strenuous itinerary immediately after it and before the seriousness of John Woolman's state could be known. Samuel Emlen of Philadelphia, another shipmate, had set out to attend the same meeting with his London host, but he "was so unwell with a diarrhoea they

thought it most prudent to return after the first day's journey." (I quote here the diary of young Dr. Thomas Parke of Philadelphia. He speaks earlier of being with John Bispham [June 29, July 1] and John Till Adams [July 24], in London.) And in London Samuel Emlen remained. Bispham was for the dying Woolman the only living link with home.

If my identification is correct, modern meeting clerks, recorders, and custodians of records should know that it has been made possible only by the faithfulness of their predecessors in preserving the minutes and certificates which I have quoted.

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"Individual Faithfulness"

Less than a year ago I wrote in this column on "Friends with Kennedy in the White House." The present letter might be called "A Friend with Hoover in the White House." But there is considerable difference. The Kennedy letter was written six months after an interview; this one after more than thirty years. For the 1963 interview I was one of six Friends present, and we made a record in writing soon after. For the interview with Hoover I was alone, and I kept no record. I am here dependent, therefore, on a solitary, very partial, and very fallible memory. Of course other Friends saw our Quaker President on many occasions, but I think my own interview was unique and not without interest.

One day a Friend in Washington (but not what we call today "the Friend in Washington") who was a good friend of Mrs. Hoover's called me on the telephone to tell me that Mr. Hoover wished to see me at a certain date in the near future. The purpose

of the visit was not indicated. Furthermore, as I explained on the telephone, I had classes to teach on the designated day. I was told, however, that it was customary in the capital, if the President invited one, to treat it as a command and to give it precedence. So I skipped my college classes and went to the White House.

I soon found out what he wanted. There were three groups of Friends meeting every First Day in Washington: a Five Years Meeting group at Thirteenth and Irving Streets, a General Conference group at 1811 Eye Street, and an Independent or United Meeting building a new meeting house at 2111 Florida Avenue. With the public eye so much upon him, it was embarrassing for the first Quaker President in our history to have to acknowledge the disunited condition of the Society of Friends right in the national seat of government. He asked me, as chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, to use the AFSC's authority to induce local Friends to combine.

This request took me as much by surprise as the invitation had. I think, however, I succeeded in explaining to him that I had no papal powers, that the AFSC was a relief organization, and that for me or for it to engage in church politics or local problems of Quaker divisions would be resented and would injure the happy cooperative working of all sorts of Friends with the Committee.

So we dropped that subject long before expiration of the time allotted for the interview. Mr. Hoover seemed willing to discuss other matters. He was, of course, an old friend of the AFSC, and I think he wished to indicate his own concern for peace. Certainly he was anxious to reduce naval expenditure. I remember that he mentioned the recent or current naval disarmament conference and took some credit for having exposed the machinations against its success of

an infamous agent of the American ship-building companies. This gave me a lead, and I asked him what aspect of our common Quaker traditions he regarded as most significant. Without hesitation he answered, "Individual faithfulness."

Of course I had hoped he would say our peace testimony, but I recognized at least the authenticity of the Quaker phrase. Both he and I often had heard it emphasized from the meeting galleries in our childhood. While the phrase "rugged individualism" was attributed to him (though I believe wrongly), his selection of the other phrase seemed to me natural and somewhat amusing.

The more I have thought of it, the more it seems to me a phrase descriptive of his own life and, indeed, of the somewhat characteristic social approach of Quakerism as a whole. I have learned that in Quaker history our progressive social concerns begin with an individual and spread to others—not as mass movements controlled from above, but by the accumulation of responsible practice of personal fidelity. Whatever be the value of collective reform, in the delicate moral fields of sense of guilt, of forgiveness, of gratitude, or of social responsibility, wholesale feelings have little effect. The individual is the effective unit. Of course, not all conscientious persons construe identically what is their duty. But loyalty to it is the *sine qua non* of the good society.

I am sorry I cannot date the interview precisely. Herbert Hoover was in the White House from March, 1929, to March, 1933. It must have been in the earlier part of this period. The local sequel is easier to report. The new meeting house on Florida Avenue had its first meeting on January 3, 1931, and Herbert and Lou Henry Hoover, protected by secret service men and surrounded by a considerable group of sightseers, attended it most First Days. The two other congrega-

tions have also continued until now as separate monthly meetings, though in time they sold their town properties and became the nuclei of more suburban meetings: Irving Street of Adelphi and Eye Street of Woodlawn, near Mount Vernon.

213

George Fox on Christmas

A recent one of these letters was called "Five Postscripts." In fact, after one has written over two hundred such letters any one of them is likely to have the nature of a postscript. (In the same way, whatever a man does after living past eighty may be regarded as an addendum.)

I find that in December, 1943, I wrote No. 43, "Christmas—Every Day or Never?" and three years later No. 60, "Pye-Day." In the former I mentioned a manuscript book with "an unpublished paper of George Fox in 1656 (mostly in cipher, or shorthand) addressed 'To you that be observing the day you call Christmas.'"

Now this habit of shorthand in early Quaker manuscripts is most baffling when you come upon it. (The editor of *Friends Journal* perhaps has similar problems with longhand contributions.) Once it was easily read, but for scores of years Quaker librarians have been struggling over it. There are evidently several systems of what was then called cipher, so that solving one does not answer all. The Quaker examples do not all belong to the same system. Several systems were devised before George Fox's time and written up in published manuals. (One entitled *Short Writing*, published in 1678, was devised by a Quaker schoolmaster at Bristol named Laurence Steel.)

I write now to report that an English

Friend,* while sojourning in Ethiopia, by concentrating on samples of this sort of Quaker writing, has deciphered several pieces, including the one I mentioned in 1943, and has allowed me to quote the result:

You that be observing the day and days called Christmas, with your fooling, with your cards, with your Yule games, with your disguisings, with your feasting and abundance of idleness and destroying of the creatures and abundance of pleasures and abundance of fulness, with your harps and viols, and your fiddles and music, see if these be not fruits of Sodom and Gomorrah and Egypt that crucified Christ spiritually. For [those] who live in pleasures kill the just and live rottenly upon earth, and in pleasures are dead while they live, and gluttonness and drunkenness. Woe is the end of them, woe is the portion of such! And you that do observe Christmas day and days with your cards with your pleasures with your Yule games and merriments and disguisings and gamings, see whether Christ be in your thoughts and in your mouths when you are in your exercises. To the light in your conscience I speak, etc.

I have quoted only seven lines of the manuscript—less than a third of the piece, which, when transcribed, seems much longer than in cipher. In any case, it has the frequent repetitiousness and biblical echoes characteristic of George Fox. It is at least nice to know that what for so many years has roused my curiosity can be solved.

I had supposed that shorthand was used, as in some other seventeenth-century manuscripts, to hide the delicate and indiscreet,

but, to my disappointment, no instance so far deciphered confirms that idea. It would perhaps be unlike the early Quakers to conceal. Rather the shorthand appears to be used where the space for writing is cramped, as in a margin, or where the copyist finds it less tedious to write so than in longhand.

Elsewhere, also, George Fox frequently condemns Christmas observance, usually as associated with Catholic and papal degeneracy—emphasizing “mass” rather than “Christ” in the name. This was the view of many Puritans. Shortly after the Anglican and royal restoration of 1660 we have from George Fox a denunciation of the priests and people who in former days had denounced Christmas and holy days as set up by the Pope, but who now set up what they had formerly denied.

The reasons against Christmas offered by George Fox are perhaps not so urgent in our times. I find later Friends mention the day without approval or disapproval (as lately I read of William Dilwyn at Charleston, South Carolina, at Christmas, 1772). Frivolity and waste (destroying the creatures) there still are. There is also now commercial exploitation, especially in an affluent society. Perhaps this is another of the early Quaker concerns where the negative aspect is becoming based on a different reason and is being supplemented by a more inclusive and conscientious positive expression.

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Hats and History

Many years ago a well-known scholar published an article on “Hay and History.” My title is a parody of this, though, as in all

*Douglas G. Lister cf. *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* vol. 51, 1967, pp. 154-158

these letters, "history" means Quaker history. I can think of no church body in which hats have played so important and varied a part as in the Society of Friends.

There was, first of all, the Friends' refusal of "hat honor" in the early protest against doffing the hat to human authority—royal, parental, or judicial. Scarcely any bit of Quaker nonconformity got our forebears into more trouble than did this. George Fox's Journal is full of it. Young Thomas Ellwood and William Penn enraged their fathers by this practice. Robert Barclay explained it as something completely imperative to a conscientious Friend: "This I can say boldly in the sight of God, from my own experience and that of many thousands more, that however small or foolish this may seem, yet we behooved to suffer death rather than do it" (i.e., remove the hat).

Then there was the hat controversy within the Society in the first of the historic divisions led by John Perrot, who differed from other Friends by condemning removal of the hat in meeting when a Friend was engaged in public prayer. In this and other respects he was carrying a Quaker principle to an extreme. For a time after 1660 this was a divisive issue, in America as well as in England. George Fox blamed Nayler for initiating this practice of keeping on the hat when someone was praying—a disrespect to men rather than to God. It was a mixed-up affair; William Penn thought it serious.

Finally, a conspicuous distinction between Friends and others and among Friends themselves was the perennial problem of the style of hat. Ultimately they were known for their brims, and "Broad-Brim" was a comic term for a Quaker. Actually Friends changed their style from time to time, and every fresh deviation was a matter of serious concern. One of the five chapters in Amelia Gummere's *The Quaker: a Study in Costume* is devoted to the "Spirit of the Hat." She

says a whole book could be written about it. Only women's bonnets were more controversial. (Not until comparatively recent years, of course, did women change from bonnets to hats.)

Let me confine myself to London Yearly Meeting sessions. The men's hats were more conspicuous in the early days than today. For Friends—indeed all men then—wore hats continually indoors. In a painting of a London meeting about 1770 only the speaker and one or two others have their hats off. Seventy years later another painter of a similar scene shows at least half the heads uncovered. But what kinds of hats did they wear? In spite of supposed Quaker conservatism, there was change here. In shape they were sometimes high peaked, later cocks of various kinds, as well as broad, flat-brimmed affairs.

John Woolman appeared in his "singular" garb in London Yearly Meeting in 1772. It is often supposed that his hat in particular created a sensation—an unfavorable one. Of three full English descriptions of his costume, two say he had a white hat (one adds "and a very good one"), but the third calls it drab. Like everything else he wore, it was undyed. (I shall have to ask a taxidermist what is "the natural color" of a beaver skin. Until then I must leave the color undecided.) But he certainly looked different. Even between Ireland and England the standards of appropriate Quaker garb were not agreed on. Amelia Gummere thinks "the Americans were more strict in dress than the English, largely because his proximity to the continent familiarized the Englishman with more cosmopolitan ideas."

In 1798 William Savery of Philadelphia reports that the question of men's hats—with and without stays—was debated at London Yearly Meeting. An American woman Friend, Charity Cook of South Carolina, argued that hats without stays were plainer,

but English Friends disagreed. In 1817 a member in London Yearly Meeting "adverted to some practices inconsistent with Truth, as wearing buckles and girdles in their hats, etc."

The whole subject has its lighter side. There are those delightful stories of an early Quaker appearing before the King with his hat on, whereupon the King promptly removed his own hat, explaining to the protesting Quaker that it was customary when a king was present for only one man to wear a hat. When John Woolman in his Journal tells how, after a struggle, he yielded finally to his scruple and adopted (about 1762) clothes completely undyed, he adds that to his dismay he discovered that white hats were just then being "used by some who were fond of following the changeable modes of dress." (I remember how, in wartime, men's ready-made suits patriotically and economically began to omit collars from coats and cuffs from trousers, thus making William Bacon Evans, in his traditional "plain Quaker" garb, appear to be wearing a so-called "Liberty suit" in the latest fashion.)

As time went on, criticism of costume continued, though unofficial and unspoken, and often on quite other grounds than plainness or gayness (like the so-called "shuncross bonnets"). If English women in or out of the Society seemed dowdy to their American sisters that was particularly true after the Second World War. It was not surprising, therefore, that when in 1947 two well-known women Friends from Pennsylvania appeared at London Yearly Meeting, the editor of *The Friend* (London) referred to their "pleasing hats," and in another context reported that one of these hats, "with its halo of roses, was particularly admired by both men and women Friends." This was still in his memory three years later when he wrote of a New England visitor to London

Yearly Meeting: "The dinkiest hat on the first afternoon was worn by an American Friend, D— N—, who had a demure, grey, small-brimmed hat with white daisies over the brim—very charming, and somehow one felt sure that she was an American before hearing her announced by the clerk." Oh, the mutability of fashion, even among Friends!

215

Quakers in Spain

If these letters were arranged logically this one would naturally follow No. 2 on "Friends in Lisbon". It is written now, many years after that, because only as recently as 1956 has there been established a definite Quaker group in Spain, and in 1965 the presence of an American Quaker family in Barcelona provides first-hand contact with them.

The difficulties of the situation remind one of early Quakerism. As the Conventicle Act in England in 1664 forbade more than four adults to meet "under color of religion," so in Spain a law forbids a gathering of more than four persons. But, as I read in a report given lately at Lisburn (not Lisbon): "because of the importance of tourism to the Spanish economy, a Friends Meeting on the premises of a foreigner has given some protection which was impossible in the homes of nationals." This report adds that "the group has grown from about eight to twenty, apart from perhaps another twenty attenders."

As we wish these brethren well in 1965, we may hark back more than three centuries to another fortunate Quaker in Spain. His name was Daniel Baker. His eventful career (as a captain in Cromwell's Navy, a Quaker, and a cripple from war wounds until cured

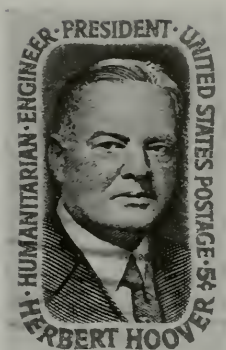
by George Fox) I have long wanted to see written up, at least in summary. In 1662, after intervening, at great risk, in Malta on behalf of two married Quaker women detained there by the Inquisition, he was sailing home with letters to their husbands, only to be held up for some weeks by unfavorable weather at the Straits of Gibraltar with other English ships. He had had a vision back in England of his duty to bear testimony to the people and governor of Gibraltar "in the Kingdom of Spain." So, like Jonah, he had himself cast overboard, entered the Catholic Church of the town (it was Holy Thursday), spoke out against their superstitions, and distributed in the streets papers written in Spanish or Latin. Thus having fulfilled his duty, he returned unharmed to the ship on which he was passenger, and next day the whole fleet enjoyed favoring winds and passage homeward.

216

Some Recent Nonagenarians

When anniversaries of distant events occur in the same year we take notice of them, like the sesquicentennial in 1953 of the births of Ralph Waldo Emerson and several famous contemporaries (cf. Letter 137). But because the coincidence of living persons of the same age (even an advanced age) rarely catches our attention, I am noting here four who celebrated their ninetieth birthdays in the past year. Two of them, English-speaking statesmen Herbert Hoover and Winston Churchill, have died since their birthdays; the other two, German-speaking theologians Albert Schweitzer and Emil Fuchs, still live.

In this *Journal* the first and the fourth especially concern us, both being members of the Society of Friends. How strikingly



they represent the extremes possible in our Society, though in both cases with a genuine evidence of Quaker flavor! Herbert Hoover has long been considered the embodiment of economic conservatism, while Emil Fuchs of Communist East Germany comes as close to the other extreme as a conscientious Friend can be imagined coming. Whatever our personal place on the Quaker spectrum, we can hardly be expected to disown either of them.

The accompanying portrait of ex-President Hoover, issued (in red!) at West Branch, Iowa, on August 10th, the ninety-first anniversary of his birth there, is now added to this column's album of Quakers on postage stamps. In America this honor happens to a President only after his death. In Great Britain, on the contrary, stamps represent only the reigning and living sovereign, never a mere subject, with the recent exceptions of William Shakespeare and Winston Churchill. Another difference between the two countries is that British stamps do not even name their country of origin—an omission hardly due to modesty.

As for Professor Emil Fuchs of Leipzig, his ninetieth birthday was observed in typical academic fashion by a *Festschrift* from

nearly ninety writers in a volume of five hundred and seventy-five pages.

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Bettors and Their Abettors

To bet about what the speaking will be in an unprogrammed Friends Meeting is un-Quakerly. At least that is my strong conviction. It also is often unsportsmanlike, like wagering about a certainty. For while there have been some individuals who could be pretty surely counted on to speak, the great majority can be guaranteed never to do so. That was an unusual local meeting where I was told that, looking back over a year, they found that fully half the members had once or oftener been heard from in worship. It was also an unusual Friend who told me as she came out of meeting one day lately that she was eighty-three years old and had never before attended a completely silent meeting.

In spite of all this, there have been instances of such betting in Quaker history. One is told in the *Journal* of Richard Davies of Welchpool. Once about the year 1683 the worthy Davies on account of illness came late to Bull-and-Mouth meeting in London, and as he approached he heard a voice which, he said, "I was satisfied was not the voice of a true shepherd. When I went up to the gallery one was preaching of perfection who said, 'Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect,' etc. I staid to hear him but a very little while, till I stood up and judged him, and told the people that the Kingdom of God stood not in words but in power, righteousness and holiness. Then this man went in a rage out of the meeting and a considerable company followed him. We heard afterwards there was a wager laid that this man, who some said was a Jesuit, would preach in the Quakers' meeting, and that he

should not be discovered; and had he gone without reproof they would say that a Jesuit preached in the Quakers' meeting and they could not discern him."

A second occasion was nearly two centuries later and in America, at a Friends boarding school. As Rufus Jones used to tell of it, there was a Friends' minister named Thomas Nichols on the campus for a weekend, and one of the older boys who had seen and heard him before recognized him and ventured the prediction to his fellows that next day at meeting someone would refer to "the dying words of the pious Addison." Such a prophecy seemed ridiculous, and several of the younger students were willing to wager to the contrary. The wager consisted of the cookie which each boy was served at First-day supper. The minister spoke at length at the morning meeting but never mentioned the pious Addison. There was also an afternoon meeting, and the expectant students listened again. The minister spoke and had completed the peroration of his remarks—again with no such mention—and was already in the act of leaning forward and folding his coattails to sit down when he added, "And as I take my seat there come to mind the dying words of the pious Addison," etc. So the scoffers, who already thought they were vindicated, were in the end disappointed, and the prophet—was it Rufus Jones himself?—won a lot of cookies. Curiously the story never continued far enough to report what the dying words were.

The third episode occurred about fifty years ago in another institutional Friends Meeting—this time a Quaker college. I was present on the occasion, but my memory has been refreshed by a firsthand account lately published by the then dean.* Shortly before

*"A Dean Looks Back" by Frederic Palmer, *College and University*, Fall 1958, pp. 46-50. The President was Isaac Sharpless.

the regular midweek meeting, the dean had an urgent summons from the college president, who said to him, "When we are in meeting this morning one of the students is going to get up and make a protest against required attendance. Thereby he expects to win a bet of seventeen dollars. Who is he?"

At his suggestion the two men sat down and busily ran over the student list, and each selected, in order of probability, three names. Upon consultation they found they agreed on the same three and on which was number one. Without delay they hastened to meeting. After the usual period of silence up rose the number one man. "I want to—". Instantly the President was on his feet. Pointing to the culprit he said in thunderous tones, calling him by name, "D-----! I think thee had better sit down!" And down the student went, wilting in his tracks like a punctured balloon. "I have never known," continues the dean, "how the news of such an impending episode reached the president," nor has any one else from that day to this, least of all the culprit himself or his abettors. For my part I never have known whether or not the fellow got his seventeen dollars. It would be a nice situation to adjudicate.

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Quasi-Quaker Medical Barons

A few years ago I picked up a stamp with a portrait of Baron J. B. Van Helmont (1577-1644), planning to use it sometime in one of these letters. He was not a Friend (he died too soon), but his son, Baron Francis Mercurius Van Helmont, (1618-1699), did for a time, at least, become a Quaker. Both Jean Baptiste and this son were physicians, and the latter belongs to that interesting group of continental scholars who came to

England and threw in their lot with Friends. He was personal physician to Lady Conway and a friend of Henry More and George Keith and was acquainted with George Fox and William Penn. For some time a considerable body of material about him has been at Western Reserve University Library, and a definitive biography of him has been under preparation; we must still await this for details. His chief medical contribution was perhaps the collecting and editing of *Ortus Medicinae*, his learned father's posthumous *magnum opus*. His own interests were more in theology, cabbala, and metempsychosis. The stamp of his father's portrait was issued, as stated in two languages, by Belgium, where he lived and where his son was born.



Now there have just come to hand two stamps commemorating the discovery a century ago of surgical antiseptics by another Baron, Joseph Lister, the first Lord Lister (1827-1912). The country issuing them is, of course, (though unnamed, as usual) Great Britain. The one-shilling stamp includes a portrait of Lister with "OH," the chemical symbol for carbolic acid. The 4d. stamp illustrates his carbolic spray. The selection of that subject is perhaps unfortunate, as Lister himself later admitted that the use of the spray was unnecessary and not scientifically defensible.

In contrast to the younger Baron von Helmont, Lord Lister's life is well known and is admirably described in several biographies. The Quaker connection was back several generations in his ancestry. His father, Joseph Jackson Lister, who preceded him as a member of the Royal Society, was a strong Quaker influence upon him, inculcat-

ing a sense of responsibility for diligent experimentation in science and a humanitarian concern to discover means of reducing the terrific suffering and death due to imperfect surgical methods. To the end of his long life he used the Quaker language to members of his own family. It was his happy marriage to Agnes Syme, daughter of his admired Edinburgh professional teacher, that led not to his disownment but to his voluntary resignation from the Society of Friends.

Undoubtedly English Friends will justly claim him in part in any celebration of the antiseptic-surgery centennial of 1965. From Friends House, London, it is only a few steps to the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum with the Lister exhibits. In his time Lister, a modest man, was without honor in his own country, but in the end honors were heaped upon him from his own countrymen, as well as from abroad. He was the first surgeon elevated to the British peerage, but it was as a scientist that he regarded himself and as he was regarded. Today his reputation is so secure that he may be said to mark the dividing line between the old and the new in the province of surgery. The glory of his career, at least in the days of his prime, was his incessant effort to match his new discoveries with improved methods. If anyone shares his honor it is the Hungarian Ignaz Semmelweis, a martyr to similar experiments in 1865. For him the Austrian postoffice has issued a commemorative.

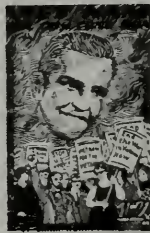
I might mention in passing still another baron and doctor of Quaker background. This is Thomas Dimsdale (1712-1800) of Hertford, who in 1768 was invited by Empress Catharine II of Russia to introduce vaccination for smallpox into her empire (she herself and her son, the Grand Duke, being among the first "guinea pigs"). Failure would have been fatal for the doctor as well as for the patient, but his efforts were crowned with success, and he returned to

England loaded with presents and honors, a baron of the Empire. He also married out of the Society, but he retained his Quaker connection. For appropriate philatelic illustration, Russia in 1913 issued a 14-kopek stamp, blue green, with a portrait of the Empress.

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"I Give My Body to Be Burned"

According to the regular practice of these letters, attention is here called to the recent appearance of a postage stamp honoring a person connected with the Society of Friends. In most cases these have come from the U. S. Post Office, but there have been such stamps issued by Great Britain, Norway, West Germany, and Turkey, and Japan. Now the stamp comes from North Vietnam and its capital at Hanoi; it features our late member Norman R. Morrison, who burned himself to death at the Pentagon in Washington in protest against the war in Vietnam.



The reproduction is not directly from the stamp, but is from a photograph and is somewhat enlarged. It is evidently based on an authentic portrait—I think the one circulated by the Associated Press right after the event. The flames are, of course, sketched in, as are, in the foreground, pickets and American antiwar placards.

Down the side and across the bottom are the date and his names (the latter both misspelled): "2.11.1965 Noman Morixon" and the words HY SINH CAO CA' VI CHINH NGHIA, which are said to mean "A noble sacrifice for a righteous cause," while the words in large type at the top are for "Democratic Republic of Vietnam." The denomination is 12 dong in local currency, equivalent to about 17 cents in ours.

This stamp is only another bit in the accumulating evidence of the extraordinary impact of this event upon the people of Vietnam.

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The Hunt for Lincoln's Quaker Ancestors

Not for the first time, these letters on Quaker history are the by-product of my participation in quite modern activities. I was attending New England Yearly Meeting held in Providence, Rhode Island. There between sessions I stopped in at the Brown University Library and looked around. In the exhibit cases were a few letters by Abraham Lincoln from the library's very large collection. Two of them were addressed to a Mr. David Lincoln: the first, dated Washington, March 24, 1848, inquiring whether he might be of the same family; the second, nine days later, acknowledging the reply, and asking some further questions. Here near the end the word "Quaker," with its conspicuous capital Q, caught my eye, and I read this second letter more carefully. With the permission of the present owners, I quote the letter at length. It will strike a sympathetic chord in any reader who has ever struggled with problems of his own genealogy. Unfortunately no replies from David Lincoln are known:

"Washington, April 2nd. 1848

"Dear Sir,

Last evening I was much gratified by receiving and reading your letter of the 30th. of March. There is no longer any doubt that your uncle Abraham and my grandfather was the same man. His family did reside in Washington county, Kentucky, just as you say you found them in 1801 or 2. The oldest son, uncle Mordecai, near twenty years ago removed from Kentucky to Hancock county, Illinois where within a year or two afterwards he died, and where his surviving children now live. His two sons there now are Abraham and Mordecai, and their Post-office is "La Harp." . . .

"My father, Thomas, is still living, in Coles county Illinois being in the 71st. year of his age. His Post-office is Charleston, Coles co. Ill. I am his only child. I am now in my 40th year and I live in Springfield, Sangamon county, Illinois. . . .

"What was your grandfather's Christian name? Was he or not, a Quaker? About what time did he emigrate from Berks county, Pa. to Virginia? Do you know any thing of your family (or rather I may now say *our* family) farther back than your grandfather?

"If it be not too much trouble to you I shall be much pleased to hear from you again. Be assured I will call on you, should any thing bring me near you. I shall give your respects to Gov. McDowell as you desire.

Very truly yours,
A. Lincoln"

These letters, after various earlier ownership, were acquired as recently as 1960 by Brown University, where they joined the noteworthy McLellan Lincoln Collection, presented in 1923. Though they were printed, not quite correctly (probably from man-

uscript copies) in two earlier collections of Lincoln's works (by Nicolay and Hay, I [1894] 116f., and Roy Basler, II [1953] 459, 461), I have not seen them cited in connection with the discussion of Abraham Lincoln's Quaker ancestors. Four years ago at this season of the year I cited Abraham Lincoln's consistent statements of 1848, 1859, and 1860 that his great-grandfather was a Quaker or of Quaker lineage, and I indicated that attempts to confirm this had proved to be futile over the years, until in 1961 David S. Keiser had satisfactorily shown that, even if not himself a Quaker or of Quaker descent, this "paternal great-grandfather had married into a family that was Quaker on both sides." This much confirmation was a real triumph by David Keiser after a long search by many scholars.

The significance of these letters is to show that already in 1848 that search had been begun, and by none other than by Abraham Lincoln himself. It shows also, I think, that the connection with Quakerism which David Keiser uncovered, though doubtless correct, was, as I suspected, not exactly at the same point where Abraham Lincoln was looking for it.

221

God, the Devil, and Robert Barclay

I have no intention of adding to the literature on the God-is-Dead controversy which has attracted so much attention even in the secular magazines. That it concerns Friends on both sides of the Atlantic is clear.

What may well be mentioned is the relative absence of reference to the corresponding but unadvertised fact that, by the same token, Satan must be dead, too. Without any coroner's report, many readers will agree that the diabolic adversary dropped out of

most serious contemporary thought long ago. Some theologians like to talk about "the demonic," but that is just as impersonal as is Paul Tillich's "ground of our being" or the Quaker phrase "that of God."

The arguments for the existence of a personal God and of a personal Satan are very similar, and the evidences for the existence of one are parallel to those for his opposite number. In past Christian history each has been taken equally for granted. Robert Barclay's *Apology* does not argue the case for either, probably for the general reason which Barclay gives for all his omissions: that he was dealing only with matters where Friends differed from other Christians.

In his day, as in ours, the blasphemous-sounding claim of the death of God could resolve itself into the much more innocuous question: "What image should we have of Him?" This is how the author of *Honest to God* set the problem. In the same way we might ask what image Friends might have of Satan. By "image" I do not mean to suggest outward appearance (horns and tail and red tights), but rather to ask what role he plays.

In reading again lately Barclay's *Apology*, I was impressed with his emphasis in the matter. He does not mention Satan very often, but when he does it is uniformly not as a tempter to secular sins, but as a perverter of religious values, as nominal Christians seem to pervert them. Thus the contemporary indifference in Christendom to knowledge of God by immediate revelation seemed to Barclay "none of the least devices of the devil to secure mankind to his kingdom" (Proposition II). So then when men worship God in their own wills, without obedience, and by mere show of reverence, Barclay can say "there is not any thing relating to man's duty toward God which among all sorts of people hath been more vitiated and in which the devil hath more prevailed than in abusing

man's mind concerning this thing" (Proposition XI).

He continues by claiming that Quaker silent waiting upon God cannot be counterfeited by the devil, while in every aspect of ordinary worship the devil can beguile one "to work, act, and meditate in his own will . . . he can accompany the priest to the altar, the preacher to the pulpit, the zealot to his prayers, yea the doctor and professor of divinity to his study, and there he can cheerfully suffer him to labour and work among his books, yea, and help him to find out and invent subtle distinctions and quiddities by which both his mind and others through him, may be kept from heeding *God's light in the conscience*, and waiting upon him."

These samples are sufficient to indicate Barclay's image of Satan. That the devil intervenes in just such outwardly religious ways is not a view limited to Barclay. The Bible itself suggests that temptation is often under the guise of something good, whether to Eve in the Garden of Eden or to Jesus in the wilderness. It was Barclay's own contemporary, John Bunyan, who, on being congratulated by some of his friends on the sweet sermon he had just preached, replied, "Aye, aye! ye need not remind me of that, for the devil told me of it, before I was out of the pulpit."

It was left perhaps until our own day and to the late C. S. Lewis, in his *Screwtape Letters* to elaborate, with all its diabolic intricacies, the image of Satan adumbrated three centuries ago.

222

George Fox and the Beatniks

Among the most familiar words of George Fox is his reported advice to William

Penn about the latter's sword: "Wear it as long as thou canst!" Unfortunately the attestation of this episode is not very early or certain. Someone jocosely has suggested that the words express rather George Fox's own practice, and not about a sword but about his hair. Here we do have excellent evidence. Repeatedly in his Journal George Fox tells how he was criticized for his long hair. This began as early as 1656 at St. Ives in Cornwall when he was thirty-two years old. William Sewel, in one of the rare autobiographical passages in his *History of Quakerism*, bears first-hand witness to other such occasions in George Fox's life and explains: "It seems to me not improbable, that he seeing how some make it a kind of holiness to wear short hair did the contrary to shew that in some things there was a Christian liberty for which we ought not to judge one another." George Fox himself told them he "had no pride in it and that he had not put it on" (as a wig?).

The opposition in that day to long hair is widely attested, not only among patrician and religious circles in England but also on the continent and in Puritan New England. In England, Thomas Hall, a Presbyterian minister, wrote in 1654 on "The Loathsomeness of Long Haare, or Treatise wherein you have the Question Stated, many arguments against it produced, and the most material Arguments for it repelled and answered, etc." Friends besides George Fox practiced nonconformity in this matter. William Caton, formerly of Swarthmore Hall, wrote in 1661 in German a pamphlet "to all you who seem to take offense at our hair," etc.

Neave Brayshaw, who collected some of this information in his *Personality of George Fox*, shows that in schools long hair for boys was forbidden and that even such a ranter as Muggleton opposed the wearing of long hair in the pulpit. But Charles Leslie, a later anti-Quaker writer, says George Fox had a mind to be a Nazirite like Samson and wore

long straight hair like rats' tails, just as Muggleton did. In the early records of Harvard College is included an exhortation to reprove the practice. It is dated 1659 and begins (I quote from L. S. Mayo, *John Endecott*):

"Forasmuch as the wearing of long haire after manner of Ruffians and barbarous Indians hath begun to invade new England contrary to the rule of God's word, which saith it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the commendable custom generally of all the godly in our nation until within this few years, we the magistrates who have subscribed this paper (for the clearing of our own innocency in this behalf) do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair as against a thing uncivil and unmanly whereby men do deforme themselves, and offend sober and modest men and do corrupt good manners." This is signed by nine magistrates. The first name is "John Endecott, Governor"—the future arch-enemy of the Quakers in Massachusetts.

We have always known that styles of hair and dress for both sexes constantly change and recur, not only outside but inside the Society of Friends. I have had occasion lately to review some of Quaker variation of approval or disapproval of beards. Conservative practices are rationalized by appeal to custom or (as in the case of the top of the head) to scripture ("... for a man to wear long hair is degrading to him"—1 Corinthians 11:14). It may be wholesome in these days, when some young men defy in this matter tradition and the preference of their elders, for us to remember that three centuries ago it was George Fox and his male followers who wore their hair as long as they could. Perhaps, to shift the metaphor, the shoe is now on the other foot. No wonder that the present Quaker youth join so enthusiastically in the chorus of Sydney Carter's song:

In my old leather breeches and shaggy,
shaggy locks
I am walking in the glory of the light,
said Fox.

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Nonpayment of Provincial War Tax

A scruple against paying taxes which directly or indirectly support war has had a long if sporadic history among members of the Society of Friends. It received official support in London in 1679 when decision was made that fine or punishment for such refusal could be reported by the meeting in the annual listing of "sufferings for Truth." At Philadelphia Yearly Meeting every year lately this concern has been voiced by individuals. In 1966 the Meeting went so far as to authorize some minor action on the subject, including a delegation to visit the Internal Revenue authorities and to explain the tender conscience of the increasing number of Friends who refuse part or all of their Federal income tax.

The most intensive consideration of the matter among the Meeting's membership appears to have occurred more than two centuries ago. Before 1700 the Pennsylvania Assembly was asked by the mother country to supply men and funds for British military enterprises in the colonies. The Quaker legislators, when they complied, did so uneasily, with the excuses that it was for defense or that the money was voted nominally for the sovereign's use and that they were not responsible for what use the king (or queen) chose to make of it. They also accepted as a permanent unqualified mandate the words of Jesus, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." Sometimes Friends distin-

guished as acceptable mixed taxes and as unacceptable those taxes that were definitely labelled for war.

We are indebted to John Woolman's *Journal* (Chapter V) for an account of the exercise that arose in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting both in 1755 and in 1757. In the former year a committee was appointed which issued an epistle expressing the feeling that "the large sum granted by the late act of Assembly for the King's use is principally intended for purposes inconsistent with our peaceable testimony," and that "as we cannot be concerned in wars and fightings, so neither ought we to contribute thereto by paying the tax directed by the said act, though suffering be the consequence of our refusal." John Woolman speaks of the conference on the subject "as the most weighty that ever I was at." There was not unanimity in the group. Some who felt easy to pay the tax withdrew, but twenty-one substantial Friends subscribed the epistle; they included John Woolman, John Churchman (who also mentions the matter in his *Journal*), Anthony Benezet, John Pemberton, and Samuel Fothergill, an English public Friend visiting America.

In the Yearly Meeting of 1757 the matter was opened again, and a committee of about forty Friends were appointed to consider "whether or no it would be best at this time publicly to consider it in the Yearly Meeting." Visitors from other Yearly Meetings—including John Hunt and Christopher Wilson from England—were asked to join the committee. The decision was negative. There was difference of opinion on the subject, and "for that and several other reasons" the committee unanimously agreed that it was not proper to enter into public discussion of the matter. Meanwhile it recommended that Friends of differing opinions "have their minds covered with fervent charity towards one another." One wonders why the differ-

ent result from two years before and what were some of the "other reasons."

Part of the answer, I think, is to be found in a letter to John Hunt and Christopher Wilson, sent to them by the Meeting for Sufferings in London. This letter is dated 9.vii.1756 and is signed by Benjamin Bourne, clerk. I shall quote it as I have copied it from the manuscript minutes of the Meeting. It falls in date between the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings described above, at the second of which John Hunt and Christopher Wilson were present and in a position to transmit the urgent advice of London Friends.

The main purpose of their mission to Pennsylvania, as is well known, was to prevent the home government's proposed requirement of an oath for members of the Assembly by asking Friends to refuse to run for election. The British Friends asked the government to let them attempt first to bring about the purging of the Assembly of Quakers. In this they succeeded to the extent that most Friends withdrew from the Assembly; thus the threat was averted. Evidently the same pressure was exercised to encourage Friends to pay provincial war taxes to the British crown, and particularly not to publicize their scruple against paying them. But neither the minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for 1757 (under 9 mo. 23) nor its epistles—whether to London Yearly Meeting or to its own members—are so explicit as the letter. After repeating the primary commission to the English delegates to try "to prevail on Friends in Pennsylvania to refuse being chosen into Assembly during the present commotions in America" and "to make them fully sensible of their danger, and how much it concerns them, the Province, and their posterity to act conformably to this request and the expectations of the government," the letter continues:

And as you will know that very disadvantageous impressions have been made here by the advices given by some Friends against the payment of a tax lately laid by the provincial assembly, it is recommended in a particular manner that you endeavour to remove all occasions of misunderstanding on this account, and to explain and enforce our known principles and practice respecting the payment of taxes for the support of civil government agreeable to the several advices of the Yearly Meeting founded on the precept and example of our Saviour.

May that wisdom which is from above attend you in this weighty undertaking, and render your labours effectual for the purposes intended that you may be the happy instruments of averting the dangers that threaten the liberties and privileges of the people in general and restore and strengthen that union and harmony which ought to subsist in every part of our Christian Society.

Two brief lists were delivered with the above letter: extracts from London Yearly Meeting minutes of 1715, 1732, 1733, 1734, and 1735, in which the payment of dues to the government is inculcated; and titles of Acts of Parliament, seven chapters in four Acts from the reigns of William and Mary and Queen Anne, "wherein it is expressed that the taxes are *for carrying on a war*." The final phrase was to leave no doubt that English Friends encouraged no escape on the ground that a Quaker conscience could assume the doubtful or peaceful purpose of the legislation.

The grounds on which the scruple among Friends was silenced in 1757 are clear.

Friends had long paid such taxes and wished to obey the laws. If Pennsylvania Friends refused to vote for them as assemblymen or to collect them as tax collectors or to pay them as subjects, the liberties enjoyed in the colony, such as permitting affirmations in place of oaths, would be terminated. The exhortations in the gospels and New Testament epistles in favor of paying Caesar his dues were applicable. The early Quaker examples of civil disobedience in other matters were forgotten, and the relevance of the continuing Quaker testimonies against personal participation in war and against the payment of tithes was not cited. In the latter area Friends were resolutely against payment and suffered ruinous distraints. Evidently dues for the support of "hiring ministers" seemed more obnoxious than taxes for the prosecution of war. If Colonial Friends disagreed with the practice of Friends in England or even with one another they would expose the Society to disharmony.

When John Woolman's *Journal* was reprinted in England in 1775 the whole section on paying or not paying taxes was omitted, but in America the problem already was taking a different form. Friends and others had opposed taxation without representation when the Stamp Act was passed in 1765. With the outbreak of the Revolution, the issue was one of using continental currency or of paying taxes to support war *against* Great Britain. This, many American Friends (like Job Scott) and Meetings were willing openly to oppose.

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Renewal, Urban or Spiritual

The first week of September London observed as the tercentenary of the Great Fire of 1666, which reduced to ashes and

rubble a large section of the ancient city. I shared in the celebration to the extent of watching part of the pageant of boats on the Thames on the evening of the 8th, and of rereading the standard history of the event by Walter G. Bell.

There were already many Quakers in London in 1666. They had lived through the terrible plague, and as additional suffering, they had borne the brunt of the recent Conventicle Act. The fire was, therefore, no unique misfortune. Those living in the area, as each day threatened further spread of the flames, shared the experience of their neighbors of trying to escape with some of their possessions. Those in the prisons involved were set free. Their oldest meeting house at Bull and Mouth was an early casualty to the flames, though the careful clerk rescued the official papers housed there, only to have them destroyed in 1821 in the burning of Gracechurch Street meeting house. Ten years after the Great Fire, when less official papers were sought for compiling local Quaker history, they were reported as lost "at the firing of London."

Actually the experiences of Friends in the fire are little reported. Probably both they and their opponents were relaxed because it was a shared disaster. Except in *The Farthing Family*, a work of fiction, there remains no Quaker report of the fire comparable to that in the shorthand diary of Samuel Pepys, the colleague and neighbor of Admiral William Penn. Even the future Quaker, twenty-one year old William Penn, Junior, has left no single reference to the event unless it be indirectly by instructions for Philadelphia to be "a green country town which will never be burnt."

One matter that Friends shared with nearly everyone else was the problem of whether the fire was intended by God or was set and furthered by wicked men. In the first case it was a divine punishment for some sin.

In the latter it was cause for new suspicion of groups already suspect. To most Londoners the Quakers, like the Catholics or the Dutch or French, were such a group. That several Friends before the fire had predicted such punishment on their persecutors did not reduce the suspicion against them.

In the perspective of time, the disaster proved an asset. Apart from antiquarian sentiment, the loss of pre-fire London was a blessing in disguise. The old city of wood was replaced by brick and stone and by wider streets. The Quakers promptly acquired substitute premises at Devonshire House, but also within five years rebuilt at Bull and Mouth. Before 1700 not only the Cathedral of St. Paul but fifty-five other churches (as is now believed) were restored under the supervision of that surpassing architect, Christopher Wren.

The present year marks not only three centuries from the Great Fire, but another anniversary—a quarter century from the London Blitzkrieg of which the very first of these "Letters from the Past" spoke in 1941. What the German bombs did then to London, though less concentrated in place and time, is a similar chapter in history, except that, unlike the fire, it meant the loss of human lives as well.* The sequel to that, too (as one has watched it since), has had its physically salutary aspect.

Again now, as three centuries ago, new, safer, ampler, better buildings have replaced squalid and ugly homes or shops. While some old Quaker meeting houses (like the Peel, the oldest standing in 1940) were destroyed, a number of attractive new ones have come into being. In an exhibit and review of the work of the late Quaker architect Hubert Lidbetter I count no less than eleven in the

*A. R. Barclay, *Letters of Early Friends*, 1841 p. 248

metropolis designed by him since 1953. His role for Friends may be regarded as proportionate now to Wren's role at an earlier time for the Established Church.

Of course, religion is not to be measured by bricks and mortar. Renewal—urban renewal, as we have come to call it—is a useful figure for an aspect of spiritual life. The removal of what is old and outworn and its replacement by what the apostle Paul called the renewal of your mind is a wholesome parallel. This was graphically expressed on another occasion when in 1795 Thomas Scattergood, a visiting American minister, attended Ratcliffe Friends Meeting in London shortly after a fire had destroyed four or five hundred houses and stopped just short of the meeting house. He said that he “had seen that day good things in store for the inhabitants of this neighborhood, if on their part they would embrace the visitations of the Holy Spirit; and that as divine Providence had suffered a devouring fire to lay waste their outward habitations, and they were now raising pleasant buildings on the ruins, so if they were willing to let the searching and overturning power of the Lord lay waste their old buildings spiritually to the foundation and remove the rubbish out of the way, they in due time would be favored to be built up a church and people to his praise, and testimony-bearers who would be raised up among them to promote the work.”

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US

I am recurring now to an episode of only a year ago, the self-immolation at the Pentagon of our Friend Norman Morrison. When I wrote about it before, I spoke of accumulating evidence of its impact. Now I have new

evidence elsewhere, namely in a play called “US,” produced in London by the Royal Shakespeare Company. Its premiere was in mid-October. Its consistent thread of subject matter is the war in Vietnam, and a significant episode in the first part is the death of Morrison and a memorial meeting for him in the Quaker manner. The material for this was secured from America, and the meeting is carried out on the stage in a way so impressive that it seems to envelop the audience also.

The title of the production is itself a play on words, being both an abbreviation and a pronoun. Hence it is not exclusively either anti-American or pacifist, though it gives no comfort to friends of American military policy in Vietnam or, for that matter, to the Viet Cong. It recognizes the brutality and horror of all that is going on in Asia, but it links this up with other defects in our present culture and with what responsibility nonparticipants in the war share in the brutality of our times. It is intended for the British conscience, too, though few Englishmen wish to be identified with American policy. Just as “no man is an island,” so no nation is an island—not even England. It succeeds remarkably in securing understanding of the problem from the audience, rather than in providing a solution. The futility of protest is voiced, as well as the immorality of war.

I am not qualified to judge its originality in method, but the comments of experienced theatre critics are to the effect that by unfamiliar techniques the play provides communication with the audience, rather than entertainment or instruction. They say: “The Vietnam war looms largely in the background of ‘US,’ but it is by no means the whole of the play.”—“Focused intensively on Vietnam, the play has implications that are wider and deeper than those of this situation alone; it deals with the problem of

war not only at political and military levels but also at the personal level, relentlessly preventing escape for any one of us." "The 'US' in the title doesn't just mean the United States—it means us." "Its real purpose is to penetrate the defenses of the audience and assault their comfortable detachment from the barbarities of the world outside."

From these quotations it is clear that Peter Brock, the director, and the company as a whole have entered with breadth and sympathy into the problems implicit in the war. Friends may rejoice that so skillful a study has been produced of what George Fox used to call "the occasion of war," and that in some measure a Friend has posthumously contributed to it.

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Quarterly Meeting: An Obituary

It is fitting that major events in London Yearly Meeting should be noticed on this side of the Atlantic. One of them is the demise of the Quarterly Meetings, as of January 1, 1967, according to the "rules of Church government" approved at last Yearly Meeting. Here is an institution older and more widely known and revered than any individual whose death is reported in the death notices of our periodicals. Now with a stroke of a pen the Quarterly Meetings disappear, all sixteen or seventeen of them. This sounds like mass murder. Others would call it euthanasia.

I hasten to say that this is not quite as final as it sounds. Much the same kind of set-up may continue for a while, with a new name and a different function. Yet undoubtedly this marks the passing of the old-fashioned English Quarterly Meeting as we and our forebears have known it. For older American visitors to England, Quarterly Meeting

was a landmark or red-letter day. Now it is to have another very old name, "General Meeting," but it need not meet every quarter or represent quite the same areas as of old.

The decision was deliberate and not easy. Discussion began more than twenty-five years ago. We may read both the considerations that preceded the change and the final decisions in two Yearly Meeting pamphlets, *New life from old roots* and *Regulations on meetings for church affairs*, and the "last words" or swan song of several of the Quarterly Meetings as published in recent issues of the *London Friend*. "London and Middlesex Q.M. met for the last time on October 29 at Westminster Friends Meeting House." "The gathering at Welwyn Garden City on October 21-22 was historic, being the final Bedfordshire Quarterly Meeting just over 100 years after the first . . . we separate remembering with thankfulness the spiritual refreshment and fellowship which we and so many Friends before us have enjoyed during the life of Bedfordshire Quarterly Meeting." "As this our last Quarterly Meeting [Cornwall and Devon] drew to a close we felt the bond of fellowship and the responsibility of sharing with Friends the world over." These are brave words, obviously words of hope mingled with regret, a chorus like "We who are about to die salute you."

The reasons for the change are easily understood—in addition to the changed conditions of life and communication in the twentieth century. The effective units for the transaction of Quaker business have become Yearly Meetings and central committees on the one hand and local Monthly Meetings on the other. Quarterly Meetings have come to hold mainly the role of a post office between them—forwarding statistics and other information, money, etc. The new plan removes as unnecessary and repetitious much of all this, and makes provision for direct contact and for devolving routine

business on other shoulders. The name is not significant, since already intermediary groups have used other names than quarterly, like "half-year," "provincial" (Ireland), "six-weeks" (Barbados), and even "general meeting" (as formerly Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and still Scotland).

There is now no necessity to meet every three months. In fact, provision is made to leave the times, places, and contents of the general meetings to a committee representing the group of Monthly Meetings, and even to suspend sessions indefinitely. A different function of fellowship, conference, and inspiration could take the place of past routine. So in 1668 at the beginning of London Yearly Meeting "did Friends in the ministry conclude to settle a meeting to see one another's faces and open our hearts one to another in the Truth of God." Later a series of "Circular Meetings" grew up in England; in these (discontinued about 1786), several adjoining quarterly meetings drew large groups even outside the Society. We have had in recent generations large conferences of several Yearly Meetings in America and even world conferences of Friends. The new general meetings on a trial basis may give further flexibility where it is needed. Obviously Quarterly Meetings have been more useful at some times and in some areas than others.

Quarterly Meeting is dead; long live General Meeting!

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George Fox and the Generations Gap

Probably no book has ever had more simultaneous reading through out Quakerdom than the study volume for the 1967 Friends World Conference in North Carolina

entitled *No Time But This Present*. One feature of it, not often noticed, makes it very timely. The title is from a letter written by George Fox in 1652 to his parents, addressed: "Dear father and mother in the flesh." In days when we are particularly conscious of the gap in communication between the generations it is well to be reminded that George Fox, still in his twenties, felt a concern for the spiritual welfare of his parents. Unlike some modern children, he did not write them off as "a necessary evil," but he yearned for them. He wrote:

To that of God in you both I speak,
and do beseech you both for the
Lord's sake to return within and wait
to hear the voice of the Lord there . . .
Oh! be faithful! Look not back, nor
be too forward, further than ye have
attained; for ye have no time but this
present time. Therefore prize your
time for your soul's sake.

I wish we could enter sympathetically into the delicate relations in this particular family. We know all too little of George Fox's youth and home. Janet Whitney had something to tell us in her recent address (to the Friends Historical Society in England) on "The Apprenticeship of George Fox"—probably more than appears in the *Quaker Nursery Rhymes*, published long ago by the advertisers of Quaker Rolled White Oats:

A lad named George Fox
Looked after the flocks
Of his master, who was a shoemaker,
And so great was his name
That in time he became
The first man who was ever called Quaker.

We do know that both Christopher and Mary Fox were religious persons, faithful

members of the local church (St. Michael-and-All-Angels) at Fenny Drayton, where their children were baptized. Christopher, "Righteous Christer," was church warden in 1638 and 1639, and Mary's burial in 1673 is recorded in the church register. Their relations to the minister, "priest" Nathaniel Stephens, were probably strained by their son's distrust of him as he evidences it in his reports of their encounters. Yet the parents shared also both the abuse and the praise of their son which Nathaniel Stephens alternately, ambivalently expressed. All this may be read between the lines in George Fox's *Journal*, dictated twenty to thirty years later.

Fortunately there is in existence an earlier parallel account of a principal encounter which occurred in early 1655 and was printed the same year. It provides us the rare opportunity to compare how George Fox described events at the time and how he remembered them from the later perspective. This little-known 1655 pamphlet, *The Spirituall Man Judgeth All Things*, is a full and fresh reminiscence, partly by Richard Farnworth and partly by George Fox himself, of two or three controversial occasions at Fenny Drayton in which the two Friends were involved with Nathaniel Stephens and from one to seven other priests, including as well the families of both George Fox (father and brother) and Stephens (wife, son, and servant). Unlike George Fox's *Journal*, the pamphlet gives the exact dates, 12th and 17th of Eleventh Month, 1654 (i.e. of January, 1655, N.S.). I have written elsewhere of Mary Fox (Letter 75). Now I shall use this pamphlet to say something of George Fox's father.

"On the twelfth day of the eleventh month by the world called January, and according to their account 1654, him that the world calls George Fox went to Drayton

to see his father and friends in the flesh." It was three years since George Fox had been in touch with his relatives. Priest Stephens sent Thomas Ball's man to Christopher Fox's house to summon young Fox to the steeplehouse for a debate. George refused to go inside the steeplehouse, but spoke to a large and rowdy group in the graveyard. The priest complained of the cold, so they compromised by meeting in a hall nearby. The priest had told the old man, George's "father in the flesh," that George had a familiar spirit, and when the priest denied having said it, Christopher Fox told the priest what he had said to him and told him where, viz., a place in the field; but the priest denied it.

Later the priest claimed that he was George's spiritual father, and when George denied this the priest "was fain to call his natural father to take him away." Also the priest said that George Fox was one of his sheep, but George Fox said the Lord was his shepherd and Stephens was a false shepherd.

Another priest, (John) Chester of Witherley, said to George Fox maliciously, "Sirrah, doest thou hear, the old Fox shall take thee and carry thee to gaol and there shall help to kill thee, and to take an iron and thrust thee through"—evidently paraphrasing the prophecy of Zechariah 13:3 which threatens what the prophet will suffer at the hands of his father and his mother.

According to the *Journal* George Fox scored here a victory over more priests at one time than he ever had done, "and a great shake it was to the priests, and my father in the flesh thwacked his cane on the ground and said, 'Well', said he, 'I see he that will but stand to the truth it will carry him out,' though he was a hearer and follower of the priests."

This, I think, is our last glimpse of Christopher Fox in the flesh. If we may accept the adjective in "old man" and "old

fox" he was already in 1655 advanced in years and used a cane and may have died well before his wife's decease* in 1673. The burial record calls her a widow. Indeed, as early as 1664 their house in the Hearth Tax Roll is under the name of Mary Fox. After George Fox heard of her death he had a mystical experience in which, he says, "I saw her in the resurrection and in the life everlastingly with me over all, and father in the flesh also." There at least, or at last, the generations were united.

As for Nathaniel Stephens, he had been established at Drayton church in 1638. George Fox reminds us that as a child he had known Stephens. The latter was "ejected" in 1662 as a nonconformist, and perforce he removed from the town. He died in 1678. Jenkyn Edwards, in his book *Fenny Drayton*, 1923, who spells the priest's name "Stevens," says he died in 1667. To this booklet I am indebted for the lists of houses in the village charged with a hearth tax: twenty homes in all in 1664, mostly, like Mary Fox's, with one hearth, but including the parsonage with four, Thomas Ball's (see above) and Nathaniel Stephens, Jr.'s, both with three.

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The First Civil Rights Act

Those of us who have rejoiced at the adoption by Congress of a series of Civil Rights Acts beginning in 1957 may find interest in an account of the local response to an Act of the same name about a century ago. It is taken from a letter home written by Sarah Cadbury of Philadelphia on Fourth Month 25th, 1866. The Friends Freedmen's Association had just begun its relief and education program for ex-slaves. This is fully described by Youra Qualls in the *Bulletin of*

Friends Historical Association for 1956. One of the Freedmen's Association's first ventures was sending young women Friends to teach Negro children, with a night school for adults, in the community at Slabtown-Acretown, about a mile from Yorktown, Virginia. Sarah Cadbury's closest associate was another Quaker volunteer, Elizabeth Pennock.

At the time of Sarah's short stay she was twenty-five years old. Copying her letters nearly fifty years later, she explains the occasion as follows: "Early in 1866 Congress enacted a measure to fortify the rights of the Negroes known as the Civil Rights Bill, which President Andrew Johnson promptly vetoed, and which was as promptly passed over his head." The local Negro celebration she has quite vividly described as follows:

"In the morning one of the committee called and invited the teachers to attend. So after dinner Mary E. [the white house-keeper], E. [Elizabeth Pennock] and I got our selves up, kid gloves and all, and after 3 went in the church. Most of the men were to march across from Slabtown, and soon we saw them coming, marching two and two, a large banner carried first and a smaller flag. They filed into the church and there was a sea of heads, men and women, and the windows were filled outside. Fortunately it was a cool day! The banner was draped over the pulpit and a youth sat and held the flag near it, gently waving it as the cheers went up, and they were many and hearty. They had no flags at the New Year celebration, so appreciated them now.

"Lieut. M. [of the Freedman's Bureau] came in and spoke first, short, good and patriotic, and then he hurried off to go to Hampton. ['Brother'] Napper was made

*A letter from the County Archivist tells me that they have no record of any will for a Christopher Fox proved at this period



Slabtown, Va., first Quaker home for refugees from slavery, built in 1862 by General Isaac Jones Wistar, an ex-Friend. Left to right: storehouse, mission, schoolhouse, church.

chairman and speeches were limited to five minutes to be prolonged by request of speaker. It was interesting to hear them by men of all kinds, the upper-ten, middle aged men with good mother wit, embarrassed young men, and the fiery soldier. Of course the tenor of all was thanks to God for causing the passing of the Civil-Rights Bill; what they must do now to show themselves true men and citizens; the banner under which most of them had fought; how they would fight for it again. One man said when about to go into battle he was called on to 'come forward, come forward,' and he did go forward and left his hand on the field. Peace came and he was told he might step backward out of the way for his betters, but he thought he was entitled to come forward in the ranks now as then. One tall, very young soldier fired down his patriotic sentiments, and another tall, black young one, in jacket all out at elbows, tried hard to express some poetic ideas. He spoke well, and we wanted him to go on.

"Then there was a capital written speech by N., the judge advocate [for Slabtown in the Freedman's Bureau Court]. He is a smart man and was asked to make this address. He was bitterly severe on Andrew Johnson, and his affected manner gave full force to his sarcasm. He said the President reminded him of a cat they used to have; driven by him out of one room, his brother drove it out an-

other, while his mother gave it no rest, so the poor thing did not know which way to turn. So the Democrats do not want Johnson, and the Republicans are afraid of him. He gave us spicy anecdotes and made us laugh considerably. But Napper made us laugh when, spying the speaker's notes lying on the desk, and, not being used to notes, picked up the paper to look at, when N. made a plunge and rescued it, Napper trying to look as if nothing had happened. Then the address was to 'Mr. Chairman' which tickled him and he would shake all over with laughter, especially when he was asked, 'Did you know the President was dead?' 'No,' in surprise; and then it was gradually unfolded as a political death, which showed Napper his sell and set off the room. Of course, the speaker delicately complimented the 'nigger teachers,' and altogether the appearance of the light kids, highly got up black *hair* and light freckled complexion was inimitable.

"When the speeches were done there were cheers for the 'lady teachers' and the gentleman who lent the flag. Then it was moved and seconded that a vote of thanks should be 'invited' to the lady teachers for their presence and kind attention to the miserable speeches. After a few more motions an elder knelt in prayer, and the meeting broke with the singing of 'The Year of Jubilee.'

"In the lovely afternoon sunlight we saw

the crowd disperse. A no-top York waggon drove off with two women on the seat and a tall man standing behind with one foot on the springs and a knee on the seat-back, driving."

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Helping to End an Era

Boston, March 2 (AP) — The Massachusetts Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, ruled today that the state's teacher oath law was invalid.

Thus begins a recent dispatch that brings back memories over several decades. It has led me to review a mass of printed material, correspondence, and clippings accumulated long ago and already brown with age. The law referred to was enacted in 1935 and caused considerable exercise to a few Friends who were teaching in the Bay State.

The late Earle M. Winslow, head of the department of economics at Tufts University, resigned and finally accepted an appointment with the Tariff Commission in Washington. The requirement was generally resented by educators and teachers throughout the state, and some twenty-five teachers altered the wording to express their reservations before signing. This was disallowed. Finally all signed except a very few who succeeded in filing with the oath a statement of their reservations. One of these was the late Seal Thompson of Wellesley College, and there were perhaps two others, both Friends. Their objection was not the old Quaker objection to the oaths as such, for affirmation was permitted, but to the religious implications of such a promise.

Considerable attention was given the

matter, and not merely locally. For by the end of 1935 twenty-one other states had passed similar laws, and they were being proposed in other states at the same time. The wording of the Massachusetts law made no provision for enforcement or penalty for noncompliance, but it has been generally observed. Within a year the majority of its supporters in the legislature were out of office, and the legislature passed an act of repeal. The governor, however, vetoed the repeal.

Now after over thirty years the State Supreme Court, without passing on the constitutionality of the oath of allegiance itself, has decided that the further promise in the oath that the teacher will perform his teaching job to the best of his ability is "altogether too vague a standard to enforce judicially."

In an earlier Letter (No. 134), I referred to this rash of loyalty oaths as follows:

Beginning about twenty years ago and unconsciously following the example of Mussolini and Hitler, our state legislatures have had an epidemic of enacting ever stricter and more inclusive demands for loyalty tests. At first teachers were the target. Now government employees in all fields are being included. The characteristic thing for Quaker history is that in so many cases those who have balked at the legislation turn out to be Friends, and not Communists or subversive persons at all.

As the Massachusetts law was characteristic of that era, so its voidance seems to be characteristic of the end of that era. An accelerated elimination of such tests can be observed in more recent years. The process has taken place more in the courts than by

legislation. In the interval Friends have continued to play a modest part.

When Maryland's Ober Law was passed fifteen years ago, two or three of the most conspicuous victims were Friends, in various forms of public employment. When California required churches, if they wished to enjoy tax exemption, to certify their members as not members of subversive organizations one of the few noncooperating congregations was a Friends Meeting. When in 1958 the National Defense Education Act was passed by Congress, providing Federal scholarships for college students, two of the first colleges to decline participation on account of the so-called disclaimer affidavit requirement were Quaker colleges, and in the final list of thirty such colleges before this feature was amended out of the act in 1962, four were Quaker colleges.

Teachers' oaths in several states, whether positive affirmations of loyalty or disclaimers of disloyalty, have been struck down—among them the Feinberg Law of New York, by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1966 (where one challenging professor was a Friend) and the Washington State loyalty oath in 1964 — or are being challenged, often with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union. Laws in Oregon, Idaho, and Georgia requiring loyalty oaths for teachers in those states have been lately voided by Federal courts. In April, 1966, when the Arizona law was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, the case tried was of two Quaker junior high school teachers at Tucson, who continued teaching for five years without pay rather than sign the state loyalty oath. I understand their arrears in salary will now be forthcoming.

In connection with the annulment recently of the Massachusetts law in the state court of last resort, a Friend teaching at M.I.T. was one of the little group there who

had refused to sign the loyalty oath, intending to make a test case thereby, though the litigation was actually carried through in the name of one of his colleagues.

The Subversive Activities Act of Maryland (Ober Law) is now being tested in the Federal District Court of Baltimore in the person of a Friend who refused to sign the oath handed to him with a contract offer to teach in the English Department at the Maryland State University. Most recently the Pennsylvania Loyalty Oath, passed in 1931, is being tested again in the U.S. District Court in Philadelphia because a petition for nomination to a minor office was refused when the applicant declined to execute the loyalty oath, which is required for all state employees and candidates for public office. The petitioner in this case is a Friend and the executive director of the [Philadelphia] American Civil Liberties Union.

To suppose the era is already near its end may be too optimistic. There has been some change of climate since the McCarthy era, but anti-communism is still a widespread preoccupation, as the war in Vietnam shows. The U.S. Supreme Court decisions have not been unanimous, and the lower courts may not act uniformly on the issue. Meanwhile, the role of Friends continues to be an interesting phenomenon not identical with early Friends' scruples against swearing: a sensitiveness—if not with uniformity or psychological clarity—to the implications of the objectionable legislation, and a tendency to act accordingly and not merely to voice dissent.

P.S. On March 24, 1967, the New Hampshire State Supreme Court replied to an inquiry that in the light of the recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions about similar state laws, the loyalty-oath law in New Hampshire

if challenged would be adjudged unconstitutional.

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Guilford, an Inverted Precedent

I wonder if there was ever a time when so many Friends were anxious to vindicate their activities by Quaker precedent. In such matters as public witness or civil disobedience one is often asked to find from history parallels that will justify those who today would reject or would espouse certain courses of action as well as certain standards of belief. Perfect parallels are rarely forthcoming, either pro or con. The search for them attests a desire not so much to be loyal to the past as to claim the authority of the past for what we wish Friends to do or to believe today. Precedents are interesting but not always decisive. Modern Quakerism may be called upon to be quite different, or, if we repeat history, to do so on the basis of present leading. As this year's Swarthmore Lecture at London Yearly Meeting indicates, our history is a mixture of "constancy and change."

These letters often have dealt with recurrence of similar situations. This one, just to escape artificial authority of precedent, may well call attention to an almost exact reversal. In a week or so will be held a large conference of Friends, the fourth such affair within a half century, following those in London in 1920, in Pennsylvania in 1937, and in Oxford in 1952. Representatives from all major and minor sectors of Quakerism—nine hundred officially plus several hundred less officially—will be gathered in North Carolina. We can visualize the occasion externally but cannot in advance appraise its significance.

Now all this has no parallel in earlier

centuries. On the contrary, communication within the borders of Quakerism was fostered then by an almost reverse phenomenon. The itinerant ministry was the great apostolic feature of our Society. At that time the traveling minister made the rounds to the places where Friends lived. The prophet and the mountain changed places.

I have been investigating lately just one such instance of this uniquely Quaker service. It occurred nearly two hundred years ago, in 1771. William Hunt, a Quaker minister in his late thirties, and his younger companion, a nephew named Thomas Thornburg, started out to visit all Friends' meetings overseas. The picture of Quakerism was not geographically the same as it is today, but there were some coincidences. New Garden in Guilford County, North Carolina, was their home meeting, not (as in 1967) the mecca of a worldwide influx. William Hunt already had visited all meetings in the American colonies except a very few in remote Maine.

Reaching London in June, 1771, he visited the northern counties of England and Scotland, including over sixty-five meetings in Yorkshire alone. He crossed then to Ireland and attended most or all of the forty-odd meetings in that island, including the three provincial or quarterly meetings and the National Meeting. He attended London Yearly Meeting in 1772 (the same year that his cousin, John Woolman, was there) and other local meetings; then crossed to Holland, visiting Friends' meetings and groups. Soon after his return to England he was stricken with smallpox and died at Newcastle, a month before John Woolman similarly succumbed to smallpox at York.

Besides attending regular meetings of Friends, he appointed meetings in many places in between. His ministry was effective and mature, but—more than most Friends' ministers—he was often completely silent in

meeting. Now, after two centuries, one or two Friends from many of the same old areas of Quakerism in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Holland, as well as from other areas, American and overseas, will be returning simultaneously and collectively the visit of these two North Carolinians under very different auspices but, it may be hoped, with equally obvious concern. Again there is an accent upon youth. The techniques of world conference and of itinerant ministry are almost exactly in reverse.

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Friends and the Erie Canal



No one can be more aware of the illogical sequence of these letters than is their writer. But for unorderedly miscellaneous subject matter they have one respectable parallel—commemorative postage stamps. Sober government post offices recognize a great variety of events in the past with no other excuse than mere lapse of time—usually an even number of years or a centennial (or semi- or sesqui-). An air letter from Australia just received reminds me by two of its five four-cent stamps that this year marks “150 years of Banking 1817-1967” in Australia, and of “British and Foreign Bible Society 1817-1967.” Our own government in the month of July issued (without giving dates) a portrait of Henry David Thoreau, who was born in July, 1817, and (with dates) a symbol of the Erie Canal, for which the first shovelful of earth was dug in Rome, New

York, the same month. It makes one tired, in this mechanized age, to think of the human labor expended on that remarkable American enterprise stretching from Lake Erie to the Hudson River and now largely supplanted. The subjects of commemorative stamps have sometimes more and sometimes less connection with Quakerism. Writing as I am without any convenient library to consult, I shall quote without further inquiry from material already at hand about three Quaker contacts with the famous canal.

1. *Isaac Briggs*. Writing in this column in 1943 (Letter 30) of the Quaker contacts of Thomas Jefferson, I said: “Another surveyor [beside Andrew Ellicott] and astronomer [besides Benjamin Banneker] was Isaac Briggs, a Friend and a long-time friend of Jefferson, and the recipient of many favors from him.” According to the Calendar of Jefferson papers, Briggs asked in May, 1817, for the ex-President’s intervention on behalf of his appointment as surveyor of the Erie Canal. He received the appointment.

2. *Elias Hicks* of Jericho, Long Island, was prominent (among other ways) for his opposition to railroads and especially to the Erie Canal. Not all Friends sympathized with this opposition. In fact, after Elias’ death his son-in-law, Valentine Hicks, became president of the Long Island Railroad Company, terminating at Hicksville, near Jericho. The following anecdote is related by Mary J. Taber in her book *Just a Few “Friends”* (1907):

“Many people opposed the project of making the Erie Canal, and among them Elias Hicks. He even preached against it, and very foolishly said, if the Lord had intended there should be those internal waterways He would have placed them there, and there would have been a river flowing through central New York. After he finished his discourse there arose from the back seats of the crowded house a small, plain man and

uttered these words with great deliberation, "And - Jacob - dig - ged - a - well." That was all. No further argument was needed; Elias Hicks was answered."

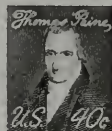
3. *Lars Larsen*. Born at Stavanger in Norway in 1787, he became a ship's carpenter on a Norwegian merchant vessel, but in 1807 during the Napoleonic War he was one of many prisoners of war held in England. There he was converted to Quakerism. Finally released, he returned home, but found severe opposition to his religion from the authorities. In 1825 he and others bought a small ship, the *Restaurationen*, and sailed July 5th, a party of fifty-two Norwegians, from Stavanger, reaching New York October 9th. From a daughter born to his wife on the long voyage, a number of well-known Friends in America are descended. Thus Larsen was the leader of the first wholesale emigration to America from Norway. For his connection with the canal I quote a few sentences from a longer annotated article published in 1925*:

"The later history of Larsen, so far as it is known, is fully told by the Norwegian historians. In New York [city] the party was welcomed by Quakers who helped them with food and clothing and also provided them with funds to reach their farms. These were in the township of Kendall, county of Orleans, New York. Joseph Fellows, a Friend, is said to have secured their title for them. Larsen sent his wife and baby on with the party while he remained behind to sell the ship and its cargo. When he was able to follow them, the newly opened Erie Canal was frozen and he skated from Albany to Kendall. He finally settled in Rochester and made canal boats until his sudden death in the canal in 1845. It is easy to understand the choice of place and occupation on the part of the ship carpenter of Stavanger. Two American Quakers had largely been responsible for putting through the great canal

in the governorship of DeWitt Clinton. The Quaker agents of the emigrants knew well the great prosperity that lay before the territory near it."

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Thomas Paine



Here is a new commemorative postage stamp in honor of Thomas Paine (1737-1809). It is the first, I think, so to honor him among America's greats. One wonders what knowledge and feelings it will evoke in the general public and especially among Friends. A forty-cent stamp is bound to be somewhat scarce—no more common as a denomination, if the pun may be allowed, than are Quakers.

Thomas Paine belonged among the "founding fathers" and had Quaker connections as well. He would have liked to be an inventor like Benjamin Franklin, or a statesman. He was instead an incessant publicist, and his pen was mightier than a sword. In *Common Sense*, *The Rights of Man*, and *The Age of Reason* he embodied his radical views, both political and religious. He was perhaps the first to use the phrase "The United States of America," and he was the spokesman of both the American and the French Revolutions and the critic of Great Britain's undemocratic ways. Of course he made himself enemies, and there were many virtues or amenities in which he was lacking.

**Harvard Theological Review* 15, pp. 315f

In religious circles he was anathema, though he genuinely opposed atheism. Like many of his reputable contemporaries, he was a deist, emphasizing God's communication with man through reason and nature rather than through scripture or priests.

His Quaker connections were intermittent. His father, Joseph Paine, was a Friend, a staymaker at Thetford in Norfolk, where as a boy Tom probably attended Friends meeting and the elementary Friends' school. In Philadelphia, where he lived a few doors from William Savery's home, he knew many Friends, but largely of the nonpacifist variety like Owen Biddle and Timothy Matlack, and he served in the Revolutionary Army as aide-de-camp of the ex-Quaker general, Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island. When, as a member of the French National Convention at the trial of Louis XVI, he urged banishment as penalty rather than the guillotine, the noted Jean Paul Marat protested, "I deny the right of Thomas Paine to vote on such a subject, as he is a Quaker; hence his religious views run counter to the infliction of capital punishment." When (in New York) his own death came near, he asked to be buried in the Quaker cemetery.

Thomas Paine was not a member of the Society of Friends. Yet one may ask how far Quakerism influenced him. He often spoke well of it, and he shared many of its principles. Its libertarian and egalitarian tendency molded some of his most revolutionary writing. Even religiously, its independence was merely carried in Thomas Paine to an extreme. His native talent was a capacity for clear, nervous prose-writing, which is not yet (as the editor of this *JOURNAL* will testify) a universal characteristic of Quakers. That he was widely disapproved of by Quakers is not evidence that Quakerism did not influence him. Most Friends are more selectively Quaker than completely Quaker, and, in these days of Quaker pluralism, who of us

can claim both negatively and positively to represent genuine Quakerism? I may leave the reader to follow for himself, as I have done, the biographies and articles that attempt to analyze the paradox of Thomas Paine's character. He lived in circumstances in which consistency was difficult if not impossible. As has been lately said, the paradox is inherent in circumstances, not in persons.

There was much in Thomas Paine's political and economic writings that Friends today could approve. As Elbert Russell summed him up: "He differed from Friends chiefly on points of theology and on the War for Independence. Quaker influences are shown in his opposition to the slave trade, to oaths, dueling, warfare in general, and to privileged classes and titles of honor and distinction. He advocated entire freedom of religion and conscience, and universal suffrage."

In 1797 two traveling Friends from America, William Savery and David Sands, came upon Thomas Paine by chance in a coffee house in Paris and argued with him, criticizing his *Age of Reason*, as they left on record. Friends even resented his praise of Quakerism, as the printed edition of Savery's journal shows, by leaving out the sentence (found in the manuscript): "He acknowledged he was educated a Friend and was of the opinion that they came nearest the truth of any society."

Theologically he was not approved even by Elias Hicks, and to evangelical Friends like Stephen Grellet he was the devil incarnate. It was Stephen who supplied an account of Thomas Paine's miserable last days and implied that he was ready to recant his earlier beliefs. But, like all deathbed repentances, it is subject to historical doubt. That Friends of New York, through Willet Hicks, one of their ministers, declined his request to be buried in their burial ground was not

due to complete lack of sympathy. I think they suspected that his admirers would want to erect too un-Quakerly a monument among their sober gravestones.

He finally was buried in an obscure grave on his farm in New Rochelle, until ten years later the impulsive Britisher, William Cobbett, who had become a zealous admirer, dug up his bones and sent them to England, intending to make them a shrine. But when they arrived by ship at Liverpool so much hostility to this treatment of them was expressed that Cobbett never built the mausoleum. The bones were packed away and ignored, passed from person to person, forgotten or lost. At least that is the belief of modern historians. An alternative account is found in the Philadelphia *Friend*, which repeatedly and gleefully quoted Stephen Grellet's account of the infidel's last days. It attributes to another Friends' minister, Christopher Healy, the report that William Cobbett was not allowed by the authorities even to land the box containing Thomas Paine's bones from the ship at Liverpool, and that the captain of the ship, rather than carry it back to America, "weighted the box and had his men heave it over the side of the vessel."

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Friends in the Encyclopedias

The other day I looked at the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967) and especially at the half dozen short illustrated articles on Friends. As was to be expected, even those not written by Friends seem sympathetic enough, though factually one might qualify such statements as "Fox left no theological treatises" or (under Elias Hicks) "these divisions continue to exist,"

Friends have not always fared so well.

Probably the most influential encyclopedia in English is the *Britannica*. While I do not know the details, its first edition in three volumes (1769-1771) included an article on Quakers unsigned but written by two eminent British Quaker brothers. Dr. John Fothergill of London wrote Third Month 2nd, 1769, to his brother Samuel: "The space to be allowed us in the Scotch dictionary is six or seven folio pages, if we please. I am pleased that it engaged thy attention and I shall do more at Lea Hall [John's country house in Cheshire] when thou hast sketched the plan." The piece was promptly reprinted by Friends at London as a pamphlet, still anonymous, entitled, "A Brief Account of the People called Quakers, their Doctrines and Discipline, taken from a dictionary of Arts and Sciences lately published at Edinburgh." It ran through several editions.

The *Britannica* itself passed through many editions. Its articles were changed and revised, and other encyclopedias were issued in the British Isles and pirated in America. The articles on Quakers in two of these call for some notice. One came to my attention through the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia from 1796 to 1798.

They refer to Thomas Dobson's Philadelphia publication called simply *Encyclopedia*, issued in fifteen volumes in 1790 and the years following. This was taken directly from the third edition of the *Britannica*. It kept the original articles but partly rewrote them. Its article on the Quakers was found by Philadelphia Friends to "revive under the letter Q a stale abuse of the character of George Fox," and, after approving an essay prepared to correct it, they appointed four Friends to interview the editor, who promised to insert this correction in the next volume. They even agreed to pay his demand for £10.10. 7-1/2 for the cost of printing it.

The essay, filling seven columns in the

last volume of the 1798 edition, lays chief emphasis on a version of George Fox's 1654 letter to Oliver Cromwell, taken out of Charles Leslie's anti-Quaker book called *The Snake in the Grass*. Thomas Dobson's encyclopedia had even printed in italics certain blasphemous phrases in George Fox's letter which were omitted when his Journal was published after his death. We now know that Charles Leslie's version was the original and that the Philadelphia Friends were wrong in assuming that the less blasphemous-sounding version was the right one. Modern editions of George Fox's Journal replace the words that had been omitted by the Quaker editors in 1694 and that had been regarded a century later as forgery.

However, Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting notified their opposite number in London of what they had done, since they understood that a further edition of the Scotch original was in preparation. To this they received reply that the editor of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* had invited "such as may think themselves misrepresented to give him better information." "Some of our members," London Friends continued, "undertook to set him right as to the character of Geo. Fox, and we understand a vindication is prepared drawn from the publications of the last century and the time of his accuser, Leslie, which probably will be as convincing as anything that can be offered." I have not investigated the outcome in the British edition that followed.

The other encyclopedia to which I would make reference is the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, edited by David (later Sir David) Brewster and prepared during the years 1809-1830. The article on Quakers here is straightforward and not controversial; its interest lies in the probability that it was written by Thomas Carlyle. That future literary light was in his apprenticeship between 1820 and 1823, and this encyclopedia had

already reached the letter M. But apparently Thomas Carlyle was employed in the hack-work of turning out some twenty substantial articles to Brewster's specifications and deadlines, extending from "Montaigne" to "Quakers." The article on the latter has none of the brilliance of his independent later writing, nor does it foreshadow his interest in George Fox's leather suit of clothes as shown in *Sartor Resartus*. The evidence, mostly circumstantial, to his authorship of the Quaker article has been lately set forth by Professor G. B. Tennyson of California.*

In recent editions the *Britannica* articles on Friends have been written by Friends. Edward H. Milligan, Librarian at Friends House, London, was entrusted with preparing for the 1964 printing a new article on "Friends, Society of." By reprinting this as a pamphlet under the title "Britannica on Quakerism," the energetic Friends Home Service Committee (London) reverts after nearly two centuries to the precedent established with the article appearing in the first edition.

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Conscription and Migration

Among alternative ways of dealing with unwelcome military requirements is emigration, but in current discussion among Friends I rarely hear it mentioned. It is no secret that today as never before in American experience this phenomenon is extensive. The exodus is chiefly to Canada. Perhaps it is not practiced as much by Friends as by others. But the history of religious

*English Language Notes, vol. 1, no. 2, Dec. 1963, pp. 108-112.

objectors has a long background of migration—temporary or permanent, in groups or (as now) by individuals.

Since Quakerism has been largely an Anglo-American movement, the occasions for such action have been limited by the fact that neither England nor the United States has had much lasting conscription legislation. Persecution of Friends has been severe enough, but mostly on other grounds. Conscription came to England first in 1916 and was ended a few years ago. The draft in this country has been with us intermittently, even in peace time, since 1917. Usually Quakers have been offered either the chance to hire substitutes or a discriminatory privilege of alternative service.

The European continental countries have older records, with Mennonites frequently the victims. For example, in 1763 they welcomed the invitation of Catharine of Russia to settle in that land because of the freedom offered from conscription as practiced in Western Europe. After more than a century, members of the same church left Czarist Russia for the United States and Canada, largely because of Russia's unwelcome compulsory alternatives to military service.

Prussia and Russia have been the chief losers by this kind of drain, but in America (and for Friends also) this motive, together with other forms of disability, was responsible at the time of the American Revolution for the Loyalist migrations to Eastern and Upper Canada and for the Quaker settlements there. One remembers more recently the trek of a group from Alabama to Costa Rica, which has no army and promises religious freedom.

During the nineteenth century the small groups of Friends in Norway, Germany, and Southern France labored under great disabilities. In 1825 the notable tide of Norwegian migration to America began under Quaker

leadership at Stavanger, in part to escape military demands. In Southern France and in Germany, between periods of intermittent toleration, the Quaker objection to conscription served to reduce the small Quaker groups. As has been said, "The young life of the small meetings was forced to choose between change of country and change of creed—or, at least, of practice."*

The alternatives offered to objectors are well expressed by John Woolman in what must be one of the earliest American instances on record. In 1757 a second draft for the colonial militia took place, and a time was set, he says, for those so chosen "in our township to meet at Mount Holly, amongst whom were a considerable number of our Society. . . . In this time of commotion some of our young men left these parts and tarried abroad [in the Jersey barrens?] till it was over. Some came and proposed to go as soldiers. Others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near. I had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction. At the set time when the captain came to town some of these last mentioned went and told him in substance as follows: That they could not bear arms for conscience sake nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned to the event of it."* There is little doubt which of the three alternatives John Woolman preferred.

It cannot be assumed that migration is a less effective protest against war than accepting alternative forms of escape from compulsory military service. In spite of the uncertainty of "the event," I think many modern consultants will feel, like John

*M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers In Peace and War*, 1923, p. 447

*Letter to Abraham Farrington *Friends Quarterly Examiner* vol. 74, 1940, p. 58

Woolman, fullest sympathy with the course of straightforward refusal.

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A Quaker Wedding in 1834

Having lately attended two marriages held under the auspices of a Philadelphia Meeting, I have read with interest an account of another. This I came upon in *Retrospect of Western Travel*, a book on her two years in America by Harriet Martineau, British writer.

She left Northampton, Pennsylvania, on the 17th of October, 1834, for Philadelphia, where she spent nearly six weeks. The Philadelphia wedding (the report on which follows one on a church wedding in Boston) was in the meeting house on Cherry Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets built very hurriedly by the Hicksites in the winter after the Separation of 1827 and used until the present house at Fifteenth and Race Streets was completed in 1857. Dr. Joseph Parrish (1779-1840), a famous surgeon and an elder of the Meeting, is mentioned, but not the names of the bride and groom and of the woman friend of "noble countenance" who arranged for Harriet Martineau's attendance and was one of the speakers.

The register of Certificates of Marriage at Cherry Street is extant in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, and one of two marriages there during this period is readily identified as that here described. It was between William A. Garrigues of Philadelphia and Elizabeth Tucker, daughter of Benjamin (deceased) and Theodosia Tucker, "this tenth day of the Twelfth Month in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty four." The woman speaker I suspect from her reported message to have been Lucretia Mott, and I notice that Otelia

Cromwell, Lucretia Mott's latest biographer, has made independently the same conjecture, though she dates the occasion in 1836. The 130 signatures to the certificate (copied by the registrar) include Joseph Parrish, Harriet Martineau, and—Lucretia Mott!

Harriet Martineau's reference to a reserved seat is explained by her deafness, a handicap of which she says, "I carry a trumpet of remarkable fidelity, an instrument, moreover, which seems to exert some winning power by which I gain more in tête à têtes than is given to people who hear generally."

She wrote: "A Quaker marriage which I saw at Philadelphia was scarcely less showy in its way. It took place at the Cherry-street church, belonging to the Hicksites. The reformed Quaker Church, consisting of the followers of Elias Hicks, bears about the same relation to the old Quakerism as the Church of England to that of Rome; and, it seems to me, the mutual dislike is as intense. I question whether religious enmity ever attained a greater extreme than among the orthodox Friends of Philadelphia. The Hicksites are more moderate, but are sometimes naturally worried out of their patience by the meddling, the denunciations, and the calumnies of the old Quaker societies. The new church is thinking of reforming and relaxing a good deal farther, and in the celebration of marriage among other things. It is under consideration (or was when I was there) whether the process of betrothment should not be simplified, and marriage in the father's house permitted. . . .

"A Quaker friend of mine, a frequent preacher, suggested, a few days previously, that a seat had better be reserved for me near the speakers, that I might have a chance of hearing "in case there should be communications." I had hopes from this that my friend would speak. . . .

"The spacious church was crowded; and

for three or four hours the poor bride had to sit facing the assemblage, aware, doubtless, that during the time of silence the occupation of the strangers present, if not of the friends themselves, would be watching her and her party. She was pretty, and most beautifully dressed. I have seldom pitied anybody more than I did her, while she sat palpitating for three hours under the gaze of some hundreds of people; but, towards the end of the time of silence, my compassion was transferred to the bridegroom. For want of something to do, after suppressing many yawns, he looked up to the ceiling; and in the midst of an empty stare, I imagine he caught the eye of an acquaintance in the back seats; for he was instantly troubled with a most irrepressible and unseasonable inclination to laugh. He struggled manfully with his difficulty; but the smiles would come, broader and broader. If, by dint of looking steadfastly into his hat for a few minutes, he attained a becoming gravity, it was gone the moment he raised his head. I was in a panic lest we should have a scandalous peal of merriment if something was not given him to do or listen to. Happily "there were communications" and . . . his ideas . . . changed. . . .

"Of the five speakers, one was an old gentleman whose discourse was an entire perplexity to me. For nearly an hour he discoursed on Jacob's ladder; but in a style so rambling, and in a chant so singularly unmusical as to set attention and remembrance at defiance. Some parenthetical observations alone stood a chance of being retained, from their singularity; one, for instance, which he introduced in the course of his narrative about Jacob setting a stone for a pillow; "a very different," cried the preacher, raising his chant to the highest pitch, "a very different pillow, by-the-way, from any that we—are—accommodated—

with." What a contrast was the brief discourse of my Quaker friend which followed! Her noble countenance was radiant as the morning; her soft voice, though low, so firm that she was heard to the farthest corner, and her little sermon as philosophical as it was devout. "Send forth thy light and thy truth," was her text. She spoke gratefully of intellectual light as a guide to spiritual truth, and anticipated and prayed for an ultimate universal diffusion of both. The certificate of the marriage was read by Dr. Parrish, an elderly physician of Philadelphia, the very realization of all my imaginings of the personal appearance of William Penn. . . .

"The matrimonial promise was distinctly and well spoken by both the parties. At the request of the bride and bridegroom, Dr. Parrish asked me to put the first signature, after their own, to the certificate of the marriage; and we adjourned for the purpose to an apartment connected with the church. Most ample sheets of parchment were provided for the signatures; and there was a prodigious array of names before we left, when a crowd was still waiting to testify. This multitudinous witnessing is the pleasantest part of being married by acclamation. If weddings are not to be private, there seems no question of the superiority of this Quaker method to that of the Boston marriage I beheld. . . .

Harriet Martineau"

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Quakers and an Earthquake

For a good many months I have been trying to keep in touch from a distance with two explorations in progress. Their sites interested me when I visited each of them in the past, but my curiosity is greater now

than then. One is underground at Cadbury Camp in Somerset; the other is underwater off Kingston, Jamaica.

The former location is a huge prehistoric mound—Cadbury seems to be a frequent place name and to mean battle mound. It is supposed by some to be the site of King Arthur's Camelot. Like Glastonbury nearby, it is an area full of legends. It is, of course, centuries older than any Quaker connection. Only in later times a family with that place name became Friends and moved and settled at Birmingham and a branch of it at Philadelphia. The name has reverted again to a place name in the form "Cadbury Road" in cities as far apart as California (Whittier) and Massachusetts (Cambridge).

Street, near Glastonbury, became an early Quaker center, with a meeting and a large factory long connected with the Quaker family of Clark. I had the good fortune lately in the Public Record Office in London to stumble upon an account of the beginnings of Street Meeting in 1656.

The location of the other current exploration is the known site of the town of Port Royal, where just before noon on June 7, 1692, an earthquake swallowed into the sea many of its houses and their contents and killed about two thirds of its people, including many Friends. Though Jamaica has had other disasters since—fires, hurricanes and also earthquakes—in memory, at least, the disaster at Port Royal in 1692 has never been eclipsed.

I need hardly say that earthquakes have no more than a verbal relation with Quakers, though George Fox expected a good Quaker to shake the country for ten miles round, and last year's Friends World Conference coined for its daily bulletin the title *Earthquaker*. Probably neither Professor Leslie Alcock in Somerset nor Robert Marx, the American scuba diver in Jamaica, will discov-

er any artifacts identifiable with owners' names. But an interim report on Port Royal may be as appropriate in these pages as it has seemed for such widely read magazines as the *Saturday Evening Post* (August 17, 1967) and the *National Geographic* (December, 1967, and February, 1960).

The story of early Quakers in Jamaica is yet to be published. Considerable scattered information has been collected, but a full account is less easy, since no meeting minutes are preserved for this, or indeed (except Tortola) for any of the Quaker island communities among the West Indies. Local historians elsewhere should appreciate the advantage they have, since well-kept minutes so often form the backbone of their sources. In Jamaica, reference to Quakers appears in the State Papers as early as 1658. In 1746, when two Friends moved from the island, there was evidently no Friends meeting kept, since in lieu of the usual removal certificate from the meeting they secured a letter of recommendation from some non-Quaker neighbors. The period of less than a century between these two dates represents the approximate duration of the colonial Quaker community. The earthquake of 1692 may well have occurred near the high point of that community's size and importance. (Modern Jamaican Quakerism is a separate phenomenon.)

Many accounts of the disaster were published. The tremor was severe throughout the island, and it was followed by smaller ones and a very serious epidemic which took an even heavier toll. But Port Royal was the most spectacular episode, and as it was a wealthy and presumably profligate Sodom it provided special provender to moralists. Closely built on a narrow spit of sand, its buildings in a very few minutes sank and fell into the sea, street by street, taking the occupants and contents with them.

I have collected several accounts by Friends; only one of them, I believe, has been published. First, there is the official Epistle to Friends in London, signed by about two dozen Port Royal Friends who survived—nine men and sixteen women. It was written before the end of the month and still is preserved in London—on a loose, tattered, and discolored sheet and in the book of “Epistles Received.” The writers explain that the earthquake occurred while Monthly Meeting was in progress on the mainland twelve miles away, and that “nearly all those Friends that happened not to go off Port Royal were lost in the dreadful desolation of that place.” The London Friends in their replies were not slow to point out the lesson of this circumstance. “Since some of you were preserved in a meeting, let it engage and encourage you to frequent meetings to wait upon the Lord.” The survivors were as much impressed with their own preservation as with the signal judgment on the deceased. And they gave a list of the Friends and members of their families who had perished (thirty-eight persons in all).

One of two private letters preserved from Joseph Norris gives an almost identical list and a vivid impression of his agony and sense of concern for the non-Quaker survivors, some of whom showed no relish for his preaching. He himself died in September, three months after the earthquake and the next day his brother Isaac Norris (later well-known as a Pennsylvania statesman) arrived from Philadelphia. Young Mordecai Lloyd had already written about his personal experience to his father Thomas Lloyd (another Pennsylvania political leader). He was in his shop in Port Royal “when on a sudden,” he says, “the earth opened and let me in . . . house and shop sunk I suppose along with me for there is where it was,

about five fathom of water and at the bottom no sign of a house.”

Similarly, Friend John Pike, a joiner at Port Royal, wrote still earlier how “whole houses and the street I lived in was in less than 3 hours after, 4 fathom under water, and nothing of my house to be seen nor any other, only one timber house which George Phillips [also a Friend, but not a survivor] lived in. The shake opened the earth; the water flew up and carried the people in quick [i.e. alive]. I lost my wife, my son, a 'prentice, a white maid and 6 slaves and all that I ever had in the world,” etc.

This is the sea bottom in which now, some two and three-quarter centuries later, present-day explorers have been groping.

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Stamps and Friends

Not all postage stamps of remote Quaker connection can be mentioned in these occasional letters. I am deliberately omitting the issue on September 26th (in the American Folklore series) of a commemorative stamp for Daniel Boone, 1734-1820. Though Boone was of Quaker descent and early Quaker surroundings (near Exeter Meeting in Pennsylvania), his ground for fame as a frontiersman and the symbols on his stamp are military.



Instead, I should like to record how, earlier this year, British postal authorities were considering stamp designs that showed peaceful exploits of English Friends two

centuries ago. Marking the bicentennial of the voyage into the South Seas in 1768 by the famous Captain James Cook in the *Endeavour*, a picture of the ship has been included in a series of four stamps. As I remarked in an earlier letter, Cook himself had some Quaker connections, while one of his companions—Sydney Parkinson, official botanist on the expedition—was a full-fledged Friend. Parkinson's skillful drawings, though still not fully reproduced, are receiving increasing attention. A deluxe edition has been in preparation for some time.

Of another series of stamps, described by the alliterative title "British Bridges," only four were issued, though perhaps a dozen were assigned for design. Among those rejected—though the design has been published and is here reproduced—was one of the Iron Bridge in Shropshire. This has real Quaker connections. It was built by the Coalbrookdale Iron Company, a concern that for nearly two centuries was controlled by Friends—several of them named Darby. They were unusually sensitive employers who pioneered in various phases of the industry, using cast iron in a number of novel structural designs. Their Iron Bridge in Shropshire—the very first iron bridge in the world—was erected across the River Severn near the Coalbrookdale works in the later 1770's and it is still in use. The date suggests that it was in part "made work."—a substitute for the military supplies of cannon for the war in America with which non-Quaker iron makers were then involved. The Darbys would have been anxious that their pacifist scruples would not force complete unemployment on workers who did not share these scruples. There are other instances in Quaker history where a negative conscience led unexpectedly to successful enterprise.

A Variant in Woolman's Style

I wonder if many readers of John Woolman's works have noticed a variant in his grammar and, if so, whether they can explain it. I noticed it only recently and have not yet certainly explained it. I refer to his verb forms for the third person singular.

It is common knowledge that before our language used *-s* in forms like "he gives," "he knows," "wishes," and "has," it used inflections like "giveth," "knoweth," "wischeth," and "hath." I believe this is always the case in the familiar English Bible. But Shakespeare—perhaps for reasons of meter—sometimes also used forms like "knows," "seeks," and so on.

John Woolman (and we usually can trust the printed editions) used mostly the modern forms in his manuscripts, but in a minority of instances wrote the archaic ending. This is true of his *Journal*, his essays, and his personal letters. I quote two examples from the latter:

"There are degrees of growth in the Christian progress and all well meaning people are not the same degree entered into that recognition wherein men are crucified to the world; hence sometimes *ariseth* a diversity of sentiments in regard to matters of faith and practice." (l.x. 1757 to Abraham Farrington).

"I cannot form a concern but when a concern *cometh* I endeavour to be obedient." (16ix 1772 to the children of Stephen Comfort).

Of the more modern forms, two of the commonest are completely absent from his text, as far as I have observed. "Has" is never used, but always "hath." For "does,"

"doth" or "doeth" is regularly used by Woolman. Each of these words is both a simple verb with an object and also an auxiliary verb followed by another.

Otherwise, the modern forms prevail. I therefore quote several phrases with the *-th* from the Journal:

"mine eye runneth down with water" (*Journal*, Chapter 1); "the Lord . . . who ruleth in the army of heaven" (III); "[God] knoweth them that trust in him" (IV); "The Most High . . . lifteth up his voice . . . crieth . . . ; His voice waxeth louder . . . crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear" (Epistle of Yearly Meeting VI); "thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud fierce spirit produceth in the world" (VIII, *Indian Journey*); "Joseph Nichols who . . . professeth nearly the same principles as our Society doth" (IX); "that awful Being who respecteth not persons" (IX); "from the blood [of slaughtered animals] ariseth that which mixeth in the air" (XII).

From the *Considerations on Keeping Negroes* (Part II), amid instances with final *-s*, one finds: "this disposition ariseth" . . . "a Friend hurt so that he dieth" . . . "The Parent of Mankind . . . remembers them. He seeth their affliction and looketh upon the spreading, increasing exaltation of the Oppressor. He turns the channels of power." The passage last quoted is a good example of interchanging the two kinds of ending in the same context.

The simplest explanation of the variation in Woolman is to regard the forms with final *-s* as natural to him, and the others as due to the influence of the Bible. Beside apparent echoes of it in what I have listed are other passages where he quotes it with the archaic ending.

Perhaps there is nothing personal about the matter. He was subject to the situation of language when and where he lived. According to the history of English grammar,

the formations were both local dialect, and for a while the southern *-th* was used, but was finally replaced by the northern *-s*. This occurred after the time of Shakespeare. There was doubtless a transition during which the old and the new were both natural.

It is said: "At the time of the landing of the Pilgrims on the Eastern shore of America and in early colonial days generally, *-th* was occasionally used, but it was ebbing. It occurred most frequently in *hath* and *doth*, which by reason of their frequent use were most firmly fixed and lingered longest. They often occurred where all other verbs had *-s*." (G.O. Curme, *A Grammar of the English Language*, II, §54.)

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News from England of American Friends in the Ministry

About five years ago I quoted in this column a letter describing John Woolman's visit to Sheffield. It was written August 9, 1772, and addressed to Sally, daughter of William Tuke, at York. It had never before been published, nor has another letter, which I have recently discovered and reproduce in part herewith.

It, too, was written from Yorkshire, but nearly two months later (October 3rd), by William Proud of Hull to his brothers "Robert and John Proud, merchants in Philadelphia."

Of this family, the most famous was Robert Proud, a schoolmaster. He became the first historian of Pennsylvania. A current magazine article calls his work a "scholarly failure," but he had succeeded no better in business, as his lugubrious correspondence with his brother William indicates. Other

relatives remained in Yorkshire when Robert and John were in Philadelphia. There was, for example, another Robert near Thirsk, with whom John Woolman stayed enroute to York, to the confusion of modern biographers.

To correct them, I wished to confirm an alibi for the Philadelphia Robert at this time in England, and that is how I came across the dated letter that William had written him.

Most of the correspondence is purely personal or financial, but this one letter includes for good measure a budget of Quaker news. It has in common with the letter about John Woolman at Sheffield the same misspelling of his name, "Woolmer," and naturally, since it was written to Philadelphia, reference to the two Philadelphia Quaker women who were also visiting Friends in England at this time. Perhaps the misspelling accounts in part for the fact that the two letters, the first in the Bevan-Naish Collection, now at Woodbrooke, the second, from the Library Company of Philadelphia, now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, had long remained unnoticed:

"Hull, 10 mo. 3d. 1772

"Dear brothers, . . . You perhaps will have had earlier information of the affecting loss of our valuable Friend William Hunt from North Carolina, who upon his arrival from visiting Holland about 3 weeks since was taken out of this life by the smallpox. I saw his companion T. Thornburg last week at York Quarter Meeting who was well in health but appeared dejected and unresolved what way to steer. He has come forth in the ministry since his coming from America.

"John Woolmer was also at York, whose testimony is singular but notwithstanding acceptable to many; he appeared weak in bodily ability to walk on foot, which he has

mostly chose, and being a little indisposed did not attend all the meetings, and we have since an account he is now confined also in the smallpox yet at York, but have had no account how his disorder promises. One may suppose from the low weak diet he had before accustomed himself to, his body might be prepared for the distemper. The packet which this is for admits not time for my having any further intelligence.

"Morris Birkbeck attended William Hunt in his illness having accompanied him, etc. into Holland. He was supported through the same with much divine favor and strength and therein fully sensible and strengthening to the last. Morris, three days after he left the remains of William, buried his father William Birkbeck, which with the loss of Samuel Fothergill makes 3 principal members of the Society gone this year.

"Friend [Sarah] Morris and her kinswoman [Deborah Morris] from your city went from my house to the Quarterly Meeting, who has appeared [in the ministry] hereaway with considerable eminence, were well in health, but considering her age there appears some cause to fear her extensive service may prove too much for her bodily strength, though she seems to take necessary precautions by travelling in chaise and omitting the meetings which are not convenient so to come at. Both their company was very acceptable at our house, and the more so on account of their personal acquaintance with you. . . .

"I am affectionately your brother, William Proud"

This letter dovetails with the information we have in writing from several other Friends.

John Woolman wrote of William Hunt's death and of his own feebleness in walking to York. Debby Morris records in her diary the chaise (and horses) and their stay with

William Proud at Hull. Morris Birkbeck tells of his nursing William Hunt on his deathbed and of the death of his own father shortly thereafter. Thomas Priestman records the hope held by John Woolman's attendants at first that he would "have the disorder favorably" "as he seldom had eaten flesh for some time."

As we now know, this optimism was disappointed. Four days after William Proud dispatched the above letter for Philadelphia by packet boat, John Woolman passed away.

The next letter from the same to the same is also preserved. It was written four weeks later and it continues the report with a postscript, mentioning John Woolman's death—the name now spelled correctly—and referring to Samuel Emlen of Philadelphia, who had been prevented from attending York Quarterly Meeting. It reads:

"Hull, 11 mo. 1st 1772

"My last gave account of Friend Hunt's decease and Friend Woolman having also taken the small pox at York. I now add the affecting circumstance of his being also taken off with said distemper on the 7th of last month. Sam'l Emlen and Thos. Thornburg are about embarking for New York. Friend Morris is visiting meetings in Cumberland accompanied by Rachel Wilson of Kendal."

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Quaker Lot in Charleston, South Carolina

One of the oldest and most isolated landmarks of Friends along the Atlantic seaboard is a property in the heart of Charleston, South Carolina.

It was conveyed to Friends in Charleston in 1731 on instruction from the Crown to

the Governor but had long been known as the Quaker Lot. When the number of Friends there declined, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting held it for more than a century and a half. It was sold to the county for \$12,000 in 1967.

It is on King Street, between Queen and Broad. It has a frontage of sixty-three feet and extends eastward towards Meeting Street nearly two hundred and fifty feet. A plat is extant of a survey made in 1788 while the original plat was still available. When the city was surrounded by a wall, this property was just outside. It is called "Quakers Church Yard" on modern maps.

Only an incomplete history of the Meeting and its property can be compiled, although several current attempts have been made. The minutes of the Meeting begin late and are fragmentary; records of births and deaths are few.

More than once, a meeting house was erected on the property, only to be destroyed by fire. A residence stood in the back of the lot until recently, and was let to tenants for a modest rental. This income was used for the repair or construction of Friends meeting houses in other localities and will now be increased by the interest on the sale price of the property.

There remains across the front an old iron fence, with gates and a hedge behind. Local authorities intend to keep this and about sixty feet beyond as a park for the present. With the help of Philadelphia Friends and the local Preservation Society, they hope to add a suitable marker. The rest of the lot and adjacent properties are to be covered with a public garage building.

In preparation for this, the former burial area was excavated for remains in January, 1969. Nineteen skeletons were found, mostly at a depth of seven or eight feet, and were re-interred in the front section. State laws are quite strict for the preservation of such

remains. A large slab for the Latham family vault was moved, but most of the graves were unmarked and supplied no identifying marks when they were excavated. An upper dental plate is inscribed, presumably with the name not of the owner but of the doctor who made it.

The burials listed in the Quaker records mostly in the 1730's and 1740's can be supplemented by the burials in the "Quaker Church Yard," reported in the diary of Jacob Frederick Schirmer a century later.

The first Friends arrived in Charleston about 1682, at the time of the first settlement. There was hope and encouragement for a large colony of them. They and their Meetings are mentioned by George Fox and

by visiting Friends, who in later decades made the effort to reach a place so out of their way. For a time, about 1694, John Archdale, a Friend, was Governor of Carolina and probably worshiped with them.

One of the best known was Mary Crosse (formerly Mary Fisher), who died there in 1698. Extensive properties near the Quaker lot had been owned by her and her husband, and the area once was known as Archdale Square. It still is near important buildings.

One can only hope that the Quaker context can be kept in memory both there and elsewhere. For this reason, I have thought it well to report the present situation as I have found it.

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